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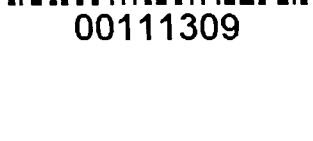

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FINIS.

TO HIS

MOST SACRED MAJESTY

I Offer to Your Majeſties view the trueſt and moſt judicious Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, that either modern times, or any Antiquity hath afforded to the World; impaired (I confeſs) in Beauty, as being tranſported out of the natural luſtre both of Stile and Phraſe, by a rude and unskilful Tranſlator, but nothing altered in the truth and ſincerity of the matter, which it handleth.

The Author, a Stranger to theſe parts, converſant only where the Goſpel cannot be truly preached, was moved to write it, as for the common good of all Chriſtendom, ſo particularly in contemplation of Your Majeſties ſervice. For as You hold the higheſt place amongſt all Kings and Princes, and are Gods greateſt Lieutenant under the whole Cope of Heaven, ſo Your admirable perfections of Wiſdom, Learning, Juſtice, and Religion (with which Your Royal Breaſt is enriched, beyond all compariſon to be made with any other) caſt forth their bright ſhining Rays into all Countries and Quarters of the World, and rouſe up the endeavours of the worthieſt, even in places the fartheſt remote, to labour in

the building up, or repairing of God's Church, ſo far as the Tyranny of Antichriſt, under which they live, and the ſafety of their lives, which Nature binds them to preſerve, doth give them leave. In which number is the Author of this preſent Treatiſe. The end and ſcope whereof being the glory of God, by diſcovery of thoſe practices, which, for many years, have been concealed by the Enemies of Chriſt, the advancement of true Piety and Religion. I know not to whom it may be addreſſed more juſtly, than to the greateſt Majeſty upon the whole ſurface of the Earth, and the chiefeſt *Defender* of the true Faith amongſt us.

And ſurely if ever any Book (except only the Book of God) did deſerve the protection of ſo excellent a Patron, it is this Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*. For, of all the things in the World, Religion is of the greateſt conſequence, and, in Religion, Oecumenical Councils (next after the Holy Writ) have ever carried the greateſt ſway; which being true, and guided by the *Holy Ghoſt*, have been cauſes of infinite Bleſſings; but being pretended only, and governed by humane Policies and Art, have brought forth as many Miſchiefs and Afflictions to the Church of God.

Now in this of *Trent* it is plainly diſcovered, that the *Biſhops* of *Rome* (of whom eight lived and died, during the time of the Synod and treaty thereof) inſtead of being CHRIST's Holy *Vicars*, as they pretend, have been the greateſt, and moſt pernicious *Quacksalving Juglers* that ever the Earth did bear.

It would be infinite to relate the Stratagems they uſed to divert it, before it began; their poſtings to and fro, to hinder the propoſing of thoſe things which

which they thought would diminiſh their profit, or pull down their pride; their Policies, to enthrall the Prelates and Divines, by hopes and fears; their diligence in ſending their Adherents to *Trent*, and ſo by procuring a *major* part of Voices, to make themſelves the abſolute Lords of all the determinations that paſſed. By which devices that which was deſired by godly men, as the only remedy againſt all the Errours in Manners and Doctrine, both in Church and Common-wealth, and eſpecially againſt the greateſt Enormities of the Popes themſelves, hath been wreſted to a quite contrary uſe, to weaken the lawful Rights of Kings and Princes, to pervert the Doctrine and Hierarchy of the Church of God, and to lift up the Papacy to an unſufferable height of Pride. This is that holy and great Synod, of which the *Romaniſts* do boaſt themſelves ſo much.

And indeed every one of any mean Capacity may eaſily know, that many controverted Points between them and the true Profeſſors, neceſſary (as they maintain) for the ſaving of mens ſouls, had never any colourable eſtabliſhment but this; which inſenſibly creeping in by the Superſtition of the Vulgar, or ſecretly ſet on foot by thoſe that were ambitious and covetous, (or at the beſt) blindly zealous, have always been oppoſed by the Orthodox, even publickly, until the malitious induſtry of the greater part, put to ſilence (though never quite overcame) the paucity of the better. So that their vaunting of the Antiquity of their Religion, and of the Infancy of ours, is vain and idle.

And if they will glory (as uſually they do) of the univerſality of their Doctrine, becauſe it was eſtabliſhed (forſooth) by *the Holy Oecumenical Council of Trent*, as they term it, none can better judge than

than Your Majeſty how factious and how unlawful that Aſſembly was, and, by this Hiſtory the whole World may underſtand the weakneſs of that Foundation.

The Almighty bleſs Your Majeſty with length of Dayes, ſtrength of Body, loyalty of Your People, and with all imaginable happineſs in Your moſt Royal Progeny, and in ſwaving the Scepter of Your Dominions.

Your Sacred Majeſties

moſt humble, and moſt ſ.

devoted Subject,

NATHANAEL BRENT.

TO

Whitehall the 5th *of* Auguſt 1675.

LET *the Hiſtory of the* Council of Trent, *Written in* Italian *by* Pietro Soave Polano, *and Tranſlated by Sir* NATHANAEL BRENT, *Knight, be Reprinted.*

J. WILLIAMSON.

TO THE

READER.

COurteous Reader, thou ſhalt ſee in this Book greater variety of remarkable Accidents, than, before the reading of it, thou couldeſt have poſſibly imagined. The State of Religion quite altered, in divers Kingdoms and Countries of Chriſtendom; the *Grandees* ſometimes divided and armed one againſt another, ſometimes joyned in confederations and Leagues; the *Eccleſiaſticks* oppreſſed; the *Proteſtants* perſecuted; the *Biſhops* of *Rome*, as it were, acting their parts, and moſt lively deciphered in their natural colours. If Learning will content thee, mark the diſputations of the Theologues, and the deep diſcourſes of the Author himſelf. If policy will pleaſe thee, thou ſhalt find it in the conſultations and treaties of Princes, managed, with admirable dexterity, by their Ambaſſadors and Miniſters; and generally no delight will be wanting to thee, which thy curioſity can deſire, or any other Hiſtory afford. But conſider, above all, in what a ſtrange manner the Conciliary Acts of this Aſſembly in *Trent* were carried. By reading of thoſe few words of thy Countryman *Edmond Campian*, below in this page, thou maiſt perceive in what repute the Papalins do hold it; and after, when thou haſt read the Book, thou wilt know how much it is overvalued. Compare thy judicious cenſure with his that is partial, and thou ſhalt find them to agree as white with blackneſs, darkneſs with light. Farewel.

Verba *Edmundi Campiani*, ratione quarta, reddita *Academicis*.

TRidentina Synodus quo magis inveteraſcet, eò magis indies eóque perennius efflореſcet. Bone Deus! quæ gentium varietas, qui delectus Epiſcoporum totius orbis, qui regum & rerumpublicarum ſplendor, quæ medulla Theologorum, quæ ſanctitas, quæ lachrymæ, quæ jejunia, qui flores Academici, quæ linguæ, quanta ſubtilitas, quantus labor, quam infinita lectio, quantæ virtutum & ſtudiorum divitiæ auguſtum illud Sacrarium implevêrunt?

The words of Edmond Campian *in his fourth reaſon given to the Univerſities.*

THE Synod of *Trent*, the older it waxeth, the more it will flouriſh. Good God, what variety of Nations, what choice of Biſhops of the whole World, what ſplendor of Kings and Common-wealths, what marrow of Theologues, what Sanctity, what Weepings, what Faſts, what Academical Flowers, what Languages, what Subtilties, what Labour, what infinite Reading, what Riches of Vertues and Studies did fill up that Majeſtical Sacred Place ?

TO THE

MOST REVEREND

FATHER IN GOD,

MY

SINGULAR GOOD LORD,

THE

LORD ARCHBISHOP

OF

CANTERBURY

His GRACE,

Primate of all ENGLAND, and Metropolitan, and one of His MAJESTIES moſt Honourable Privy Council.

MOST *Reverend in Chriſt, it may ſeem ſtrange (and I am ſure it is without example) that of one Council only ſo large an Hiſtory ſhould be written, and ſo full of all variety of matter. For in thoſe of former Ages, in which the* Holy Ghoſt *did really and effectually aſſiſt the Fathers, howſoever more Prelates and Divines were aſſembled from places more remote, and the actions guided by the greateſt Princes of all thoſe times, yet nothing was attempted to encreaſe or maintain the Hereſies and abuſes that reigned then, nor was any thing remarkable, but the very Doctrines and Decrees themſelves. But after that the* Biſhops *of* Rome, *ſcorning to be Mi-*

niſters and Servants, made themſelves Maſters and Monarchs of the Church of God, the practices and inventions of Worldly men chaſed away the Heavenly inſpirations of the bleſſed Spirit, and greater confuſions and troubles did ariſe in handling Divine Myſteries than did happen at any other time in negotiating the Affairs of Kingdoms and of Commonwealths. This hath miniſtred a whole Ocean of occurrences, and afforded a moſt copious Subject to this preſent Treatiſe.

And ſo irreſiſtible is the force of Truth, and the Divine Providence ſo great, that howſoever the Romaniſts have uſed all poſſible diligence to hinder the finding out of their unlawful proceedings in this Council, by ſuppreſſing all publick Writings and Monuments, by which their treacheries and abuſes might be diſcovered more plainly to the eyes of the World, the Writer of this Hiſtory (a man of admirable learning, exquiſite judgment, indefatigable induſtry, and integrity ſcarcely to be matched) hath been raiſed up by God, who, out of the Diaries, Memorials, Regiſters, *and other Writings, made and preſented by the Prelates and Divines themſelves, and by the Ambaſſadors of Princes and Republicks, who were aſſiſtants herein (which are the moſt infallible grounds that any Writer can have) hath revealed an infinite of intolerable abuſes, and (as the proverb ſaith)* Cornicum oculos confixit.

This Book I have tranſlated out of Italian into our vulgar Language, preſuming to commend it to the Royal Protection of His Sacred Majeſty, for whoſe ſake (as ſome reaſons induce me to believe) it was principally compoſed. And becauſe I undertook this Work at your Grace's *command, who have been the chiefeſt cauſe why the Original croſſed the Seas before the juſt*

nativity

nativity of it, and ſaw the firſt light within his Majeſties Dominions, as alſo in regard of the high place you moſt deſervedly bear in the Church of God, I thought it my duty to crave your favour likewiſe; that as the birth of it hath been happy by your Graces *means, ſo the growth may accordingly proceed, and the fruit of both (which is to remove an erroneous opinion of the infallibility of this pretended Council) may conſtantly endure until the Worlds end.*

In publiſhing hereof, if my Pen hath not merited ſuch praiſe as others might, yet my deſire to benefit Gods Church hath not been wanting, and my zeal to ſerve your Grace, *in whatſoever I am able, ſhall never yield to any. Unto whom I wiſh (for the publick benefit of Church and Commonwealth, and for your own particular contentment) a perfect accompliſhment of all your pious and honourable deſigns.*

Your Grace's

moſt obliged to

do you ſervice,

NATHANAEL BRENT.

THE

CONTENTS.

1. THE *Life of Father* Paul *the* Venetian, *of the Order of the* Servi, *and Author of the Council of* Trent.

2. *The Hiſtory of the Council of* Trent, *containing eight Books.*

3. *An Epiſtle of* Gregory *the Firſt, Biſhop of* Rome *to* Maurice *the Emperour.*

4. *A paſſage of the Hiſtory of* Fr. Guicciardine *a* Florentine, *concerning Pope* Alexander VI. *left out of his third Book in the printed Copies.*

5. *A ſecond paſſage of the ſame Author, containing a large Diſcourſe of the means, whereby the Popes of* Rome *attained to their greatneſs, that they now enjoy, left out of the fourth Book.*

6. *A third paſſage of the ſame Author, left out of his tenth Book.*

7. *Certain paſſages out of the Letters of the Lords* de Lanſac, Pibrac, Ferrier, &c. *taken forth of the* Inſtructions, *and* Miſſives *of the Kings of* France, *and their Ambaſſadors ſent to the Council of* Trent, *Publiſhed in* French, *An.* 1608.

8. Andr. Dudithius, *Biſhop of* Quinque-eccleſiæ *in* Hungary, *his Teſtimony of the Council of* Trent, *in his Epiſtle to* Maximilian II. *Emperour.*

9. *An Epiſtle of Biſhop* Jewel *unto Seignior* Scipio, *a Senatour of* Venice, *touching the cauſes moving the Church of* England *to refuſe Communion with the Council of* Trent; *now firſt publiſhed according to the Original annexed.*

10. *The foreſaid Epiſtle of* Dudithius, *written by himſelf in Latin.*

11. *The Hiſtory of the* Inquiſition, *compoſed by the Reverend Father* Paul Servita, *Author of the Council of* Trent.

12. *An Alphabetical Table to the Hiſtory of the Council of* Trent.

THE

THE

LIFE

OF THE

MOST LEARNED

FATHER PAUL,

OF THE

ORDER of the *SERVI*,

COUNCELLOR of STATE to the moſt Serene REPUBLICK of *VENICE*,

And AUTHOR of the

HISTORY

OF THE

Council of Trent.

Tranſlated out of Italian by a Perſon of Quality.

LONDON,
Printed by *John Macock*, for *Samuel Mearne*, *John Martyn*, and *Henry Herringman*,
MDCLXXVI.

THE TRANSLATOR TO THE READER.

THou art here preſented in Engliſh with what hath been often printed and reprinted in a foreign Nation, a relation of the life and death of the famous Fryer, FATHER PAUL, of whoſe incomparable knowledge and prudence there needs no other teſtimony, than that the wiſe ſtate of Venice took him for their Oracle. In it thou ſhalt find his Judgment and Counſels to be ſo irrefragable, that his very ënemies durſt not enter an appeal againſt them, but to their own conviction and ſhame.

I may ſay of him, as 'twas ſaid of Adrianus Turnebus, that he not only knew more than others, but what he knew he knew better; (he knowing by cauſes, by definitions, by relations and practice) for as he that hath been twice or thrice in a mans company, may be ſaid to know him; yet he that knows him by his parentage from his youth and education even to his Age and Death, may ſay he knows him better.

And ſo indeed the faithful relatour of his life may be truly ſaid to have known the Father; who to the World was like the Center to the Circle that draws lines to it ſelf from all parts. Undique & undiquaque.

To the Reader.

Solomon *had wiſdom by Patent and loſt it : but that ſhalt here find*, that FATHER PAUL *ſeem'd to have wiſdom by habit, which never returned to privation; nature and induſtry, with a concomitance of ſupernal grace, having indued him with ſuch a proportion of* Knowledge, Juſtice, Temperance, *and* Humility, *that he may well paſs for a prodigie of wiſdom, inſomuch that I am ſtruck with an Admiration of finding theſe in ſo great a perfection in this one man, and again, that I find them in no more; and that where they are in any degree, yet they be (being compar'd to the* Fathers) *weak and defective.*

But to hold thee no longer in a Preface, they that have read the Council of Trent, *the Hiſtory of the* Inquiſition *and other his Writings (of which too many are kept in the Cabinets of Princes, and will never be made vulgar) may now if they pleaſe read the Man in what follows.*

I have this to add.

If the Traduction of this Story have made it ſelf obſcure by a too near purſuance of a literal ſence, wherein the Idioms of two ſo different languages as the Hetruſcan *and the* Engliſh *cannot be perfectly reconciled, that ought to be or now muſt be excuſed*

THE

THE LIFE OF FATHER PAUL, OF THE ORDER of the *SERVI*, AND Theologiſt of the moſt Serene REPUBLICK of *VENICE*.

PADRE PAOLO was born at *Venice*, in the year 1552. upon the Fourteeth of *Auguſt*, being known by the name of *Pietro*, but being of a very thin body, was by a nickname of the City called *Piernio*, or little *Peter*. His Father was *Franceſco di Pietro Sarpi*, originally by his Anceſtors of *Saint Vido*, and of the Province of *Friüli*. In *Venice* he exerciſed Merchandiſe, though with no great proſperity. He traffiqued alſo into *Soria*, but with no better fortune; He was a fierce man, addicted more to War than Merchandiſe; wherein he had ſucceſſes that brought him to a low condition: His Mother was a *Venetian*, of an honeſt City-family, called *Iſabella Morelli*, who died in the Contagion of the year 1576. I remember I have heard it of her, from ſome of the old Fathers of the Monaſtry *de Servi*, and from an old Couſin of hers in the fourth degree------yet living, who told it in merriment, that when the marriage was made betwixt *Franceſco* and her, it ſeemed by the diverſity of their conditions, a monſtrous thing to thoſe that underſtand not diſparity in Matrimony to be a great miſchief in the policy even of humanity it ſelf, and conſequently remedies, except it be by a Medicine worſe than the Diſeaſe, as we ſee among the *Barbarians* of *Canada*, and new *France*, and heretofore anciently in St. *Parta*. *Francis* was a man of a low ſtature, of a brown colour, and of a terrible aſpect. *Iſabella* was of great ſtature, of fair complexion, and of a countenance as humble, and gentle

gentle as 'twas poſſible. He was addicted to War, and deſiances, ſhe to faſting, and devotion. In which kind of life (after ſhe was ſet free by the death of her husband) ſhe proceeded ſo far, that receiving a religious habit, ſhe got a fame of ſingular ſanctity of ſpirit, and of prophecy. From whom as he took his complexion and favour (eſpecially in his eyes and face wherein he did marvellouſly reſemble her) ſo it ſeems alſo he had his principles of Religion, and ſingular piety from her.

The Father died leaving her a Widow with her Son *Peter* and a Daughter that was very young, which for Charity and Honeſty was taken into Education by a Brother of the Mothers being the chief Titular Prieſt of the Collegiate Convent of Saint *Hermagora*, upon which occaſion the Mother begun to have almoſt a perpetual converſation among thoſe immur'd Hermites of Saint *Hermagora*; where in her life and piety ſhe made afterwards great progreſſions.

This Prieſt and Brother *Ambroſio Morelli* was a man of grave and ſevere behaviour, and very learned in all kind of humane literature, whereof he kept a particular School to teach divers Noble mens Children both Grammar and Rhetorick. By the Mother and Uncle were fomented in *Peter* thoſe ſeeds of Piety, which after by Divine aſſiſtance grew up in proceſs of age, like that grain of Muſtard ſeed, to which our Saviour compared the Kingdom of Heaven, which is indeed the very piety towards God. But from his Uncle he received his firſt Rudiments, together with divers Gentlemen, of whom ſome are improved to an excellency of Learning; and become grave Senators, (as Signior *Andrea Moreſini*, that writer of the *Venetian* Hiſtory worthy of Eternal memory.) Others are yet living, and give witneſs of the felicity of the wit and abilities of Father *Paul*, of whom we now write, who by the diligence of a Maſter being his Uncle, became in ſhort time ſo great a proficient, that he was capable of the more ſolid Arts, and greater Sciences of Logick and Philoſophy. And the Prieſt *Ambroſio* having diſcovered in his Nephew a conjuncture which is ſeldom ſeen, of a great memory, with a profound judgment, thought fit to cheriſh the one and the other: becauſe exerciſe either improves, or diſpoſes for actions, and diſcovers, or otherwiſe takes away thoſe impediments which hinder the expreſſion of activity. And if mans wit ſeemed to that old Philoſopher to be *Campi Animati*, ſpirited Fields fit for divers ſeeds, and of unequal fecundity, or barrenneſs: The Prieſt was no leſs careful to apply his Wit to a right cultivation. Wherefore he daily exerciſed his judgment by keeping him to continual compoſings, holding him to more ſtrictneſs than was convenient for his childhood; eſpecially being of ſo weak a complexion; And exerciſed his memory not only by forcing him to repeat many things by heart, but ſome particulars upon the firſt hearing. The Fathers of the Convent obſerving in him a rare inclination to learning, reported ſtrange things of his memory. But he told them ſeriouſly, that in that way of exerciſe, his uncle had never made him exceed the repetition of a matter of thirty Verſes together out of *Virgil*, or ſome Author, after a running kind of reading once over. His carriage of himſelf even at that age, gave a true preſage of his future deportment, which we will rather call natural inclinations, the better ſort whereof he hath ſince raiſed to a great perfection, having corrected

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the reſt which were more imperfect by vertue, being in himſelf a meer retiredneſs, and of a ſemblant or mean, alwaies thoughtful, and rather Melancholick than ſerious, of a continued ſilence even with thoſe of his own age; alwaies in quiet, without being addicted to any of thoſe exerciſes, wherewith Children are by nature moſt pleaſed, (though but in a gentle motion, and only for preſervation of health.) A notable thing, and never obſerved in any other. And ſince then he hath kept himſelf ſo in the whole courſe of his life, being uſed to ſay upon occaſion, that he could never underſtand the delight of a Gameſter, except it were out of affection to *Avarice*. He knew not the pleaſures of the Palate, he never long'd for any Meat, but nouriſhed himſelf with ſo little Food, that it was a wonder how he could live; which courſe he hath conſtantly obſerved all his life long, and was never uſed to drink Wine till he was above thirty years of Age.

There dwelt at that time in the Convent of the Order of *Servi* one *Father John Maria Cappella* of *Cremona*, Doctor and Theologiſt, eſteemed one of the moſt conſummate and perfect men of his time in Religion, and a particular follower of *Scotus*, in whoſe Doctrine he had the fame to have had but few Equals. The nearneſs of their habitations bred an acquaintance betwixt *Ambroſio* and this Father, who upon this occaſion finding the prẽgnant wit of *Peter*, began to read Logick to him. And becauſe as ſome Soils are ſo fruitful, that upon every little Tillage, they exceed not only the hopes, but alſo the wiſhes of the Labourer; ſo it happened in a very ſhort ſpace that he made the like progreſſion, paſſing on to the Studies of Philoſophy and Theology, running before all expectation, and the Maſter confeſt himſelf that he could teach him no longer, becauſe it happened many times that the Scholar apprehending a different ſence from his Maſter, was able to maintain it with ſo much ſubtilty of reaſon, that he made him change his Opinion. Whereof among the Notes that are come to my hands, there are many particulars which I ſpare to relate. He began likewiſe in his Childhood to learn the Mathematicks according to the manner of the wiſe men of old times, with the Greek and Hebrew Tongues by the opportunity of eminent Maſters that lived at that time in *Venice*.

But by continual converſation and ſtudy among them he became deſirous to receive the habit of that Order of the *Servi*, either becauſe it ſeemed to him a life of more conformity to his inclination which was retir'd and contemplative, or otherwiſe being allured thereto by his Maſter.

It is the property of mans mind in all things that are come to effect, to ſeek no further than to the next cauſes, and particularly in thoſe wherein it is nearlieſt concerned, and ſo ſetling a judgment upon thoſe alone without regard to an inveſtigable number of other foregoing cauſes in a longer tract; reſolves thereupon to ground the cauſe of his fortune.

But the Divine Providence which orders all things by a connexion of cauſes and effects, guides us to higher conſiderations. The effects following leave us no place to doubt that it was a Divine compulſion, and a Divine vocation of *Peter* to render himſelf Religious, becauſe his Mother and his Uncle *Ambroſio* the Prieſt having oppoſed themſelves againſt him out of a deſire to make him a Prieſt of their Church, having already put him into the habit, yet he could not

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be removed from his firſt reſolution, neither by exhortation nor by conſtraint, whereof he ſuffered very much, and at laſt in the year 1566. the 24. of *November* he was received into the habit of the Religion of *Servi*: And to what height of Learning he was grown in his youth may be argued from hence. That (the day following) there being held an Annual and ſolemn diſputation in the Church of the *Father Minors* of St. *Francis*, called *Sancta Maria de frati*, he was ſent to diſpute againſt the Theſes that were then given in, where he put the company into admiration of his great and ſolid Spirit, and at the beginning of the Diſputations gave them a pretty occaſion to be merry, having forgot himſelf that he had changed his habit the day before, he did in thoſe actions of courteſie that are common among Diſputants (thinking to put off his Hat) pull off his Hood, and held it hanging in his hand. He continued his Novitiate in that Convent and his Studies under the ſame Maſter. And the Father *Benedetto Ferro* yet living and of his own Age, who lived with him in his Novitiate relates of him, That in his Childhood he was of great Retiredneſs, Silence, and Quietneſs, and that he was wont to withdraw himſelf from every childiſh Sport. And they ſpoke it of him as a common by-word, All we are for Trifles and Pamphlets, but *Fryer Paul* is for Books: And being now entred into the 17. year of his age, and ſettled in a ſtate of profeſſion, but yet ſilently according to thoſe times wherein the decree of the Council of *Trent* to that purpoſe was not yet put in execution (for all their regular orders continued with profeſſions as yet unexpreſt) the Council then intending to provide in that caſe, which was ſhortly made expreſs in *Cremona* in the hand of the General Maſter *Stephano Bonutio*, who was after Maſter Cardinal alone in the year 1572. about the tenth of *May*, he being then 20. years of age when the Congregation of the Order of the *Servi* Church (comprehended about 70. Monaſteries great and little, and was after raiſed and reduced into two Provinces, the one in *Venice*, the other in *Mantoua* by *Pius V.* and was governed by Vicars General) held a Chapter or general Congregation in the City of *Mantoua*. And it is the manner of ſuch Meetings of Religious men to put themſelves upon ſeveral vertuous exerciſes of preaching and diſputations, whither for the moſt part reſort men of greateſt eminency to honour the meetings, and to give a teſtimony that they have not ſpent their time in idleneſs, but in holy and laudable operations.

Fryer Paul, this young man, who (in his childhood) did ſo far exceed others of riper years in Sciences, was commanded to be one of thoſe, who (in that honourable concourſe) was to give a taſte of his vertue by anſwering and defending 118. of the moſt difficult propoſitions that were in Sacred Theology or Natural Philoſophy (which ſaid charge with how much felicity, with what acclamation and wonder was by him maintained before that venerable aſſiſtance, may be acknowledged by the ſucceſs thereof) But there lived at that time *Il ſereniſſimo* Duke *William* of *Mantoua*, of whoſe glorious memory we find ſo much written in Hiſtory. This Prince was a man of excellent parts, and ſo profoundly learned in the Sciences, that it was not eaſily diſcerned whether his prudence in Government, or his erudition in all the Sciences and Arts were the greater, even as low as Muſick. He had not his wit ſo confined, that while it was applied to learning, it abated any thing of what belonged to the wiſdom of gover-

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ving his People. There was a confluence to his Court (as of a moſt vertuous Prince and liberal *Mecenas*) from all parts, of ſuch as in the Sciences and Arts were of any note or excellency, and they were all received, favoured, and largely entertained; The Biſhop of *Boldrino* Paſtor of that Church moved by the example of ſo vertuous a Prince, endeavoured to do the like. His function was merely Eccleſiaſtick, which he attended with all poſſible piety, charity, and diligence, and among other things was careful to furniſh his Cathedral with a ſufficient Lecturer.

It was worth obſerving, that at the ſame time, the Duke taking notice of the great Learning of *Fryar Paulo*, made it his requeſt to the Superiours to receive him into the Family of the Monaſtery of *Saint Barnaby* of *Mantoua*, honouring him with the Title of his Chaplain; and alſo the Biſhop made him Reader in the Cathedral of Poſitive Divinity, of Caſes of Conſcience, and of the ſacred Canons. I ſhall not need to tell you with what wonder of all his Audience he diſcharged the place, for it may be eaſily believed. True it is, that for divers years, and even at this day, amongſt the old Fathers; there continues a fame at *Mantoua*, and it became a common ſaying, *Non veneramai in un Fra. Paolo.* There will never come more among us another Fryar *Paul.* At this time in *Mantoua* he learned the Hebrew Tongue to a greater perfection than he had done at *Venice.* But the occaſion of his converſation in Court, and of ſerving that Prince, made him ſee a kind of neceſſity of underſtanding the Hiſtories of the times, wherein he was in a ſhort time ſo great a Proficient, that without injury either to Times or Perſons I may lawfully ſay he was without parallel. In the ſtudy whereof he continued a courſe, which he likewiſe uſed in all his other Studies; which was, that when he encountred with any Hiſtory or Paſſage of Learning, or any Probleme or Theoreme, he would never give himſelf any intervals, but preſently either riſing from the Board, or from his Bed at midnight, or whenſoever applying himſelf wholly and indefatigably to the ſubject, would never take himſelf off, till he had ſeen whatſoever could be ſeen, which was by confronting of Authors, of Places, of Times, and of Opinions, and by a kind of pertinacity he would leave himſelf no occaſion to return again to that ſubject, but would be reſolved once for all, how far the knowledge of it could be carried. And his very intimate Friends would ſay of him, that in his riper age, ſitting down ſometime upon a Mathematical Problem, or any other Speculation, he would continue there in making Figures or Numbers a whole day, and a whole night together, without leaving it until he could ſay; *O, l'zó pur vinta opui non ci voglio penſare.* I have either overcome it, or elſe I'll think no more on't.

Divers accidents befell him during his abode in *Mantua*, where among other Converſations which he had in that City, he took the greateſt pleaſure in diſcourſing with *Camillo Olivo* who had been Secretary to *Hercules*, Cardinal of *Mantua* (that had been Legate in the Council of *Trent*) and commended him for a Perſonage of great Piety and Learning. But nevertheleſs a man that could not fly from his ill fortune, becauſe the Cardinal having incurred the indignation of *Pius Quartus* (for ſome things which concerned the Council) thoſe Crimes from which greatneſs had priviledged the Maſter, came to be charged upon the Servant; who by the Inquiſitors was much troubled, and kept long in Priſon, after the death

of the *Cardinal* his Lord, from whence although he had a free deliverance, becauſe the Pope himſelf lived not long after, yet he could never make his re-entry into the favour of the Court of *Rome*, and therefore lived a private life in *Mantua*. The chief pleaſure that *Fryar Paul* took in concourſing with him was: becauſe he found him a man of ſingular moderation, learned, and by being with the Cardinal at *Trent*, had had a great manage in thoſe actions: knowing the particularities of the moſt ſecret buſineſs, and had beſides many memorials in peruſal, whereof *Fryar Paul* took much delight; becauſe the conciliary action being newly diſſolved (which by ſo long a courſe of time had held all Chriſtendom in ſo much expectation) and (eſpecially men of high ſpirit and intellectuals) in whom it begot a great curioſity to know how things had really paſt, of all which he had taken Notes with his own hand. He had likewiſe a very near familiarity with the Father Inquiſitor, of the Dominican Order, *Fra. Gilolemo Bernerio da Correggio*, who was after made Card. of *Aſcoli* by *Sixtus V.* of the Congregation of the holy Office, and Protector of the Order of the *Servi*, with whom he continued ſervitude till his death.

How much he eſteemed *Fryar Paul*, ſhall be mentioned hereafter where it may be more neceſſary. All perſons of Learning that came to that Court, had a deſire to confer with him, becauſe he was already gotten ſo forward in all the Sciences, that he did not only give all men ſatisfaction, but left them with ſo much wonder of his profoundneſs in every thing (being yet but young) as if he had been verſt in that alone, and applyed himſelf to nothing elſe. And the ſervice of that Prince ſeemed to require no leſs. Becauſe as perſons of divers Profeſſions reſorted to his Court, ſo he was deſirous that his Chaplains ſhould treat and hold argument with all men of all things that fell into diſcourſe. And he himſelf would ever propound ſome extravagant queſtion, and at publick diſputations, where he would appear ſometime unexpected. He uſed to command *Fra. Paul* to argue to ſome concluſion, wherein it was impoſſible he ſhould be premeditated. As among others at one time (which may ſerve for an example of many) in a Theological Theſis, that Chriſt our Lord dyed at the age of three and thirty, being a ſubject to puzle any indifferent Wit. But *Fryar Paul* with confronting the Evangeliſts by their *Eaſter*, as if under his eye he had had the whole concordance of the Goſpel, and with ſome allegations out of *Euſebius*, did to the wonder of all that underſtood him, reduce his Reſpondent to ſo narrow a ſtrait, that he was driven to ſay of *Euſebius*, *Hiſtoria eſt non vera narratio*, whereat the Duke breaking into a laughter, replyed, Father, thoſe of *Saint Alexis* of the living and of the dead, are Hiſtories to you, and ſuch like as are ſold by the Mountebanks. And ſo in a kind of whiſpering and jearing the Diſputation was broke up.

Nature at ſome certain times produceth Wits that are apt for any particular Science; as in many Ages after we ſee not the like again. Many ſuch and very famous ones have been in former times. In this of ours *Vieta* in the *Algebra*, *Gilberto* in the Speculations of the Magnetick Vertues, *Galileo* in his knowledge of the Motions. The brain of *Fra. Paul* ſeemed to have a rare excellency in all theſe: but in the Mathematiques it was a thing incomparable, becauſe whatſoever remains of Antiquity, or of Modern Writers, was but the leaſt part of what he knew. He was no leſs curious to know all that had

had been ſaid of the Aſtrologiques, the vanity and inutility thereof he did always, and abſolutely deſpiſe, becauſe things in futurity either cannot be known, or cannot be avoided. But not long before his going from *Mantua* there happened a pretty accident. The Duke who willingly interpoſed the pleaſures of wit and facetiouſneſs with the grave cares of his Government, tempering wiſely his troubles with Joviality of words and actions, had in his Stable (whereof by the Example of his Anceſtors, he kept a Race of ſo great eſteem, that it is reported that at the Battle of *Pavy* 1525. *Francis* the Firſt King of *France* was there mounted upon a Horſe which had been given him, by the Marqueſs of *Mantua*; and *Charles* the Fifth in his Wars made uſe of another of the ſame Race which was beſtowed on him;) I ſay this Duke *William* had a Mare that was with Fole of a Mule, and being near the time of her foling, he deſired *Fra. Paolo* to beſtow a Nights ſtudy with Aſtronomical Inſtruments, that the Horoſcope, and the natale Minute of the Beaſt might be known, with the ſituation of the Heavens, and the poſture of the Stars at that time: which being done and reduced into the form of a Figure or Apoteleſm, the Prince cauſed Copies to be ſent abroad to all the famous Aſtrologers of *Europe*, as well in *Italy* as in other places, with this declaration; that at ſuch an Inſtant of time a Baſtard was born in the Dukes Houſe; and I can very well tell that a good while after the Prince made himſelf merry to read the Judgments that came from divers parts. One would have this Baſtard to be a Cardinal; others, that he ſhould be a great Commander; others, that it prognoſticated Triumphs, or Mitres, even as high as the very Pontificate.

There came rumour which got ſome credit, and is not yet extinct: That *Fra. Paolo* taking diſcontent at this action, was willing to leave the Prince's ſervice, fearing leſt at ſome time or other by the Capricio's of the Princes brain, a worſe encounter might befal him: and to ſay truth, *Fryar Paul* commended much the excellency of the Prince's wit; but withal had obſerved ſome toyiſh fancies wherewith he was too much pleaſed. But he himſelf hath ſeriouſly affirmed, that this was no cauſe of his departure, nor yet the Example of another Fryar of the ſame Order called *Cornelio da Codomo*, who being likewiſe entertained by the Duke, had incurred his diſpleaſure, and was put in Priſon, from whence he made his eſcape, leaving a general opinion by the great means that were uſed to catch him again, that he meant to put him to death. But hath always rather confirmed it; That the Duke had all the reaſon in the World. And the Duke did honour him ſo much as to give him an account of the buſineſs and the Writing it ſelf which is extant, (and I have ſeen it) which moved this Great Prince to ſo juſt a diſdain (and this it was) That when the Cardinal *Hercules de Gonſaga* dyed, a certain young man that qualified himſelf to be his Son, not conceiving that he had quick juſtice done him by the Magiſtrates in the execution of certain goods pretended to belong to him, did in the form of a ſupplication deliver the Duke a real and famous Libel, taxing him to be an Uſurper and an unjuſt Tyrant, threatning him with Divine revenge, and citing him before the Tribunal of God, whereupon being impriſoned, he confeſt that it was *Cornelio da Codomo* that had formed that ſcandalous Writing.

Fame bore it out, that theſe two were the cauſes of his departing the Court, to which the courſe of Time gave ſo much credit, that it is

yet received for a Truth among the elder ſort, though it were undoubtedly falſe. But the true cauſe of his departure (which he made with the Princes favour and approbation) was, becauſe that a Court life was ſo abſolutely averſe to his Genius, and his fame in Religion made him to be perpetually importuned by his Friends and Superiors, who had a deſign to make uſe of his Labours in their Profeſſion. Fryar *Paul* had added to his Learning ſuch an integrity of Religious carriage, that being but a very young Man he was had in Reverence of all Men as an Idea of Modeſty, of Piety, and all other Virtues both Chriſtian and Moral. Some things may ſeem Paradoxes, but they are ſo well known, and have ſo great a Teſtimony from men yet living, that he that ſhould go about to queſtion any of them muſt needs have put on a Vizard of impudency, poyſoning his tongue with untruth, and his corrupted heart with malignity of paſſion.

Let Fryars ſpeak, let ſo many Senators witneſs, whether *Fra. Paolo* were ever heard to ſwear by his Faith, or ſpeak an unſeemly word, or ever ſeen to be angry: yet theſe are not the only ſingularities of his later times, when he was a Servant to the State of *Venice*; but theſe and others have been in him from his youth in ſuch a perfection, that he never had any publick correction as was uſual with others of Religious Orders. He was never reprehended for ſpeaking an undecent word, nor doing an unbeſeeming act. It was a marvellous thing how in ſo young a Man that had not exceeded the age of twenty two, ſo many Sciences (in ſo high a degree) ſhould be united; beſides thoſe that are ordinary in them that live in Cloyſters are (after literature of humanity) the Logick, Philoſophy, and Theology. But to thoſe, he had alſo joyned the knowledge of the Laws, perfectly of the Common-Law, and more than meanly of the Civil, all the Mathematicks and Medicine, the knowledge of Simples, of Herbs, or of Plants, of Minerals, with their Tranſmutations, a ſufficient underſtanding of divers Tongues, beſides the Latine, the Greek, the Hebrew, and the Chaldean. All which Learning together would have had ſomething of monſtrous in it, though it had been found in a maturer Age, but from the holineſs of his converſation, he received ſuch a ſplendour, that even in that Spring of his years he did prognoſticate what ſtore and perfection of Fruit might be expected from him: if it ſhould pleaſe God to reſerve him for further times. Although it be as true, that the knowledge alone of all that which Humane Underſtanding can raiſe it ſelf to, makes not a man perfect, though it may render him admired; Nay the Devils themſelves are known for their great wiſdom, and have a name of mighty knowledge. But goodneſs is that which gives the Form, Piety, Religion, and the Vertues of the mind are the Soul of this Body. And the accumulation of Sciences, and probity made this Religious young man ſo venerable, and (I may ſay) ſo Majeſtical, that as it is a Cuſtom in *Venice* among the noble and ingenuous youth, that if any of them be not ſo decent in their habit, or that they be of a leſs modeſty in diſcourſe or carriage, than they ought to be, yet when they appear before the firſt Senator, they are careful to put themſelves into their beſt habit and poſture, ſo in this Order of the Religion of *Servi* (for even among the Religious, eſpecially thoſe of the younger ſort, are not always under Rule, nor as we ſay with their Bows bended,) yet at the appearance of *Fra. Paolo* they were all compoſed, reducing themſelves to a more ſeriouſneſs of behaviour, ſetting aſide both ſport and jovialty, as if his only preſence had been the Black Rod; whereupon

whereupon it became a Proverb among them, whenſoever he was preſent or appeared, *E qua ſpoſa la mutiamo propoſito*, Let us change our diſcourſe, here comes the Bride. Such power hath the preſence of a Man of known probity and innocency; even over the behaviour of others: yet nevertheleſs he was ſo pleaſing, ſo humble with all men, that hitherto I have not known that Man that could ſay (except when he was in the Publick Employment) that he had received a ſharp word, or ſeen a geſture from him expreſſing rigour to others, although (with himſelf) he were moſt ſevere.

Being conſecrated Prieſt at the age of 22. he ſeemed to encreaſe the ſtrictneſs of his retiredneſs, and to be more intenſe upon the actions of Piety and Meditation. During which age and a good while after, he had never taſted Wine, except it were at the Celebration. His food was ſo ſparing, that for the moſt part he fed but upon Bread and Fruit; of Fleſh he had very little uſe till he was paſt 55, ſaying, that he abſtained, or taſted very little, becauſe his Complexion would not bear it, but make him ſick, and becauſe it bred him much head-ach. He went at that age to *Milan*, and it happened in a time when *Cardinal Boromeo* (at this day *Saint Carlo*) was in the fervour of the Reformation of that Church, and in particular reduced the Confeſſors by a rigorous zeal to ſo ſmall a number (which either was becauſe he found them very ignorant, or underſtood of great abuſes committed in the adminiſtrations of Penitence, whereof he clearly purged their Churches.) This great Paſtor had found the means to know the conditions, the life and quality of the Cloiſters, as it appeared by ſo many that took their heels, and tarried not for his judgment. It may be well imagined what intelligence he held with *Padre Paolo* whom he ſent for, and againſt his inclination made him hear Confeſſions, making uſe of him not only in the Church of his own Order, but in others (as it was needful) and took great affection to him, being much pleaſed with his company. He would always be preſent at the moſt difficult diſcuſſions of Caſes of Conſcience and other Conſultations upon divers accidents, where the Opinion of the moſt Learned Divines were had, and would often make him ſtay to dine with him in his Refectory; becauſe that *Cardinal* in imitation of thoſe ancient holy Paſtors, *Ambroſe*, and others, did frequently make a common life and Table with thoſe of his Clergy.

At that time, and before his departure from the Province of *Mantua* by that of *Venice*, as it is an ordinary thing, that how vertuous and innocent ſoever a Man be, he cannot be without trouble and emulation; being complained of to the holy Office of Inquiſition by one *Maeſtro Claudio Piacentino his Contemporary*, but one that was unable to raiſe himſelf by his ſtudy and vertue to that credit which *Padre Paolo* had, and therefore thought to equalize him by pulling him down. But it proved much to his own diſadvantage, becauſe howbeit the Inquiſitor received the accuſation, and formed the Proceſs, yet in fine, the Father would not anſwer, but appealed to *Rome* about the formation of the Proceſs, whither (the cauſe being called) after many Writings and Reſcripts, It was concluded, that the Inquiſitor ſhould have a heavy reprehenſion with a *taxation* of *ignorance*. And indeed it could not well be otherwiſe: The accuſation being that the Father, who well underſtood the Hebrew Tongue, had maintained that from the firſt Chapter of *Geneſis* the Article of the moſt holy Trinity could not be deduced; whereupon he oppoſed the Judge, not only becauſe he agreed with his Accuſer, but becauſe he was not able to judge the Cauſe,

Cauſe, as having no knowledge of the Hebrew Tongue. And as ſoon as the Cauſe was ſeen at *Rome*, it was thrown out of the Court, without ſo much as calling the Father to be examined, but only by giving a check to the Inquiſitor. In this very time there was added to his natural weakneſs two other infirmities, which he hath endured for many years; becauſe living (as we have ſaid) with an extream ſlenderneſs of Diet, and drinking nothing but water, and many days not at all; and when thirſt invited him, he went to the Pit, and drank only once, and thereupon fell into ſuch a coſtiveneſs, that although it may ſeem ſtrange, yet it is very true, that ordinarily he ſtayed three days, ſometimes a whole week, before thoſe natural parts which are deſigned to expel the Excrements could do their office, and with ſo much more pains, becauſe it was accompanied with the Diſeaſe of *Hemorrhoids;* which by the long and violent force bred the falling down of the ſtraight Gut, accompanied with a Flux from the Liver, which hath remained with him even to his old age. Upon this occaſion begun the Preſcripts of Phyſicians (with whom he converſt rather to diſcourſe of their Art, than to make uſe of their Receipts, having formerly made a good progreſs in that Science, wherein he became marvellouſly excellent,) and among other things it was an exhortation of his Friends to perſwade him to drink Wine. But to that he never rendred himſelf, till after the thirtieth year of his age, nor then but with much averſneſs; nor ever in forty one years which he lived after, could he take any liking to Wine, except it were White, and that only for the reſemblance it hath to Water, and amongſt other things which he ſaid he had repented himſelf of in his life time, this was one, that he had been perſwaded to drink Wine.

Natural affections may be ſometime moderated, but I can hardly believe that they are ever extinguiſht. There are very few Men that have been able to command themſelves: But peradventure it will not be eaſie to find any one, who generally and upon all occurrents was more a Patron, and Commander of his affections than he. If once his judgment preceeded, nothing was ever ſufficient to remove his reſolution, no kind of meat could ever move his appetite, if he thought it dangerous, nor Phyſick would he take, otherwiſe than he took delightful food, if he believed it to be good for him. And ſo in all other things, yet nevertheleſs he was uſed to ſay, that he never overcame any thing with more difficulty, than forſaking Water to drink Wine. But partly by his complexion, which was of an incredible meagerneſs, and partly by his additional infirmities, he could never be made believe, that he could live a year to an end. This is witneſſed by all thoſe that were his Familiars, that if he did not compute every day for the laſt, yet at leaſt he computed every year, contrary to thoſe that uſe to ſay, There is none ſo old, that he may not hope for a year of life: And he ſaid, he never remembred himſelf ſo young, that he could hope for a years life. To this it may be added that he having made a progreſs above all belief in his ſtudies, whereunto he was ſo devoted that very few days paſt in his private life, wherein he ſtudied not eight hours, although he would never write any thing for publication until he were conſtrained by a publick neceſſity. And in his actions among his Friends (as they themſelves would ſay) he never appeared active nor reſolute, but cold and reſerved, becauſe he that hath no hope of life, ſeldom applies himſelf to actions of any great conſequence. And nevertheleſs the Affairs of his own Province, and the

the inſtance of his Friends, were able to call him back to his own Country in *Venice*, and his Province, where immediately, all thoſe that were of greater years giving place to an eminency of vertue, and integrity, more to be admired than related; he being already gone through all thoſe degrees which the Laws of his Order had appointed; of Student, of Batchelor, of Maſter, (which is the Title of the Doctorates in Theology) and being a year before that, aggregated to that moſt famous College of *Padua*, was with univerſal applauſe 1579. created Provincial, (with this addition that he ſhould govern the Study as Regent) for ſo they call the Readers of the ſacred Theology.

That great Prince, who at his death deſired an applauſe from his Friends that ſtood about him, gave us to underſtand, that in every Vocation whoſoever carried himſelf well ſhould not be defrauded of his due commendation. The Dignities among Religious Men, being conſidered either by their profit, or their ſplendour, are not things to be ſtood upon; but to ſuſtain the change of them with a due charity and prudence, is more than can be performed by many. In theſe things, *Padre Paolo* chalkt out a way to his Succeſſors, by which they might arrive at their end with great reputation. In matters of judgment he gave them all an eſſay of an inflexible rectitude, and that which he ſtrictly obſerved all his life long, was never to receive a donative (how little ſoever) never to admit any other proceeding in matter of Juſtice but with acceleration, and expedition. No Judgment of all thoſe of his (which were innumerable) were at the inſtance of any higher judgment, found fit to be repealed. And I ſhall ſay this particular more by way of anticipation, that the Cardinal *Santa Severina* (for Reaſons that may be alledged) ſhewing himſelf very violent, that certain Sentences which the Father had given againſt ſome that were forward in the Cardinals favour might be retracted, and having cauſed the proceedings to be well compared with the relations of his Auditors, was conſtrained to confeſs, that in point of juſtice it could not be otherwiſe, nor better determined.

In his Government he baniſhed all Factions, and particularities. None had ever cauſe to complain of him, except it were ſome indifferent Friends, that promiſed themſelves more of his Friendſhip than they had reaſon.

He left his Province with ſuch Orders and Cuſtoms as (if they had been obſerved) had prevented a greater deal of inconvenience, wherewith they have been ſince afflicted. This (as the beginning of his Employments diſcovered a fraught age of prudence in the manage of buſineſs, and dexterity of Government, which (with age) was increaſed in him to ſuch an excellency; that in ſo great an heap and innumerable number of Affairs that paſſed through his hands, none were ſo involved in difficulty, but that his more than humane wit found a way to the head of it, either to diſſolve it, or to ſhew that it was inextricable. And as it is reported of ſome famous Chirurgeons, that where they ſet to their fortunate hands, no wound proved incurable; ſo to him, there were brought from all ſorts of people the moſt ardeous buſineſſes, with this confidence, that either he would preſently find out the knot, or that no man elſe could ever have the hope to do it. And although it have ſeemed to ſome, that his inclination ſtood rather to ſeverity and rigour, than to clemency or ſweetneſs, yet that proceeded rather becauſe he was of a ſerious and retired diſpoſition,

diſpoſition, than any way facile or jovial. But he was really of ſo compaſſionate a Nature, that he would neither do injury himſelf to any, nor ſuffer another to do it. And this, either goodneſs of Nature, or tenderneſs of Affection, had ſo rooted it ſelf in his Soul in his graver age, that as it chances not only in natural things, but in his Affections (above all other) the exceſs whereof had not only extended his compaſſion towards Men, but to all other ſorts of Creatures: Inſomuch as his Nature could not indure that any thing ſhould be grieved or moleſted. And if it had been needful to kill any of thoſe Creatures with his own hand, which God had appointed for food and ſuſtenance of life, true it is, that in the latter years of his life (excepting a great neceſſity) he would rather have abſtained and faſted. But becauſe he had formerly cut in pieces a number of living Creatures with his own hands to make Anatomies, whenſoever he fell into the occaſion of that diſcourſe, he ſeemed to reſent it with a kind of compaſſionate diſpleaſure and reluctance: And if in diſcourſe or writing, he ſeemed at any time more punctual in matter of juſtice, nothing being able to make him decline from the ſtrict courſe (blaming often the too great mildneſs of punitive Juſtice) as an occaſion of much and many abuſes: yet withal, if it had concerned himſelf to adminiſter it, I am very well aſſured that in all his Governments, and many years Super-intendence of his Province, you would rather have diſcovered in him a defect of rigour than of mercy.

But in the adminiſtration of his own Charge, what a reputation of Integrity, Piety, and Prudence, and of every Vertue he had gained to himſelf, it may be gathered from hence. He was made Provincial of his Order at the end of the twenty ſixth year of his age, which was never conferred upon any ſo young as he, by any Information that I could receive neither before nor ſince, in 340 years that this Order of the *Servi* had had a beginning. In this year of 1579. there was held a General Chapter of the whole Order in *Parma*, and becauſe about ten years before, by many Statutes made at divers times, and by the Popes themſelves, concerning Secular Fryars, as alſo by the Council of *Trent*, it was reſolved to be neceſſary to make new Conſtitutions and Rules for the Government of the whole Order. It was therefore decreed at that Chapter, for the deferring no longer of ſo good a work, that three of the moſt Learned, Pious, and Prudent Men, ſhould be choſen out of all the Order of that Religion to execute a buſineſs of ſuch importance, as every one well underſtands that to be who knows what belongs to Government. One of theſe was *Padre Paolo*, who was but a Youth in reſpect of the venerable and hoary hairs of the other two. Upon this occaſion he tarried a good while at *Rome*, where he made a diſcovery of his moſt rich Talent to the Cardinal *Alexander Farneſe* Protector, and to the other *Santa Severina* Vice-Protector of the Order. The Charge that was particularly laid upon him, was to accommodate that part which concerned the ſacred Canons, the Reformations by the Council of *Trent* which were but newly come forth, and the Forms of their Judgments. All the work lay upon the three that were deputed, but becauſe he had a more exquiſite knowledge of the Canon and Civil-Laws, and of the Conciliary Determinations, the buſineſs of that particular was wholly remitted to him; and he alone gave Form to that whole part which treated of Judgments in accommodation to the Clauſtral ſtate, and that with ſo much brevity, clearneſs, and profundity, that thoſe Judges that were ſo knowing and only exerciſed in matters of Judicature, have admired

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it as the action of one that had conſumed his age in nothing but ſtudy of the Laws of that Order. And it is an argument to convince the errour of thoſe that believe, that they which give themſelves moſt to the ſtudy of Sciences, are thereby rendered unable for Government and Policy. It being an errour every way as groſs as it is pernicious. Whereof we ſhall give a lively example in the following courſe of the Life of Father *Paul*.

But leaving at *Rome* (by the occaſion of this employment) a great fame of his Knowledge, and Prudence, not only in the Courts of theſe two Cardinals, (from whom by order expreſt in the Apoſtolical Brief of *Gregory* the thirteenth, it was appointed, that all Statutes which were made ſhould receive approbation; for it was ſometimes neceſſary to reſort to, and treat with the Pope himſelf; From which burthen being now diſcharged,) he returned to his own Government.

When he had ended this Charge of Provincialſhip, and eaſing his ſhoulders of ſo great a Weight, he entred into ſome more quietneſs, which he ſaid was all the repoſe he enjoyed in the whole courſe of his Life, becauſe nothing fell out in his Government, wherein the evils were not well diſcerned, or elſe were grown tolerable without Factions or Diſcontentments. And as a weary man reliſheth his reſt with more ſweetneſs; ſo for three whole years he gave himſelf to nothing but Speculations of Natural Things. And his knowledge in them being grown to ſome perfection, he paſt further to Operations with his own hand, in the tranſmutation and diſtillation of all ſorts of Mettals. Not that he was ever toucht with the vanity of the poſſibility of making Gold, or that he thought a diſcreet man could any way engage himſelf in ſuch an enquiry. Of this it may be an argument, that at that time (for many Months together) there continued in *Venice* (after he had travelled *Italy*, and deluded ſo many Princes and Prelates) that famous Impoſtor *Mamugna*, who was believed to make Gold, which expreſt very well the ſenſe of *Diogenes* when he ſaid (he did not ſegregate from the Vulgar, no not Kings themſelves) Becauſe into that Credence, or rather into that Comedy, the Vulgar did not only ruſh with ſuch an exceſs of confidence, that they called all Men Miſcreants that did not believe the making of Gold. Yea Cardinals, Princes, the Pope himſelf, *Sixtus Quintus* ſo great a Prince, and of ſuch Knowledge and Experience, had given out that he would queſtion the State of *Venice*, for giving protection to ſuch an Impoſtor, if his Knavery were not diſcovered. The Father *Paul* made it always a matter of Jeſt, and to ſome of his Friends that would have carried him to the Experiment, he always anſwered, that if he ſhould do ſo, they would not only repute him inconſtant, but eſteem him for a very Fool. And among his intimate Friends (with whom he had conference concerning this Impoſtor) were ſome Gentlemen, who relying upon the Fathers judgment, were the Inventors of a Maſquerade to expreſs his opinion. One clothing himſelf like the *Mamugna*, in a Boat with Fire and Coals, and Bellows, and Glaſſes, and other Chymical Tools went about the City crying, *Al Mamugna Atre lire il ſoldo del loro fino*, Who buys a ſhillings worth of fine pure Gold for Ninepence! And one of theſe is at this day a moſt excellent Senator of *Venice*, whoſe ſingular Life and Vertue deſerves a recommendation upon a better occaſion. The Father uſed to mock thoſe that told him they had ſeen him make Gold,

and would always ſay, why now we ſhall ſee what the *Chaus* had wont to ſay. There being at that time in *Venice* one of thoſe *Nuntius* that came from *Conſtantinople* about Affairs, whom they called a *Chaus*, and this *Chaus* having heard of this man that he made Gold, made no anſwer to it (but by a Laconical brevity which is uſual with that Nation) *Il gran ſignore dunque verra aſervirlo.* If you make Gold, the great Turk ſhall come to be your Servant. And the Father who ſo willingly held argument with any that profeſt diſtillations, could not be ſatisfied how the humour of Gold could be made entrant, becauſe all his exerciſe was only for the knowledge of Nature. Wherein the great Phyſicians of our Age can teſtifie the greatneſs of his experience, and of the many things of his finding out, which were communicated to others of that Profeſſion, wherewith they have honoured themſelves; there being no admired effect, no occult property, nothing either written or experimented, which he had not either ſeen or examined. And beyond humane belief he was verſt in all the things of thoſe Arts, inſomuch as men thought he had employed his whole Life in nothing elſe.

About that time and long after he exerciſed himſelf in the Anatomy of all ſorts of Creatures, and for the moſt part of living Creatures which he uſed to cut up himſelf: particularly the Anatomy of the Eye, wherein he was ſo perfect, that *Aqua-pendente* did not diſdain to alledge in his reading, nor in his printed Book, the authority of Father *Paul.* And that famous Man when he ſpake of him, he ſpake as of the Oracle of that Age. Beſides other Learning, he was much verſt in the knowledge of the propriety of Simples, of the nature of Minerals, inſomuch as in thoſe Profeſſions whatſoever he knew not, was not cognoſcible. But ſuch as are well informed of the truth, have made it a rational wonder, that as *Aqua-pendente* in his Tractat *de Viſu* ingenuouſly confeſſeth, that he had learned from him the manner whereby in the Cryſtalline humour viſion is made by refraction, and that he was the firſt Obſerver that the tunicles of the Eyes were dark and thick (as all the reſt) but that they only became diaphanous and tranſparent by being continually drencht, and moiſtened with a clear humour, as the nature of Caverns in Mountains and Rocks renders the Earth tranſparent, which is of it ſelf moſt dark and dusky by a continual irrigation (as we may ſee in Pebbles and Flint-ſtones.) And moreover how infuſion by Art makes bark of Trees and Shells and Roots tranſlucid, which of themſelves are of darkneſs and denſity. So the whole Tractate concerning the Eye which paſſeth under the name of *Aqua-pendente*, or at leaſt ſo much as contains new and rare Speculations and Experiments, is the work of *Padre Paolo*, whereof I have had ſpeech with ſome that were Eye-witneſſes, and knew that a due part of the praiſe was not attributed to him that deſerved it all. But much more in another matter of more moment, which was the finding out of thoſe *Valvulæ*, thoſe inward ſhuts or folds that are within the Veins. Of which Argument I do not find, that any, either Ancient or Modern hath made mention, becauſe it was a thing unthought of till theſe times that *Aqua-pendente* moved the Queſtion at a Publick ANATOMY. But there are ſtill living many eminent and Learned Phyſicians, among which are *Santorio* and *Pietrou Aſſelineo* a French-man, which knew that it was no SPECULATION nor invention of *Aqua-pendente* but of the FATHERS, who conſidering the gravity and weight of the Blood,

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grew into opinion that it could not ſtay in the Veins, except there were ſome bunch to hold it in, ſome folds or ſhuttings, at the opening and cloſing of which there was given a paſſage and neceſſary *Æquilibrium* to life. And upon his own natural judgment he ſet himſelf to cutting with more exquiſite obſervation, whereupon he found out thoſe *Valvulæ*, and the right uſe of them, which do not only ſtop and hinder the Blood from dilating it ſelf by his weight into the Veins (as we obſerve in ſome crooked and ſwell'd knots,) but alſo that Blood running up and down with ſo much liberty, and in ſo great quantity, it might eaſily ſuffocate the natural heat of thoſe parts which ought to receive their nouriſhment from it. And in conſequence he made diſcovery, that the Athletick Habit, in his judgment, and according to *Hippocrates (bonitatis ſummum attingit)* had no other cauſe of being ſo dangerous and deadly, but becauſe the Blood being in ſo great a quantity in the Veins, might hinder the uſe of thoſe *Valvulæ*, whereby of neceſſity followed ſuffocating for want of ventilation. Of this he gave account to ſome Friends of that Profeſſion, and eſpecially to *Aqua-pendente*, who made very great uſe of it in a publick Anatomy, after which divers famous Authors have written much upon that ſubject.

But methinks I ſee always the very geſture of the good *Aſſelenio*, who when he takes occaſion to ſpeak of the Father, lifts up both his hands, ſhrugs his ſhoulders, and hanging his head on one ſide (to ſpeak it in a kind of a French Phraſe,) *Oh how many things have I learned of* Padre Paolo *in Anatomy, in Minerals, and Simples! This is a pure ſoul in which there ſhines a candour, an excellency of nature, and an ignorance of doing any thing but well.* A Father being a moſt famous Phyſician of *Orleans*, had a Son whom he had deſigned to be of his own Profeſſion, and bred him in ſuch a way, that at nine years practice he begun to work in diſtillations. And although in Phyſick and Anatomy he be ſecond to very few, yet I believe him to be before all others in the knowledge of Simples, of Minerals, and of their Vertues and Uſes for Mans Body. He came very young into *Italy*, being ſent thither by his Father to be withdrawn from the danger of the Civil Wars in *France* which were then very violent. And being come to *Venice*, he fell in love with the place as a Country of benignity to all Travellers, and had no mind to leave the place, where he exerciſed the Profeſſion of Phyſick, rather as a Friend with his Friends, than for gain, having done many Cures that were miraculoas when he wrought alone, but not willing to ſhew his Talent among others, becauſe by Nature he was averſe from contending or making any oſtentation. This man from his very arrival took converſation with the Father, which hath continued with a moſt holy Friendſhip preſerved betwixt them for eight and thirty years. And he more than any other can ſpeak of the Fathers wondrous knowledge in the foreſaid Profeſſion, and of things by him invented, whereof an entire Volume might be written.

But being not like to continue long in this holy and virtuous quietneſs; the fame of his prudence and hability of Government, after three years drew him away (and as I may ſay) from that Garden of ſpiritual delights, into a thorny Field of toil and wearineſs of ſpirit and body, and at a General Chapter he was by common conſent created Procurator of the Court, called Proctor general.

This is the ſupreme Dignity of that Order under the General, and

in thoſe times that Religion flouriſhed with Learned Men, none were aſſumed into that Order except Men of exquiſite prudence, (but the Charge bears with it a neceſſity to defend all the variances and controverſies at *Rome*, that are promoted in all the Religion, beſides the neceſſities of appearing in all Courts and Congregations to maintain the Cauſes that are brought to the Court) and of ſingular Learning, to be able to pray before the Pope upon dayes that are deſigned to that Order. And becauſe the Proctors of Court are much employed by the Popes in the Congregations, as in reading a publick Lecture upon Wiſdom.

In theſe three years that he dwelt in *Rome*, beſide that incomparable prudence wherewith he treated of matters of Religion, there was known to be in him a great aptneſs to greater things, and by Order from the Pope himſelf he entred into divers Congregations, where there was occaſion to diſcourſe in occurrent actions, upon important difficulties of Doctrine. At which Meetings he came to know and take intimate acquaintance with Father *Bellarmine*, who was often preſent, and was afterward a Cardinal; whoſe friendſhip continued even to the end of his Life. He knew there likewiſe the Doctor *Navarro*, who was then at *Rome* about that famous Cauſe of the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, and he was wont to tell, with a great deal of delight, that he had many times had diſcourſe with one of the ten Companions of Father *Ignatius* who then lived. And I believe it was Father *Bobadiglia*, wherein I ſhould be ſorry to be miſtaken. Only it is remembred that he found him often doing his exerciſe in certain remote places, and that he ſeemed to be full of holy ſimplicity, and that he told him freely at one time, that it was never the mind of the Father *Ignatius*, that his Company ſhould be reduced to what they were now, and if he returned into the World he ſhould not know them, being become a quite other thing, and ſo much changed from what he left them.

How he behaved himſelf towards the Cardinal *Santa Severina* Protector, appears in this, that he alone among ſo many that were employed, went away in his good grace and favour, which was no ſmall matter with a Prelate of his diſpoſition, who was uſed to call thoſe that went according to his byaſs, without contradiction, poor ſpirited Fellows and Flatterers, and thoſe that made lively oppoſition againſt him, and ſpake their mind undauntedly, them he hated for being too free and inſolent. But above all he was entred ſo far into the grace of *Cardinal Cuſtagna*, who was after Pope, by the name of *Urban* the Seventh, and ſucceeded *Sixtus* V. that he was infinitely pleaſed with him. And 'tis very like that this Prelate (being of a more than Humane meekneſs, of Life moſt innocent, and for his carriage irreprehenſible) the ſimilitude of their diſpoſitions might be the cauſe of uniting their affections. The Father never viſited him, but by the chearfulneſs of his Face he might diſcern that his viſit was ſo much the more accepted, by how much it was more frequent. And after his going from *Rome*, he alwayes continued to be his Servant. The ſhort time that he lived in the Pontificate, which was only thirteen dayes, gave no aſſurance how his favour would have continued to the Father after his Aſſumption to that Throne; for this very opinion that he had of the Father to be a Subject of ſo incomparable Learning and Ability (I have this teſtimony from one that was preſent, when the news was brought him of his death) that he ſaid without any ſhew of alteration,

ration, *Ideo raptus eſt ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus.* He had once occaſion to go to *Naples* to ſit Preſident as Vicar General at the Chapters, and to make the Viſitation, where he grew acquainted with that famous Wit *Gio. Battiſta Porta*, who in ſome work of his that came to light makes honourable mention of *Padre Paolo* as of no ordinary perſonage, and particularly of his ſpecular perſpective. The time of his Office of Proctor General in Court, happened to be at the beginning of the Pontificate of *Sixtus* the Fifth, who (as it is believed, having been a Fryar, knew much of the worth of thoſe Religious Perſons that were remarkable, and among others having had information of the quality of the Father) gave him employment in Congregations, and other manages more frequently than was uſual. He was preſent at the diſcuſſion of that matter: Whether the Duke *de Joyeuſe* being a Capuchin were diſpenſable, and to that purpoſe were ſpoken (by thoſe that would flatter) ſuch exorbitances of the untimely Power, or rather the Pontifical Omnipotency, that Father *Bellarmine* being preſent told the Father in his Ear: Theſe are the things that have made *Germany* revolt, and will produce as much in *France*, and other Kingdoms.

Upon a time the Pope being in the Street in his Litter, called the Father unto him, holding him a good while in diſcourſe, which was nothing elſe but of certain Memorials that were come to his hands againſt the General of that time. This unwonted paſſage, and obſerved by the Court that uſed to make obſervations upon all things, was preſently divulged abroad, how much the Father was in the Pope's favour; what would you have more? The vanity had already made him a Cardinal. But this favour which was neither ſought nor deſired by him, caſt him into a moſt troubleſom perſecution. At his going from *Venice* he had left his Friends at the counſel and directions of Maſter *Gabriel Colliſon*, with whom he had formerly joyned in the taking away certain ill Cuſtoms, and Grievances which ſome Superiors had impoſed upon others that were weaker than themſelves, and were deteſted under the odious name of Tyranny. But as it often happens, that what we deteſt in others, we are ready to juſtifie in our ſelves, and the nature of *Gabriel* being (as it was afterwards diſcerned) to be only a friend and lover of his own intereſt: In thoſe three years of the Fathers abſence from the Province, he had gotten an abſolute Dominion, whereto he had attained and maintained himſelf by very great Extortions: one only impediment was a mighty traverſe to him, that the Father was ſhortly to return to *Venice*, to whom he knew ſuch practiſes would be no wayes pleaſing; and he was out of hope of inclining him to thoſe Courſes of his, becauſe he had experience of his integrity, and that he was not to be corrupted. He conceived his only remedy was to make him a Propoſition againſt which the wiſeſt men can hardly make a defence (which was the way of Honours, and therefore to remain at *Rome*. And began ſeriouſly to perſwade him by Letters, engaging ſome of his dear Friends to propound it to him: That the credit which he had got at Court might make him a way to the advancement of his Fortune. The Father among other rejections of that Counſel, and to be troubled no more with thoſe Arguments, anſwered him by a Letter in Cypher (which was uſual betwixt them) wherein were words of diſcredit caſt upon the Court, as if Dignities were obtained by ill means, and for his part, he made ſo little account of Honour ſo gotten, that he did rather

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abominate it; Maſter *Gabriel* kept the Letter and Cypher, and after three years end, that his Office was expired, the Father returned home to his Country, to his quietneſs, and to his Studies, but was not able to approve the Extortions which *Gabriel* had uſed in the Province, wherein he was maintained by the favours of ſome Courtiers of the *Cardinal Sancta Severina*'s Court, who did not favour him gratis neither, it being kept upon very good account, that the Generalſhip, whereunto he was at laſt preferred, ſtood him in no leſs than 40000 Duckets (as there are many that can very well make the computes and tell the particulars,) all of it being taken out of other mens Purſes, wherein the Father alone declaring himſelf not to approve, and leſs to conſent to thoſe courſes of his, they came at laſt to a rupture, and manifeſt diſſention, wherein that he might prevail, being already crept into ſo much favour at Court, that it was a wonder, and particularly to ſee the Cardinal Protector, who was then Chief of the holy Office of the Inquiſition, to whom the Letter with the Cypher was preſented, who did not think it fit to proceed againſt the Father by way of the holy Office (as Maſter *Gabriel* hoped he would have done) yet nevertheleſs he ſhewed an implacable indignation againſt him. And as the Multitude are uſed to turn on that ſide where the Wind blows faireſt, although he had reduced himſelf to his quietneſs, without medling any further with matters of Government, becauſe he ſaw the Diſeaſe was grown incurable: yet nevertheleſs he was much troubled, although not in his own perſon (wherein neither Art nor Violence could ever find the leaſt defect whereupon to attacque him) but in ſome of his Friends who being not exempt from ordinary defects, were not only made incapable of Degrees and Honours, but every venial ſin of theirs was imputed to be a mortal Vice. And *Sancta Severina* himſelf imployed even the Authority of the holy Office againſt them, by means ſo ſtrange: and ends ſo baſe, that I dare not mention what I have heard, for fear it might give the World too great a ſcandal; in which way of proſecution this is all the remedy that can be had, that ſuch as are ſo narrowly inquiſited may in their recourſe to *Rome* with their Commiſſions find Juſtice.

Among the Fathers great diſturbances (whereof we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter) this was one. There was one *Fryar Julio* an old Confeſſor, who being of an irreprehenſible Life, had much concourſe to him to confeſſion; with a notable emolument of Alms.

This man from the firſt entrance of *Fryar Paul* into Religion (having been his Mothers Confeſſor) undertook to keep him ſo far as belonged to his clothing, and the expence of his Journeys and Books; becauſe the Father to the very laſt of his life would never have more than one ſimple Garment, ſo that if he had fallen into the River he muſt have kept his Bed till that had been dryed again. He never had any Ornament of Chamber, and ſo he hath continued till the expiration of his Soul, his moveables being only a portable quadrant of Chriſt in the Garden, a Crucifix with a natural Deaths-head at the foot, as his peculiar Looking-glaſs, and three Hour-glaſſes of Sand to take meaſure of his time. He never had of Money more than was neceſſary for a days uſe. And this *Fryar Julio*, till he was ſo old that he began to loſe the vigour of his intellectuals, kept him meanly clothed, and only according to neceſſity. The Monaſtery always ſupplying him, with what was neceſſary and convenient for his Garments, and other neceſſary expences. In fine, the Father was never put to provide for himſelf while he was under the care of this good old man. It is not

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to be doubted that the tranquillity of the mind hath a principal foundation in the internal parts, in a profound knowledge of Divine and Humane things, without which every external thing is insufficient and vain, becauſe a Man that is once dejected, cannot be ſuſtained nor held up by any of thoſe things. Although it cannot be denyed but that external helps may add ſomething to quietneſs. Now to diſturb the Father in the Contentment which he had (without wearineſs) in thoſe poor mentioned Neceſſaries, and ſeeing that as a ſquare Figure is immoveable in every poſture, ſo they applyed themſelves to an experiment, whether in the Perſon of this Nurſing Father of his he had any ſenſe, and by deviliſh informations they firſt moved the Patriarch *Priuli* to deprive him of his Faculty of confeſſing, thereby to ſhorten the Father of his wonted, but poor, and yet *ſatisfactory* allowance.

And this courſe they held, that the Patriarch being entred into ſome pretences with the Hermits of S. *Hermagora*, who by their perpetual retiredneſs, or rather impriſoning themſelves, were found to be in ſuch a reputation of Holineſs, that they needed no other defence; They gave that Prelate to underſtand, that *Fra. Julio*, who had been Confeſſor, and Miniſter of the holy Maſs and Communion to them for many years, was the man that went about to excite ſuch as were devoted to him, and others of the prime Nobility to oppoſe themſelves againſt him; and it went ſo far, that the buſineſs was repreſented at *Rome* as a diſobedience, and from the Protectors Court, where they held intelligence, they produced a Letter that ſerved to their purpoſe, and ſo they took away *Fra. Julio*, and ſent him out of the Dominions (as far as *Bologna*) after he had dwelt at *Venice* in high eſteem of honeſty, above five years. *Charity* towards the poor man made *Padre Paolo* take a Journey to *Rome*, where he ſolicited and obtained the return of his innocent Father again to *Venice*, whither he himſelf alſo returned ſhortly after, to his wonted ſtudy and exerciſe.

We are not to concur in opinion with ſome Philoſophers, that our Senſitive and Mental Faculties are pure and meer paſſibilities, becauſe holding that opinion it would not follow what fortune were a good encounter, either to have a better or a worſe complexion, or temperament of Nature. And it is moſt certain, that the temperament and complexion have a great part in the habilities or inhabilities of men. The Father had his Senſes the moſt ſubtile, and of the greateſt vivacity that were poſſible to be found in any, eſpecially his eye, being of a moſt quick and ſharp ſight. His Taſt moſt perfect, whereby he was able to diſcern things that were almoſt inſenſible. But in compounded Meats it was a wonder how quickly he was able to diſtinguiſh either the benefit or the danger, diſcerning infallibly the one from the other thereof, when there was occaſion; and that he knew by certain evidence and reaſons, that it concerned him to have a care to prevent poyſoning; he would not only not ſeem to have the leaſt diſlike or ſuſpicion of any thing, as one that knew by proof, that thoſe are miraculouſly preſerved that are in Gods protection, but beſides for as much as might concern Humane Prudence, he held himſelf ſecure, that in his Meat the exquiſiteneſs of his Senſe would give him notice, and in his Drink, where the greateſt danger lay, he held a more watchful care. This exquiſiteneſs or paſſibility of Senſes reflected upon his Mind as by conſequence, whereby it was a thing to be admired, that every thing took impreſſion, and ſtuck with him ſo tenaciouſly.

ciouſly. When he entred into any Place or Room, all the Images or Forms of the leaſt things he carried away imprinted in his Memory: and upon occaſion his Friends would ask him how it was poſſible he could take notice of ſuch petty things. If he read a Book (and he uſed to read all of any account) that came forth, he knew all, and could remember the very Leaf where he had obſerved any thing though of very little moment. But with me it happens otherwiſe, when in Books I cannot find, or elſe go ſearching for what I know; and many times I skip it over, at leaſt in a kind of ſtudy, which they call *Studium vagum*, a wandring ſtudy. But in him no ſuch diſtinction was known, with whom every thing was fixt. And the thing of greateſt wonder was, that all impreſſion being ſo eaſie with him, the cancelling or loſs of it as difficult. And with theſe Excellencies he had ſo much humility, that he would grant it no otherwiſe to any that prayed him for that perfection, than to tell them that they praiſed him for a great imperfection, and for an excellent weakneſs: which in all other things was prejudicial to him, for he would ſeriouſly affirm, that he employed no great care in his reading or other obſervations, but that his great paſſibility, and imperfection was the reaſon of his retention. And to thoſe that argued it to be a perfection, becauſe the retentive was ſo eaſie and ſtable, he would reply, that it ſhewed a weakneſs, and a greater paſſibility, becauſe not only the object in him was moving, and conſequently inferred paſſion; but, every little Relique, and Idea of the Object, continued it.

But this Problem we leave to others to diſpute of. From hence, and from his perpetual ſtudy, (wherein both before and after he had laid down Magiſtracy, he had ſo plunged himſelf) I believe his exquiſite knowledge was raiſed.

It was an admirable thing that he did not only underſtand the Canonical Laws, and Decrees, but that he knew the times when every Canon was made, the Fountains from whence they were drawn, and the cauſe which had moved the making of them. In the matter of Benefices, which is ſo intricate, ſo various, and ſo many relations, he knew all the reaſons controverted, the Progreſſes, changes, and alterations. But with this Theory, he brought from *Rome* with him all the practiſe of ſo many Congregations and Tribunals as are there, with their Preſidents and their Proceedings. And which is yet more ſtrange; he had as it were painted in his Memory the Places, Situations, the Figures, the Statues, and whatſoever he had at any time ſeen remained as imprinted with him. But howſoever from this either paſſibility or imperfection of temperature (as he called it) or ſublimity or felicity of underſtanding as others eſteemed it; (and not from any ſtudy of Phyſiognomy that he was ever known to make,) there was bred in him that great knowledge which he had of perſons; In which kind of knowledge I cannot truly find in all courſe of time, that there is mention made of any that knew ſo much as he. And if I ſhould tell you the particular ſucceſſes, as many times from beholding but the faces of Men, but moſt of all from one ſingle conference or diſcourſe, (as if they had had the little Window in their Breaſt which *Momus* ſo much deſired) how far he could penetrate into the Nature, the Cuſtoms, the Inclinations, and Carriages of men, I ſhould be afraid that with pure truth I ſhould take away the credit of what I write. But this neceſſity of obſerving things ſo minutely (though either he were not willing, or cared not much for it)

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yet in length of time it had reduced him to ſuch a ſubtilty of judgment, that even in the Religion and among the Fryers themſelves there grew a report (which ſince *malevolent* people have augmented in his latter years,) that he had a familiar Spirit. A vanity which hath no need of confutation. From this root ſprung that marvellous way of treating with all ſorts of perſons to their ſatisfactions, becauſe he could immediately penetrate the nature, the inclination, the deſigns, and like a perfect Muſician make his judgment of the Inſtrument by the firſt touch: ſo by making Men ſpeak, he knew their ends, their intereſts, their drift, their reſolutions upon buſineſs, and with moſt admirable quickneſs, the very anſwers that they could make; and he regulated himſelf ſo in all his proceedings, that there having treated with him of all qualities of perſons, of Princes, of Subjects great and mean ones, ſeldom any man left him without admiration, but both by conſent and conceipt it was the teſtimony of all that Father *Paul* was an eminent perſonage. From this Fountain flowed that quickneſs of knowing immediately what anſwer to make to all perſons in all matters that were propounded to him. Whereof I would bring you ſome proofs, if ſo many hundreds, and thouſands of perſons yet alive, had not ſeen the experience (and as I may ſay) not in a few but in all things.

In Hiſtories both ſacred, and profane, he raviſht men into admiration of his anſwers, by the very places, the times and occaſions, and preciſe acts, as if his fancy had been the very Scene where he had ſeen them acted. There have happened to come to *Venice* in our days divers *Virtuoſi* in ſeveral profeſſions. One from beyond the Mountains (who had made exquiſite ſtudy in the properties of the loadſtone, believing (and with very good reaſon) that he knew as much as any other) was admitted to confer with the Father, and finding that he could not alledge neither ſpeculation nor experiment, wherein the Father was not as knowing, and much more than he both in his reaſons, and the fabrick of his Inſtruments, he became ſo much amazed that he had forgotten where he was. The moſt rare inventions of Inſtruments, Engines for Meaſures, for Weights, for Horologies, for Mathematical and Military uſes, and for all purpoſes were brought to him to ſee, and thereof to give his opinion, a thing to be admired, how as if he had underſtood nothing but the Mechanicks, he would preſently comprehend the deſign, and give judgment whether it would ſerve for the thing it was intended for, or not, with the means how to better it, how to facilitate, and make another like it, with what oppoſitions or defects. But they ſay more of him, thoſe that brought him Inſtruments to ſee with what facility he told them what they were made for; ſaying, This Inſtrument is to take a Situation, or to meaſure a Voyage, or to lift a great Weight, or to know how to return to unknown places by the ſame Way they came. The particulars would make a Volume. *Signor Alphonſo Antomini* a Cavaglier of the moſt ſublime vertues Moral, Civil, Politick and Military, that can any way render a Gentleman amiable; after he had been in *Germany* and *Flanders* to ſee the Wars, and ſo likewiſe with obſervation in others, as with exerciſe of his own Perſon, and eſpecially of his Wit in obſerving all things, was raiſed to ſuch a degree of Military knowledge, as very few have arrived to, and was called back by the moſt ſerene Republick of *Venice*, to do them ſome ſervice concerning the commotions that were then in *Italy*. But thoſe being fallen into a condition which might rather be called

rumors of War than open War, and not obtaining a liberty to depart to any place of real Wars, gave himſelf to a remeditation of what he had formerly obſerved, eſpecially the Orders of the *Prince Maurice of Orange*, and withal to ſee what *Polybius* and ſome other Authors, wherein he might know the orders of the ancient *Roman* Militia, and of other people, and upon this occaſion wrote a Book how a preſent Militia might be managed. But having conceived in his mind the inventions of many Inſtruments and Military Engines; he was deſirous to go to *Venice*, to have conference with the Father, and to impart his thoughts; and receive his judgment therein: and being accidentally fallen upon the ſubject of glaſſes and perſpectives, in which ſtudy *Antonini* had lately employed his Wits, the Father did not only diſcourſe with him *ex improviſo* upon the fabrick of many ſorts of glaſſes and of their effects, which ſeemed to have ſome thing miraculous, but preſently taking Pen and Paper gave him the figures in form with their demonſtrative reaſons, as if he had come newly from ſtudying *Halazen*, or *Vitellio*, and others of that profeſſion, although he was able to give a true account, that it was above forty years ſince he had been verſt in any of thoſe Authors.

But to return to my diſcourſe, he being come from *Rome* to his reſt, and to his ſtudies, returned alſo to his vertuous converſations, and all the time that he could ſpare from Divine Offices (wherein he was always conſtant, when not hindred by publick imployment) and never omitting his private devotions, he ſpent at his Book. About that time he wrote ſome of his own conceipts, Natural, Phyſical, and Mathematical, which when he took a review of afterwards, he made no account of, and was wont to ſay, Oh what childiſh things paſt through my mind? And I am very certain, that if they had been ſeen by learned men, they would not have deem'd them childiſh. His quietneſs then begun to be a little diſtracted by an accident that happened in Religion. It was a common expectation in the Religion that a *Milaneſe*, who was thought to deſerve well, ſhould be made General; But the great Duke of *Tuſcany* oppoſed it, and by his power at *Rome* cauſed a *Bologniſe* born at *Budri* to be created General, who was a Reader in *Piſa* of the Mathematicks. This was a man of great Learning and Goodneſs, but not ſo able for Government as was needful, to ſuſtain ſuch a charge in times of ſo great Factions and Diſcontent. And very ſhortly after there flew ſuch memorials and Advertiſements to *Rome* concerning his ſimplicity, and the crime of his Companions, which were all laid to his charge, that favour failing him by the Death of the great Duke *Franceſco*, which happened 1587. *Sixtus* V. and the *Cardinal Santa Severina* Protector concurring both in one mind, which was not to favour that man in his Office of General (becauſe he was inclined another way) reſolved that his cauſe ſhould come to examination. And after a long time of ſtriving about the deputation of Judges by the *Cardinal Santa Severina*, becauſe the Religion was then in Factions, and what one man propoſed another refuſed, at laſt the Pope who had taken knowledge of *Padre Paolo*, undertook to determine the controverſy, and commanded him to go thither to underſtand the buſineſs. So he was appointed to go to *Bologna*, where he continued many Months in the treaty of that troubleſom cauſe. Becauſe the General having obtained that Advertiſement of the proceedings ſhould be given ſome time to the Auditor of *del Torrone*, there being alſo before

fore him at that time ſome Criminal cauſes of importance, and it was in the publick Priſon they ſate; where they fell often into differences of what was fit to be done. For ſatisfaction whereof it had been neceſſary to write, and to expect reſolutions from *Rome*. And it was well worth obſerving, that in all the controverted *Points*, the opinion of the Father was ever approved of, notwithſtanding the Auditors themſelves uſed to be the moſt conſummate and abſolute men in matters of Judicature. But the proceſs and the cauſe were both determined by the death of the General, although ſome ſentences which the Father had given againſt ſome of the Fryars, ſtood unrepealed.

The Father being come back to *Venice*, reſumed the courſe of his former ſtudies, and of his retiredneſs from buſineſs frequenting his accuſtomed vertuous Converſations, and the reſort that was to the houſe of Signor *Andrea Moreſini* (whom we named before) being grown very numerous and frequent, becauſe there came thither a great part of ſuch as profeſt Learning, and not only of the Nobility whereof ſome Subjects are ſince riſen to be great Senators, and like Stars in the Firmament of the moſt Serene Common-wealth for Goodneſs, Religion, Learning, and Civil Prudence; but there were likewiſe admitted into that meeting, all ſorts of *Virtuoſi*, as well Seculars, as Religious, beſide the moſt eminent Perſons of Learning that were then met at *Venice*, or in *Italy* or of any other Nation, that did not fail to be preſent in that place, as in one of the moſt celebrated Conventions that had ever been Conſecrate to the *Muſes*. In my Life I have not ſeen more vertuous Exerciſes, and I wiſh it had pleaſed God that as the vertues of thoſe two *Andria* and *Nicolo* the Uncles (which deſcended by Inheritance unto their Nephews) ſo there might have been in *Venice* ſuch another meeting, where there were met at ſometimes five and twenty or thirty Men of rare endowments. At this meeting the Ceremony (which is a thing ſo much affected in our times and ſo ſuperfluous) had no Countenance, which tries the Brains of the wiſer ſort, and vainly ſpends ſo much time in an artificial kind of lying, that ſignifies nothing becauſe it ſignifies ſo much, but a civil and free confidence was only there in uſe. It was allowed every Man to make his diſcourſe of whatſoever pleaſed him beſt, without reſtriction of paſſing from one ſubject to another, provided it were always of new matter, and the end of their Diſputation was for nothing elſe, but to find out truth. But the felicity of our Father was rare, who upon any ſubject that was propounded, did not only diſcourſe without premeditation; but made no difference of ſuſtaining or impugning any propoſition in a Scholaſtick way. All which he did with ſo much facility, that it raiſed a wonder in all Men. And afterwards in his riper Age, when he was put in mind of thoſe exerciſes, he would ſmile at them as at puerilities. At this time the civil Wars in *France* flam'd out, and the Father was pleas'd to hear ſuch as could diſcourſe of them. And that pleaſure continued with him to his lives end, to hear and underſtand any thing of the ſtate of the World, and how things were carried. This was a general Idea with him, wherein he ſeldom failed in his judgment, if any News that were ſpread abroad, was either true or falſe, that upon things preſent he would ſettle a judgment with ſo much prudence in relation to what ſucceeded, that it made men wonder and ſeek after his opinion, as if it had been a Prognoſtication. And for as much as at the Golden Ship.

in the Merchants Street there uſed to meet a ſort of gallant and vertuous Gentlemen to recount their Intelligences, one with another; among which the good *Perrot* a *Frenchman*, (whom for his candour and civility, beſides his firmneſs in Religion, they called the true Iſraelite, alluding to that ſaying of our Saviour, *Hic eſt verus Iſraelita in quo dolus non eſt*) thither alſo came Merchants that were Strangers, and ſuch as had not only been over all *Europe*, but in the Eaſt and Weſt *Indies*, and the Father among others found means to be among them. And as in that mind of his every little thing took impreſſion, ſo he had likewiſe an admirable dexterity to make other men enter into diſcourſe.

Himſelf was in all his life time of very few words, but pithy and ſententious, acute without ſcoffing, yet he took great pleaſure to make men ſpeak, and with a dexterity like *Socrates*, delighted to make diſcovery of the abilities that were in others. And this he called, to make them deliver themſelves, or to help them to bring forth. And the dexterity aroſe, not only from being verſt, but conſummate, and made up in all ſorts of Learning, becauſe he was able to follow every one, in his own Element; Phyſicians in Medicine, and Mathematicians in the Mathematicks, and ſo in all other things. And upon what ſubject the diſcourſe fell, he that knew him not very well, went away perſwaded that that ſubject was his principal profeſſion and maſter piece. And when he met with any perſon that was eminent in any Art or Science, he would take occaſion to ask him queſtions with an inexplicable mildneſs, till he had drawn out of him what was poſſible to know, without ſhewing any importunity or troubleſom curioſity. But his greateſt pleaſure was to diſcourſe with thoſe that had been abroad, and would give him a true relation or Countries, of Cuſtoms, of People, and of Religions, having himſelf alſo had an extream deſire of peregrination. *Signor Bernardo Sichini* patron of the Shop, where they uſed to meet, had among others a Son (that yet lives) of a Wit far above the profeſſion that he follows, both becauſe he had ſtudied at *Lovaine*, and beſides, Nature is not ſo malignant and partial as ſhe is accuſed to be, but produceth many times in Perſons of mean Fortune, Wits that are of a great eminence and capacity. With this Man the Father entred a great familiarity, which continued betwixt them till Death. And in this he ſeldom failed, when he met with any Man, that had knowledge or practice in forraign Countries, to diſcourſe at large with him. Thus much I obſerve by the way, that the Fathers Acquaintance in this place began in 1586. about one and twenty years before the differences fell out betwixt the moſt Excellent Common-wealth of *Venice*, and *Paul* V. after which there were invented ſo many Calumnies, and Falſities which drew a prejudice to the Merchant, in his Trading. And thereupon he begun to withdraw himſelf from that Company. But *Signor Almiſe* would never give his conſent, preferring the familiarity of the Father, before all or any detriment, that could befall him. This was the time wherein the Father had the greateſt happineſs and the moſt quiet enjoyments of his Life. Becauſe although he had three great infirmities which were bred together in him, and with which he made account to be accompanied to his Grave, The Flux from his Liver, the falling down of the Streight Gut, and a periodical or intermittent Head-ach, beſides the trouble of the Hemorrhoids, yet all theſe were by him ſupported with ſo much cheerfulneſs, and ſerenity

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of Heart, as if he had been the ſoundeſt Man in the whole World, and he reputed them divine favours and natural admonitions of the diſlodging, which he believed his Soul muſt ere long make out of her Earthly Manſion. For any thing elſe it may be ſaid that he thought himſelf to be in a Garden of Delights, and to tread upon Roſes. Becauſe for matter of want he knew none, having no deſire of any thing, being moſt rich in his Poverty, without Money, without Induſtry how to advance any, without thoughtfulneſs, having left all his cares to Father *Giulio*, and without Books (except ſuch as were daily ſupplyed him by his great Friends, which he had read all over, and had made in his underſtanding the greateſt library that any Prince in the World had) beſide the unfurniſht nakedneſs of his Chamber, with the ſlenderneſs of his Diet, which was ſent him from the Monaſtery, being to him moſt plentiful. All his Life was only imployed in three things; the ſervice of God; the time which he ſpent in his Study, and in Converſations. In this courſe he was conſtant, never failing to be preſent at Divine Offices. To his Study after his private Devotions he dedicated the Morning, which he begun always before Sun-riſing, but for the moſt part, he prevented the Morning, until the hour of common Service. The Afternoon time was divided either into Operations by his own Hand, and Tranſmutations and Sublimations and ſuch like, or into Converſations with his Friends that were Learned, and other famous Perſons in *Venice*, or elſe Strangers that reſorted thither.

The ordinary place of their meeting in *Venice* was at the Shop of *Sechim*. And in *Padua* whither they often tranſported themſelves, was the houſe of *Vicenzo Pinelli*, which was the receptacle of the Muſes, and an Academy of all the Vertues in thoſe times. And what an eſtimation *Signor Pinelli* had of the Father the ſucceſs ſhall ſhew, whereof there are yet living Teſtimonies which I know by name. The good *Aſſilineo* the *French*-man before named, and the *Signor Sechim*. In the Company of *Signor Pinelli* was oftentimes *Monſieur Perrot* a *French*-man, worthy of Eternal Fame for integrity, and the *Signor Marmo Ghetaldi* a moſt principal Gentleman of *Ragouſe*, whom I believe to be ſtill alive, known of me both at *Rome*, and at *Venice*, an Angel in his behaviour, and a Devil (I underſtand this name only in Science) in the Mathematicks. His *Apolomus redivivus*, and other works of his that are in print can eaſily teſtify, that he hath either none or very few equalls. The Father coming by accident to viſit *Pinelli*, who at that time was prickt with a Nail of the Gout, and yet made a great ſhift to go forth to receive him, as he did after, when he went away to bear him company; whereat ſome that were preſent, making it a wonder to ſee ſo much honour done to a Fryer, *Ghetaldi* deſir'd to know who that Man was, to whom ſuch an extraordinary reſpect was expreſt. To whom *Pinelli* made anſwer (I relate it in his own words) *il Miracolo de queſto ſecolo*; and *Ghetaldi* demanding further in what profeſſion, *Pinelli* anſwered him; In whatſoever you pleaſe. And obſerving him to be entred into ſome admiration, he added further; *Signor*, I know your excellency in the Mathematicks, let us make ſome tryal of him, I'le invite him with you to Morrow to Dinner, be you in a readineſs with ſome propoſition of ſuch a Science, as you think may ſerve for a Touchſtone of Tryal; and in the mean time ſtudy to be well provided, and ſo you may be ſatisfied concerning his ability. I will be the Proponent, and will ſeem to underſtand nothing of you, till we come to the waſhing of our hands; and accordingly the buſineſs was carried. I

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could not attain to know the particular Problem or Theorem, nor what it was that *Ghetaldi* brought into the Field, but I am aſſured that at the diſcourſe of the Father, he was ſo much aſtoniſht and confus'd, that he confeſt, he ſhould never have believed, a Man could have known ſo much in any profeſſion; whereupon he deſired to become his intimate Friend, and to confer all his inventions with him, and ſo much of the Mathematicks as he hath ſince conſecrated to immortality. And likewiſe the good *Perrot* took an affection to him, which continued till he paſt to a better life: which he willing to teſtify in his laſt ſickneſs, left him by his Will, his Silver Ewre, with which he uſed to pour Water upon his hands. But the time was now come, when the pureneſs of the Gold ſhould be tried by the Touchſtone. It pleaſed God who guides thoſe that are his by toylſom ways, that now he ſhould be drawn out of the Haven of his reſt, into the tempeſtuous Seas of new troubles, which happened in this manner.

The favour of the Cardinal *Santa Severina* (Protector of the Order of the *Servi*) had at the inſtance of the Cardinal of *Medici* (who was afterward *Leo* the tenth) and of *Ferdinand* great Duke of *Tuſcany*, preſented to be General, one Maſter *Lelio Baglioni* a *Florentine*, a man truly of a great vivacity, being bold and learned, and more than all that, of an unblameable carriage, and when he preferred him to that dignity, he diſcovered his intention to him, deſiring him to cooperate with him, that when he had finiſhed his courſe in the Office, Maſter *Gabriel* might be his Succeſſor in the place. The General (as it is uſual with all that obtain ſuch a dignity to have two ends, the one to continue in the charge as long as they can, and when they are neceſſitated to leave it, to make a Succeſſor or offer their own choice) receives the Cardinals declaration of himſelf into ſerious conſideration, although ſecretly he was reſolv'd to traverſe it by all the means he could poſſibly. And becauſe the ordinary ones were to little purpoſe, as to ſay that he was a Subject without Vertue, without Merit, without any Learning, ſince the continual Preſents and Bribes, that *Gabriel* gave in the Cardinals Court, and the favour with his Nephew *Paulus Emilius*, and with the Cardinal himſelf, did preſently diſperſe thoſe thin Clouds like a Northern Wind, and were ſo far from not ſuſtaining him, that they were more like to have Canoniz'd him; He took another courſe which was more violent, to make it known in Court to the Congregation of Reformation which was over the Regulars, and to the Pope himſelf, that Maſter *Gabriel* was a vicious and facinorous Man, culpable of great Crimes. And he went yet further to divulge it abroad in the Court, that whatſoever profit he could raiſe in making ſpies in any Laws proceeding, in ſoliciting cauſes, or any thing elſe that was reprehenſible in another and much more in a man of Religion, that pretended to a Generalſhip, the profits of ſuch practice were all brought home to the Protectors Court. This divided the poor Religion of the *Servi* into two Factions, the heads of which were, on the one ſide Maſter *Gabriel* among the Fryers, and the Cardinal abroad, who being imprudently intereſſed (by *Lelius*) carried himſelf with more paſſion, than any of the Fryers; and of the other ſide the General with his Abettors, who wanted not his ſeconds, being like Quickſilver, and never failing to publiſh all Occurrents, as well in the Courts of the Cardinals, as of the Pope himſelf: amplifying the Extortions that were brought into the Cardinal's Court; and in particular complaining, that the Protector had taken all the Authority from

from the General, to the end that Favour and Juſtice might only be expected from Maſter *Gabriel*, who made them venial to furniſh the Court with preſents. A thing that made the Cardinal ſtark mad, by reaſon of an humour then raging under *Clement* the eighth, who had made ſo many Bulls *Contra munerum largitiones*, which is a miſchief in Court like judicial Aſtrology, whereof *Tacitus* ſaith, *Semper vetabitur & ſemper retinebitur* (Factions in Religions being a diſeaſe of humanity, are not ſo eaſily ſhakt off by entering into Cloyſters, but that it happens many times, that under the titles of Fraternities, many miſchiefs are concealed.) The *Bianchi* and *Neri*, the *Guelphes* and *Gibelines* had not been ſo fierce againſt each other, but that by a neceſſity they were linkt ſo near together in their Cities, in their Houſes, and in the ſame genial Beds. And among the Regulars they have got a Cuſtom (which was uſed in *Sparta*) that both parts firſt make War againſt their neutrals. The innocent Father had enjoyed a vertuous quietneſs, and had oppoſed theſe differences as long as he was able, but it was neceſſary for him now to declare himſelf of one ſide. And being no longer with his honour, and by his former declarations, to approve of the Extortions and Rapines which Maſter *Gabriel* had uſed to ſupply his Bribes at *Rome*, became preſently united in intereſt with the General; And although it were his chief deſire, either to have ſweetned the bitterneſs, or reduc'd things to civil terms which in order of Religion are ſaid to be done by Votes, and ſuffrages: yet he could never bring that to paſs. For now Maſter *Gabriel* reſolved to accuſe him of Criminalities, making it a matter againſt him in the Inquiſition at *Rome*, that he had held Commerce with the *Hebrews*, and to foment the quarrel the more, he drew out the Letter (which we told you of before,) with the counter cypher, and ſtirred up a Nephew of his at *Venice* to do as much againſt him there as was done at *Rome*, making this his ground, that they being on a time upon diſcourſe of compounding differences, the Nephew ſhould make anſwer that he believed the faction of his Uncles part was much the ſuperiour, becauſe at their Chapter they had an expectation to be inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt; and that thereupon the Father ſhould reply, that it was fitter to operate by humane means; upon this *Maeſtro Santo* (for ſo was he called) accuſed him to the Holy Office at *Venice*, that he had denied the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt.

But that Tribunal having examined teſtimonies that were preſent at the treaty, thought it no Juſtice, ſo much as to call the Father to his anſwer, but extinguiſht the action without ſpeaking a word more of it. But at *Rome* that point of the Letter with the Cypher brought the Father into a very ill opinion, that he was an enemy to their greatneſs, but in ſecret, they neither durſt nor could tell, how to frame any thing againſt him upon judgment of Religion. I have heard ſome ſay at ſundry times, I know not whether I ſhould call him ignorant or malignant, that repreſented it as an irrefragable argument againſt the integrity of the Father, that he had been thrice denounced to the Holy Office of the Inquiſition, in his youth by Maſter *Claudio da Piacenza*, and in his riper age by Maſter *Gabriel*, for that Letter in Cypher againſt the Court, and this laſt time by *Maeſtro Santo* his Nephew: as if to be denounced were ſo great a mark upon him. And truly, if the Doctrine of Faith or Religion had been in queſtion, it had been capable of no excuſe. But to this oppoſition, and to theſe men that conſider not ſo much the end of judgment as the beginning of a trouble; Let them take their anſwer from *Padre Maffeo* a Jeſuite, who tells us in the Life of Father *Ignatius* (now canonized for a Saint) that he was

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nine times put into the Inquiſition, (if I err not in the number) but with this difference, that the *Saint* was called, examined and abſolved, and this Father of ours only three times, but never called nor examined And then let them tell me, what ſtrength is in that argument of theirs that it ſhould follow, either that the Father was not right, or that the Magiſtrate was not juſt in receiving ſuch accuſations. But concerning his communication with Hereticks although nothing was proved, yet it took a very great impreſſion in *Clement* the eighth, who remembred it againſt him a good while after. In ſo much that the Father being propoſed to the Biſhoprick of *Nova*, although the Pope confeſt him to be a man of learning, and of great capacity, yet he added that he deſerved no preferment from the Church, for the practices that he had held with Hereticks. All which had no other foundation but this, that the City of *Venice* being ſo great, it drew from all parts of the World, not only by reaſon of the buſineſs of Merchandiſe, but alſo ſuch men as have any reliſh of things that are curious; and fit for admiration.

And the Father being there at that time in a reputation of one of the moſt learned Men in the World, the Profeſſors of Sciences that came not only from *Italy*, but from other Regions, and chiefly the greater perſonages, that eſteemed it a thing worthy of their travel, to ſee and hold diſcourſe in matter of learning, with one that in all profeſſions, was not only able to give them ſatisfaction, but to ſend them away with wonder. And he that knew not only terms of humanity and civility, but the moſt ſtrict Canonical Rules oblige not to avoid the company of any, except he be by name and individually condemned by the Church; He without any further ſcruple thought all ſorts of Strangers worthy of his vertuous Converſation. Sometimes he came into Company by command, as when *Monſieur D'eureux* afterward Cardinal *Perron* came to *Ro.* where he had the firſt time unſucceſsfully treated the reconciliation of *Henry* the fourth, and *Perron* paſſing by *Venice*, there were deputed to bear him company, the moſt illuſtrious *Linigi Lollino*, after Biſhop *Bellano*, *Peerleſs* in humanity and the *Greek* Tongue; and the Father alſo ſpent many days with him, and almoſt always in diſcourſe either of State matters, or of Learning. And this great brain of whom it is reported that he ſhould ſay that in *Italy* it is well known that in *Padoua* in the Houſe of *Vincenzo Pinelli*, and upon other occaſions, he found few perſons of notable Learning, he celebrated the Father for a tranſcendent Wit. And it was upon the ſame occaſion that *Lollino*, and the Father, falling into commendation of the great knowledge of that Prelate, and his extream Wiſdom in diſputing, and confounding thoſe whom he diſputed with, eſpecially in Religion, he told them again in modeſt Language, that he had not only found the *Hugonotes in France without learning or knowledge eſpecially in the old Fathers, in Councils and Hiſtorians, but he had* likewiſe found them Cholerick and impatient; whereupon beſides matter of Doctrine, whenſoever he diſputed with any of them, his chief aim was by ſome picquant words or arguteneſs to put them into choler, and that being done, he was aſſured to carry the victory. And truly that elevated Spirit of his had that natural aptitude and inclination, obſerving always in his Diſputations about Religious Tenents that are in print, an argute manner of diſputing and extreamly provocative. Occaſions of this kind were very frequent. But paſſion, and ignorance in this Age have rendred Religion like

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the Dye of Factions, and the desire of envious People to give intelligence at *Rome*, thereby to appear more zealous than other Men. So soon as they saw any man appear to visit the Father, that was uttered all, *Oltramontana*, like a *German* or a *Frenchman*, immediately they concluded him to be an Heretick; like a fellow that denounced his Preacher to the Holy Office, because forsooth having cited the Prophet *Habakkuk*, he said he knew him to be a *Lutheran*, because of pronouncing the last syllable *cuch*. But Divine Providence by such gradations as these, began to inure her Servant to the injurious calumnies of that Government, which in the progress of his Life for being a faithful Servant to the Divine Majesty, to his Prince, and to the Holy Church, were prepared by an higher Hand, for the tryal of his unconquered, and constant Piety, and for proof of an Heroick Patience.

The Domestick Turbulencies endured many years with an implacable ardour on both sides; wherein the Father had occasion enough to shew his moderation in restraining the violence of his Adherents, his mildness in never giving offence to any Body (although himself offended) the evenness and serenity of his Soul that never lost himself upon any wretched success, nor took pride or too much confidence by any thing that fell prosperous, as of necessity it happens with others after long contentions, although they be but business of Factions. His singular Prudence in redressing whatsoever was in his power for accommodation, but above all the sweetness of an incomparable mind, which was never seen to be angry, nor ever to resent anger by any expression of words. And yet with all this, his Vertue was not accompanied with Fortune, because he neither satisfied those of his own side, nor the General with whom he was united, nor yet the Cardinal Protector. Those of his part in the Faction that carried themselves with more affection than prudence, accused him of coldness, and that he behaved himself, as if it concerned him not to the quick (as who should say, that their levity should disturb the quietness of his mind which was so well composed, and so much superiour to their instructions.) The General who was ardent in his Nature, whensoever any new Difficulty or Controversie was set on foot, used to make himself merry with it, and was wont to say, *Mi chiamovo al mio givoco*, Now they call me to mine own game. But he could have wisht that the Father had not stood so much upon the sole defensive part, observing the advantages of the time, and ever throwing out Words that tended to pacification, and setling the commotion. They would have had him pursue all Routs, and engage himself into every Cause by vehement affections, and by resenting effects. But the Cardinal who was secure that the Generals overthrow would be the Victory of his Cause, attributed all the Directions and Managings to proceed from the Fathers Counsels, which his own business would not give him leave to traverse.

This dissention continued till the year 1597. at which time though it were not quencht, yet it had some abatement, wherein the Father alone obtained his end, though not entirely what he aimed at; concerning the Pacification of his Province, but by a diversion or sport of Divine Providence (which is no less active in things that we value least, than in the greatest) there appeared demonstration of the vanity of Humane designs, and therefore to that purpose, this digression of ours may not seem unnecessary.

A Fryar

* A Fryar, one *Giovanni Battiſta, perugino*, who was ſirnamed *Il Lagrimino* (whether it were becauſe he had Tears at command) but being a mixt and cunning man (and flying from the puniſhment which the General was ready to inflict upon him for ſome Delinquencies came to *Venice*, where the largeneſs of that City, and the Commodities of Concealment make many of that ſort bold to make their refuge. But this fellow had no need to hide himſelf, becauſe the very flying from the General was enough to bid him welcome to the Provincial, which was Maſter *Gabriel*. But to get a living and ſubſiſtence he procured a Licence from the *Nuntio*, and begun to play the Exorciſt, as I have ſeen many of that run-away Race, who not able to live in obedience, would give a leap into ſuch a compendious way of life, to enjoy their pleaſure, and ſuddenly to raiſe a preſent Fortune. (Becauſe though it be certain that ſometimes God permits to come upon humane Creatures, the vexations of evil Spirits: yet it ſtands as conſonant to Reaſon, and to the harmony of our Faith, that he does it but ſeldom, and upon very great Cauſes.) But when thoſe exorciſts come upon the *Piarras*, they are preſently filled with the ſudden and violent motions of the matrical humours, nay that all the infirmities which they have contracted, either from a licentious Life, or by communication with their Husbands, that they proceed either from ill encounters or of Witchcraft. And on the other ſide the Exorciſts fail not to play their pranks, who having given a Bleſſing to their violent Medicaments, and by ſleight of hand made ſome pretty ſhew of Art, cauſe their Patients to throw out of their Stomachs, that which never came there, nor could be contained therein. But it is a pretty Obſervation, that to heal the greateſt part of theſe Diſeaſes, the true Remedy is contrary to all other Cures, which is to drive away their Phyſicians, whereas upon the appearance of any of theſe Mountebanck Phyſicians, there comes abroad a world of concealed and unknown Infirmities, which no body ever underſtood. Our *Lagrimino* among other of his Undertakings, had the cure of a Tradeſmans Wife at the Sign of the Cock, in the Mercery, whoſe name was *Deffendi*. And as it happens very often, that practice is proloñged beyond hope or expectation. The Fryar beſides his Exorciſms in the Church, came often home to her Houſe to viſit her, and the dance was not quite done before the Husband began to take notice that many things in his Shop were miſſing, as ſuch a quantity of Satten, and ſome other Stuff of value, that he was almoſt ready to turn Banckrupt. Hereupon he cauſed his Apprentice to be arreſted, who being examined confeſſed, That the Fryar with his Wives knowledge had carried them out of the Houſe, and upon further examination, confeſt, that a great part was conveyed to Maſter *Gabriel*, and no ſmall part to the Court of the Popes *Nuncio*. So the Myſtery was unfolded, although the General had enough to do to be believed.

That *Lagrimino* was an *Apoſtata*, and fit to be impriſoned, for neither the Provincial, nor the *Nuncio* would hear him, but cryed him down for a Perſecutor. The Tradeſman (that ſtill lives) conſidering no further but that he was a Fryar of the *Servi*, made his complaint to ſome other of that Fraternity, telling them the buſineſs, which after was ſo managed, that a Copy of the Proceſs was taken forth, and ſent to *Rome* to the General, where it happened at the ſame time that Maſter *Gabriel* was preſent. The General carried the Cauſe, and the Proceſs before the Governour of *Rome*, who perceiving

ceiving the Knavery, and ignorant how much favour *Gabriel* had then at Court, without any further conſideration committed him to Priſon. I do not believe that in his life time the Cardinal *Santa Severina* ever ſhewed himſelf to be a man, nor diſcovered ſo much paſſion, and weakneſs; (for great ones are but men, and ſubject to the ſame paſſions with thoſe of the loweſt people) He ſtampt, he cryed, he curſt, he walkt between the Pope and the Governour, and for all he could do he could not enlarge the Priſoner for many days after. Becauſe *Lagrimino* that was gone into *Umbria* had been impriſoned at *Rome*, and being confronted, had ſuſtained the things mentioned. And though after he were made recant by charging it upon the General, and ſo ſet free, yet nevertheleſs he diſappeared and vaniſhed out of the World (though not like *Enoch*) By this time the Cardinal ſaw that it was not poſſible to create Maſter *Gabriel* his General at a Chapter that was then called at *Rome*, but yet he was able to put him that was General under judgment, and to that purpoſe kept him in the Priſon of *Santa Maria in via*, and particularly becauſe *Lagrimino* had accuſed him to be ſuborned; and by the Cardinals order there were committed many exorbitances and violences in the order under certain pretences, both with cauſe and without cauſe, employing the Officers of the Inquiſition ſo far, that except to thoſe that had ſeen them the things were beyond belief.

During theſe Paſſages, there being a Provincial Chapter at *Venice* to be celebrated in *Vicenza*, he created Preſident by a Writ from the Pope, the Biſhop of that City *Michel Priuli* a Man of great ſenſe and prudence, who perceiving on one ſide the diſpoſition of the Fryars, and on the other ſide the Cardinals Commands, knew not which ſide he ſhould adhere to, and ſeeing the Spirits of the Factions inflamed, he was perſwaded by thoſe of the Cardinals Faction to conſent to an innovation, which was never tryed before, and that was to move the Rectors to admit ſome Serjeants and other Officers into the Monaſtery to prevent diſorder, but really intended to intimidate (if not uſe violence) upon the other party. But this made things worſe than formerly, making the parties more obſtinate. And prolonging the Chapter to eight days length, which had wont to be determined in a few hours. And theſe Serjeants ſeeing all things ſetled in quietneſs, and about eight Fryars without Arms (ſo much as their Knives,) they laid down their Guns, and left their Arms careleſly upon certain Tables, that ſtood in the Cloiſters, and the Souldiers without further thought of any thing either ſtood ſtill, or went into the Cellars to drink, or into the Store-houſe, or forth into the Mount to ſport themſelves. In the mean time the Fryars fretted, and gnawed the Chain to ſee ſuch a company of idle Fellows without any employment, a thing never done before, and ſo ſcandalous to Religion, to ſee them conſume thoſe Proviſions which ought to be the aliment of the Convent. And their Spirits were the more imbittered by the provoking Language of thoſe that gave it out that they that did not render themſelves ſhortly to the Cardinals order, ſhould either be thrown in Priſon, or ſent to the Gallies, or be otherwiſe diſpoſed of like Dogs. And the laſt ſtroke which was like to end the buſineſs was, that one Evening there came from *Vicenza* to this Monaſtery of the Mount (where the Chapter ſate) the Biſhop with another Brief from his Holineſs (beſides that of his Preſidentſhip) which was ſent from *Rome* to *Vicenza* in leſs than forty

hours, giving order that the Preſident might have power to expel the General Vicar out of the Chapter, beſide a moſt ample Authority to ſuſpend, transfer or prolong the Chapter, and whatſoever he ſhould think fit. Whereat ſome of the wiſer ſort rather laught, then wondred, to ſee that in a capitular action being a thing of ſo ſmall moment, there ſhould be ſent forth two Apoſtolical Briefs. And the Pope himſelf enter into the Comedy after ſo great a Cardinal with the Authority of the two Saints *Sanctorum Petri & Pauli*, which was according to the adage, *Magno conatu nugas agere.* That Faction to which ſo much favour was expreſt, was added into the Biſhops train, entring into the Monaſtery in a tumultuous way, with much noiſe, and to ſolemnize their triumph the more, they cauſed to be carried two naked Swords before them, with certain acclamations which had been more convenient for Plebeians, than Religious men: This occaſioned ſo great an alteration, that immediately a Crue of young Fellows brought that very Knight (the door being ſet open) into the Fryars Chambers with great ſilence, a number of thoſe brave *Vicentines* with whom they had intelligence, and were reſolved the next morning when the Biſhop and the Chapter were met (which was always in the Refectory) and Serjeants having left their Guns careleſly (as they uſed to do) to fall upon them, and take ſuch a revenge as their anger and the memory of ſuch injuries ſhould ſuggeſt.

Yet they lingred a while till they could ſpeak with one that might give notice of their deſign to *Padre Paolo.* But it is a very hard matter that a thing known to ſo many ſhould be concealed; wherefore he among others having had an inkling of the buſineſs, it is moſt certain that with much labour and waking a great part of the night, by entreating ſome, and commanding others, and giving a clear underſtanding to all, of the danger they ſhould bring upon themſelves, of the ſlight conſequence of the things in queſtion, and the ſcandal that might ariſe; but above any thing elſe, the venerable eſteem that they had of his Authority was potent means to ſuppreſs the Conſpiracy. Yet he ſaw well that it was a matter of neceſſity to put an end to thoſe Diſcords, which were no longer to be contained within the confines of Voting, but would be ſure to riſe into higher terms. And becauſe that being once admitted for a Preſident, and ſo horrid a reſolution ſetled, it would be an incouragement to others to attempt the like. There is not in matters of Government a more ſecure reſtraint than to know what mighty miſchiefs are poſſible to enſue, wherefore the Father was reſolved to do his uttermoſt indeavour to compoſe the diviſions, which he could not do ſo well, as by making a journey in perſon to *Rome.* But the matter of the aforeſaid Letter in Cypher, and that of his Communication with Hereticks was a great diſcouragement to his going. Becauſe although he might well diſcern an inſubſiſtence, and that the Cardinal Protector was not much incenſed by any inſtances againſt him upon thoſe accuſations; although he ſent other cauſes of very light value, to the Inquiſitors againſt Fryers and others (and as ſoon again took them off, as the matter of voting in the Chapter-houſe was paſt) which for the moſt part was one of the chief ends of thoſe practices of his; nevertheleſs the Father took into conſideration, what the diſpleaſure of ſo great a man might do, that had the power of Judgment in his hands, as *Santa Severina* (being head of the Congregation of the holy Office) had. And that in *Rome* it was well known how near he was after *Clement* in election

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to the Papacy, and the queſtion was not extinct, whether that election of *Clement* were valid or not. Wherefore *Clement* was willing to feed the Cardinals humour, by giving him leave to do what he liſted, beſides that he was truly a great Perſonage, and very active, and able to bring any buſineſs to what end he pleaſed, as it is an eaſie matter for great men to ſerve themſelves upon any pretence, to juſtifie every thing after it is done. So he conſulted with his intimate Friends upon that point, whoſe opinion was, that he could receive no great damage, eſpecially ſince by a great number of the Cardinals Letters which are yet in being (and I have ſeen them when I intended to make this Life like an Epiſtolary Hiſtory, and to have produced the Letters for a confirmation of what I had written, if the length and multitude had not diſſwaded me) it appeared that he had a great opinion of the Fathers integrity and prudence, and that he had deſired to ſee him at *Rome*, and to have intereſſed him in that Court. But the Father facetiouſly remembred the Fable how the prudent Fox, when the Lyon made Proclamation for all horned Beaſts to come in, hid himſelf, ſaying, What if the Lyon would have his Ears to be Horns, who ſhould be able to defend him? yet notwithſtanding he was reſolved to go. But as it was his manner to be as confident in the Divine Providence, as if ſecond Cauſes had not been conſiderable, and yet omitting no fit means where ſecond Cauſes might be the Producers of their Effects; and firſt of all he got good Letters from his Friends to the Ambaſſadors of *Venice* at *Rome*, and to divers great Prelates at Court; Then by Letters he made known the whole buſineſs to the Cardinal of *Aſcoli* (for he was likewiſe of the Congregation of the holy Office) with whom he had always continued his ſervitude by a commerce of Letters, and from him he was adviſed to come. At *Rome* there was a General Chapter celebrated, wherein the Cardinal not being able to make Maſter *Gabriel* his General, he called from *Florence* a Father that had been fifteen years ſhut up in his Chamber in a holy life, but yet with him neither was he very well pleaſed, becauſe whether for zeal of Conſcience, or for any other reſpect, I know not, but he alſo extreamly abhorred to conſent that *Gabriel* ſhould ſucceed him, and loved and honoured the Father as much as was poſſible, (although againſt the orders which he ſaid had been given him) and offended the Cardinal in a very high degree, by writing him a very long Letter in an Apologetick way, blaming him for all the Miſchiefs that had happened in Religion, and for uſing ſuch violent ways to make a wicked Wretch his General; touching without any reſpect, upon the Briberies and Gifts that were brought to his Court, by the Sale of all Preferments and Graces, and by the Pillage and Robbing of Convents. But that which cut him to the quick, was, that he affirmed that he had written unto him not only after a long conſideration, but with particular inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt.

At the reading whereof the Cardinal broke out into paſſion and cryed out, *Tu menti ſantarieto Cacamienda*, for he had always kept a tang of the *Neapolitan* Dialect. But this poor General was called to *Rome*, where in a very ſhort time he ended his Life. It was ſaid to be of a heat which he gave himſelf by walking about the ſeven Churches, and there are ſome that ſaid it was by ſome coſt that was beſtowed upon him. But his death gave a great ſcandal to all Religion, becauſe (as 'tis already ſaid) he had lived fifteen years ſhut up in his Cell at a holy life, where by Pontifical Indulgence he celebrated the Maſs, and

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every *Wedneſday* expounded upon his Altar the holy Sacrament, before which he continued praying till the *Fryday* following without taſting any Food, and his Diet was always Lenten Fare, and for the moſt part Bread and Fruit and Water. In which life he contiuued for matter of abſtinence after his coming to his charge, and he was eſteemed *a Santo*; and as of ſuch a one is his life written and printed. His very Enemies reported him to be a man of holy intentions, though not ſo able for Government. But the blame which fell upon the Cardinal for putting him under cenſure cannot be expreſt.

The Father treated with the Cardinal, and ſought always to pleaſe him, becauſe that being done, all other things were determined. And it fell out extraordinary well for him, becauſe they had no ſpeech of any other matter, but only theſe two. The one that he had adhered to, and fomented the late tumults, or rather ſtirred up the General; the other that he would not be friends with Maſter *Gabriel*.

To which he anſwered, that he would remit the whole buſineſs to his Lordſhip, and was deſirous to be reconciled to him: To the particulars he anſwered more at length. That by his Lordſhips Power and Favour he had ſeen Maſter *Lælio* made Proctor General; and after that Vicar General Apoſtolical, and ſubſequently General, and that he had deſired the friendſhip of *Lælio*, as one of his Lordſhips Creatures, and had correſponded with him in all things which he thought might concern the ſervice of God and Religion. And that it was his duty to honour that man whom he ſaw raiſed above others, without any curious inveſtigations of the reaſons why it was done. That if things grew after to be changed, he conceived that to be an accident of Fortune. And thereupon he put him in mind of a Letter, which when *Lælio* was created General, his Lordſhip had written with his own hand, whereby he recommended him unto him, that by his Vote, and the Votes of Friends he might be preferred before any other of his Concurrents, ſo that he could not interpret ſuch a recommendation for leſs than a command. For of ſuch a nature he ſaid were the requeſts of perſons that were eminent. And as to that of having ſtirred up the General, his Eminency having by his Publick Letters to all the Religion (directed to the Chapters of Provinces) made great complaint of the impetuous and violent nature of *Lælio*, he was ſure his Lordſhip had not that conceit againſt him of himſelf, but by the ſuggeſtion and falſe relation of ſome others, whereto he would at all times be ready to make anſwer in his own excuſe, only referred it to his prudence which was able to penetrate that and greater matters, nor was it like, that ſeeing a Coach run ſwiftly by, he would make it a doubt, whether the Coach drew the Horſes, or they it. He inſinuated moreover that four years before that 1593. in the vacancy of the Biſhoprick of *Milopotamo*, his Lordſhip had begged it for him of his Holineſs, and in a Letter written to him thereupon, and exhorting him to diſpoſe himſelf to receive it, when it ſhould be conferred upon him; he added that in a ſecond place he had named him to another in event of his not accepting that, becauſe he was not ſure of his intentions, being ſo retired a man, and alienate from every thing elſe but a total immerſion in his ſtudies, and a lover of a quiet life. All which Letters he had kept together, as the Titles of his Obligation to his Illuſtrious Lordſhip. Hereupon the Cardinal gave great teſtimony of good ſatisfaction, and replyed, That truly having taken notice of his deportments, he believed no otherwiſe, and told him further that he would have him

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and Maſter *Gabriel* made Friends, as alſo by the Protectors power it was effected.

He returned to *Venice* to his beloved retiredneſs, and not without ſome grievance of his natural indiſpoſition imbittered by his Voyage and other Sufferings. And though there might continue with him (as we uſe to ſay) a little of the old Sea of his turbulent Fortunes, yet he moderated them all with an incomparable Patience and Prudence. And it ſeemed that for a few years after his infirmities made their peace with him, which the ſpace of 25 years before had yielded him but ſhort and uncertain truces. Of his *Epatick Flux* he remained cured, without any other Cauſe, but that it had ſpent the Courſe. He had from time to time uſed divers Remedies, aſwell by the great knowledge which he had in Medicine, as alſo by the opinions of the moſt conſpicuous and famous Phyſicians, with whom he had great familiarity both in *Venice* and *Padua*, and for the falling of the ſtraight Gut (which in time and with increaſe of age might render him unable for any action, and fix him if not to his Bed at leaſt to his Chamber,) he had continually proved many Remedies without profit; after he gave himſelf to ſeek out ſome inſtrument to keep it up, and having tryed many, he found one at laſt ſo proper and fit, that with it alone he was able to carry his Diſeaſe to the laſt day of his Life without hindrance from any action, more than if he had not had the Diſeaſe: and it is of ſo eaſie and ready a uſe, that having imparted it to others, it hath had the ſame effect with them, by keeping them in ability of motion and action; without which they muſt have remained in great pain and difficulty. This quietneſs continued above ſix years more, his Life being all the while employed in Divine Offices, wherein (as 'twas ſaid) he ſpent all his time, and in the converſation of *Virtuoſos* without the leaſt hindrance.

From ſome Notes that were found and are yet extant, it appears about that time that he changed the quality of his Studies, and gave himſelf altogether (beſides the Eccleſiaſtical and Prophane Stories) to the ſtudy of Moral Philoſophy. Peradventure that which is written of *Socrates*, is no ſingular act, or rather voluntary, but is as it were natural to all thoſe underſtandings that have any thing of tranſcendent, who after they have made a diſcovery at what they can arrive upon univerſalities, they tranſport themſelves totally to morality; which Study (as to inferiour things) is the only Speculation of Humanity. This ariſeth either from a deſire made more intenſe to better it ſelf, or from ſome *incomprehenſibility* that is met with; or from a ſolid judgment of the vanity even of Sciences, and of the Excellencies of Vertue, or the ſingularity of that part of Metaphyſick, whoſe Object is Intelligence, and the means thereof, and of Humane Actions that either are internal or from others.

It is moſt certain that Father *Paul* applyed himſelf to ſuch kind of Studies, having before that examined all the Works of *Ariſtotle* and of *Plato*, with little Notes of his own extant from one part to another upon the one, and from Dialogue to Dialogue on the other, but ſo ſhort, and for the moſt part writing only the firſt letter of a word, that one may eaſily perceive that either he wrote to himſelf alone for rememoratives, or elſe that in his age he deſigned matter for ſome further work. But I do rather believe the firſt, becauſe he never promiſed himſelf a years life, as he would always conſtantly affirm.

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He had examined the Doctrine of all the ancient Philoſophers of all ſorts, ſo far as there remains any mention or memory diſperſt among Writers, and given his judgment upon them. He had alſo examined the Opinions of Schoolmen aſwell of the real as the nominal, which he made much account of, as appears by ſome other ſhort Notes of his. The Mathematicks of all ſorts, the Medicinal, the Anatomical, the Simples, the Minerals, the Mechanicks, and of all the Qualities, upon which his Notes (as aforeſaid) yet remain, whereof that little that is intelligible is very pretious, and ſhews what Rules were hidden in the Mine of that rare Underſtanding. There are yet Letters of ſome very Learned Men of his time, wherein it appears that they ſought to receive his opinion in ſome of the moſt arduous things of Sciences, and particularly of the Mathematicks, and when any of them had either obſerved or invented any new or ſtrange thing, they preſently ſought to have his judgment upon it. Oh the great loſs, that we cannot ſee his anſwers. I have ſeen a certain diſcourſe which was ſent him from one *Marioti*, who in many Chapters treats of the ebbing and flowing, which it ſeems the Father approved not of, by a Copy of a Letter of his own, wherein he tells him, that he ſends him what he underſtood, and had obſerved about the motion of the Waters. I deplore the loſs of his Letters, and the misfortune of Men therein, that from time to time there ſhould be any loſs of that which hath been found out by great Wits. What a misfortune is it to us that in Hiſtory it ſhould be neceſſary to begin from *Herodotus*, and all that was before to be nothing but Fables and confuſion? (In this account we rank not the Sacred Story of the Bible, which was Gods Gift, and no Humane Induſtry.) In Aſtrology and Geography to begin from *Ptolomy*, in the Mathematicks from *Euclid*, and all the remainder (that is) the work of ſo rare and excellent Spirits, whoſe names are ſcarce in memory, ſhould be periſhed. The loſs of what the Father wrote concerning the moving of the Waters, draws from my Pen the deploration of a misfortune, which I perſwade my ſelf, if it had been extant, had been like food to the minds of ſo great Underſtandings, which have been famiſht without ſo much as hope of encountring any thing that might at leaſt in appearance give ſatisfaction upon that ſubject.

But in thoſe following years whereof we ſpeak, he ſeemed to be wholly engaged to that ſort of Study, which is only verſt in weeding out the Vices of the mind, and planting and cultivating it with Vertues. And upon this ſubject he hath written ſo many little Treatiſes, which he uſed to carry about him, with Sentences and Documents aſwell of the moſt ancient celebrated Writers, as of his own, that if ever they come to light, it will ſhew a Collection of pretious Jewels of ineſtimable value. Three things I have only ſeen, elaborate after the manner of *Plutarch's* little Works. On the Medicine of the Mind, wherein applying the Aphoriſms which are written for the health and cure of the Body to the cure and ſanity of the Mind, which he limits (as it ſeems) to Maladies that are only in ſtate and not in motion, or in freedom from pain (whereat a man in this life can never arrive) only he directs many ſingular means to obtain a tranquillity. Another little Treatiſe of the riſing and ceaſing of opinions in us. And the laſt, That Atheiſm is repugnant to Humane Nature, and is not found therein, but that they which acknowledge not a true Deity, muſt neceſſarily feign themſelves falſe ones. There are alſo two little Books which

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go together like a Metaphyſick, but imperfect and full of new and abſtruſe ſenſes. There is alſo a ſhort Examen of his own defects whereunto he had propoſed a Cure, and this was fit to fall into the hands of thoſe who after his death like Dogs that draw dry-foot, have not left the leaſt by-way untraced to find out ſome odours of imperfection: and here they might have ſeen a man that never flattered himſelf, but made a real ſcrutiny into the moſt recluded Corners of his own heart, and both ſaw and cenſured in himſelf thoſe things which to every other eye had been inviſible. And thoſe that in the reſt of his life for more than 20 years had lived intimately with him, do moſt holily atteſt, that they were never able to obſerve any ſuch defects in him. Becauſe peradventure in thoſe ſix years of his Moral Studies, he had regulated himſelf like thoſe true poſſeſſors of Wiſdom, who ſtudy not ſo much to ſeem learned, as to be truly and really good.

But all this was nothing, compared to his being affixt to the Divine Scripture, particularly of the New Teſtament, without any Expoſitor except only the Greek and Latine Texts, which he uſed to read from one end to the other, repeating it over ſo many times that he had it all in memory, and upon occaſion was able to repeat it all in the ſame manner, as by daily frequency Religious men uſe to recite the ordinary Pſalms. His attention was ſo intire and profound, that as in reading he obſerved any point for Meditation, he made in his Greek Teſtament upon the word or verſe a little line after this manner-------And ſo by reading it over again there was ſcarce a line or almoſt a word which had not a mark upon it, whereof a great Prince having heard after his death, did for curioſity deſire to ſee the Book. We have alſo ſeen the very ſame courſe formerly uſed upon the Old Teſtament, as alſo his Breviary wherein he recited the Office markt all (as aforeſaid) but eſpecially upon the Pſalms, which he knew all by heart, as alſo whatſoever was to be ſaid in celebration of the Maſs, whereof this is a ſufficient demonſtration, that in his laſt years he could not ſee, nor read any word that was either written or printed without his Spectacles, and yet without them he did always uſe to celebrate the Maſs.

I could not learn whether in theſe ſix years he had borrowed from his aſſiduity and immerſion in his Study more than two deviations. The one was that *Leonardo Mocenigo* being created Biſhop of *Caveda*, who was one of thoſe that many times (though not ſo often as others) frequented that glorious meeting of ſo many famous perſonages (the rendezvous of *Moroſini*) was deſirous firſt to be inſtructed by the Father in the profeſſion Canonical, and in whatſoever elſe (beſides his own Learning) was convenient for his new Epiſcopal Calling, and afterwards to have his Company along with him to *Ferrara*, where the Pope *Clement* the Eighth was then abiding, and where he was to be examined and conſecrated. The other was that famous Controverſie which (by the power of the Dominican and Jeſuitical Faction,) remains ſtill undecided, Of the efficacy of Divine Grace, called *de auxiliis*, whereof there hath been ſo much ſaid, and ſo much written. In contemplation of which difference, The Biſhop of *Montepeloſo* who was before that his intrinſecal Friend by the name of *Maeſtro Hippolito da Lucca*, a Man of much Scholaſtical Learning, but of a greater fame for goodneſs. This Man had read Theology many years in the Study and Univerſity of *Ferrara*, and was alſo Confeſſor to *Madam* the Dutcheſs of *Urbin*, and a very confident Servant of hers,

when *Alphonſo* the laſt Duke of *Ferrara* dyed. That *Princeſs* was in an ill repute with many of the better ſort, that ſhe had been unfaithful in the procuring ſome advantage to *Cæſar* of *Eſte*. And this Father himſelf either for truth or for ſome near reſpect of ſervice to the Princeſs, was alſo in a ſiniſter fame, to have either in confeſſion, or ſome other diſcourſe (being himſelf corrupted) by large promiſes and great hopes, perſwaded the Dutcheſs to adhere to the Eccleſiaſtical Faction. So it is, that he had (not long after) a fleight recompence from Cardinal *Aldobrandino* of the ſaid ſmall Biſhopriçk in the Kingdom of *Naples*, but he was always entertained at *Rome*, and deputed for one of thoſe Prelates to examine the ſaid Controverſie. And he, to whom the Fathers great Learning was ſo well known, procured by Letters, and by his utmoſt power to make him come to *Rome* with large Promiſes. After ſeeing him reſolute not to open his mouth in thoſe windy and ſwoln differences, went about to induce him by friendſhip to review the matter, and by Letters communicated his ſenſe to him. But this employment was not worth the name of a deviation, he having formerly moſt exactly read and ſtudied all the ancient Fathers, and had in them a ſingular practice, but eſpecially in Saint *Auguſtine*, in whom the Doctrine of that point is more fully handled than in all the reſt (and it may truly be ſaid; that the two Tomes, the ſixth and ſeventh beſides the tenth have no other ſcope) and thoſe were ſo familiar to him, that a place could not be ſooner toucht, but his hand was as ready to be laid upon it, and in hearing it alledged, was able to ſay whether it were faithfully reported, and was able to recite both the antecedent and ſubſequent words. In all his Writings there was nothing found of his in memory of that buſineſs, but only ſome reſponſive Letters of the ſaid Biſhops, whereby it appeared the Father had written oft unto him of that buſineſs, and of things whereby the Prelate receiving a great deal of honour, did always move and urge the Fathers coming to *Rome*, but in vain. He was, as it could be gathered out of thoſe Letters, of the opinion of Saint *Thomas*, to which he added the names of Saint *Paul* and Saint *Auguſtine*, againſt the ancient and modern Pelagians and Semipelagians. There is only extant a ſhort Writing to this purpoſe, in which it appears that at the inſtance of a Prince he had explicated the ſtate of that Controverſie in *Italian*, and what were the opinions of the Controverſies with their Explications and principal Foundation. A ſhort work but which ſhews the luciduesſ of that mind and his felicity in explicating the moſt arduous things.

At the end of the ſaid ſix years, or not long after, there were two occaſions out of which (it was believed) there ſprung another diſturbance; becauſe upon the death of the General, which was Maſter *Gabriel*, who was created 1603. (being fifteen years later than the foundation of the deſign of that Creation was at firſt laid) there was ſupplyed to that Government a Nephew of his by the name of *Maeſtro Santo* with only the bare Title of *Definitor*, who having his Uncle's hopes, though not his power, and eſpecially failing in that aptitude of his to ſerve the Court at all eſſays (which the General was always wont to do: to whom after his Death there were letters found that Cardinal *Aldobrandino* had writ with his own hand, and *Borgheſe* both Nephews to Popes, wherein it was ſeen that at *Venice* he had been a Servant to the Court) in things that might either have coſt him his life, or elſe advanc't to him a greater Prelacy. *Maeſtro Santo* imitated his

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Uncle in this opinion, that if he would domineer over the Province, it was neceſſary to remove that mote out of his eye, which was the veneration and honour wherewith the Father was followed. And to this purpoſe he attempted many exorbitant things, among which there was one that was moſt ridiculous. It is a Cuſtom, when Chapters are called together, that thoſe that have Votes make a ſcrutiny among themſelves to legitimate their Capitular actions. And that it might be without exception every one reſerves himſelf a freedom to queſtion or oppoſe whom or whatſoever he thinks good. So *Maeſtro Santo*, and *Maeſtro Arcangelo* ſtood up, and to do nothing with much diligence, and with power to make a conſpicuous buffoonry, they oppoſed three heads of exception or reproach againſt Father *Paul*, with the indignation and deriſion of all the Chapter, and they were theſe. That he wore a Hat upon his Head contrary to a form that had been lately publiſhed under *Gregory* the Fourteenth. That he wore Pantables that were hollowed in the Soles of the *French* faſhion (alledging falſly) that it had been decreed otherwiſe upon pain of deprivation of their Votes. That at the end of Maſs he did not uſe to repeat the *Salve Regina*. Things that were no ſooner heard than reſolved by the Vicar General, the Preſident and the Provincial into nothing, and exploded by all the Aſſembly, being rejected, and kickt out. And becauſe his Pantables were taken off by order from the Judge, and carried to the Tribunal, it became a Proverb which is yet in uſe. *Eſſer il Padre Paolo coſi incolpabile & integro che ſivio le ſue pianiſſi erano ſtate canonizate.* The Father *Paul* is ſo blameleſs and pure that his very Pantables were canonized. That his not reciting the *Salve Regina* aroſe not out of any indevotion.

It would be too long to deliver the ground or reaſon inducing him not to do it. True it is that he had reaſons ſo well grounded, that it was more lawfully omitted by him at that time, than it was added by others, againſt the rights of the Maſs, and derogating by a particular Decree of about 30 Fryars from the univerſal order of the Church.

It was obſerved that in all that action of propoſing, examining, and exploding thoſe exceptions, he never ſpake word, nor ſhewed the leaſt ſign of being affected with it: but went on upon occaſion of diſcourſe, and as he had uſed to do with thoſe his Accuſers, and *in ſpecie* with *Maeſtro Santo*, who had forgotten his Uncles Documents, which at his death he left with him; (*viz.*) That he ſhould never attempt any great thing in the Province without the opinion of Father *Paul*. So not taking counſel where he ſhould have done, and being too confident of his Uncles merits with the Court, and laſtly puft up with vain hopes from a certain Abbot, who was an Impoſtor, (and is yet living) who ſold him thoſe hopes at the price of a good ſilver Goblet, he truſt up his baggage, and carried with him to *Rome* whatſoever he could get, being about five hundred Ducats which belonged to the Monaſtery, which he there ſpent in four Months; and whereas he went thither full of great hopes, he returned again full of malecontent, and deſperation, which ſent him into *Candy* to raiſe a fortune in Merchandiſe, where not long after he left his life, having firſt loſt and ſpent what he had.

By this time (we may ſay) that the Fathers quiet ſtudies and his private life were come to their period, and that from hence till the end of his life, he entred upon another World, or rather came into the World, wherein it pleaſed God to call him into Employments, which he had never thought he ſhould have applyed himſelf to.

But man is not born alone for himſelf, but principally for his Country and for a common good. That Problem whether a wiſe man ought to apply himſelf to Government? Let others diſpute. This Father of ours ſhall give us an example to refuſe no pains nor peril for the ſervice of God, and of his Country. And that an honeſt and wiſe man is far from that erroneous Doctrine, invented by a company of ſeditious Cozeners, who never ſpeak of Secular Policy but with diſparagement, although it were inſtituted of God, and in which an honeſt man may ſerve his Divine Majeſty with a vocation as pious as excellent, and that no other employment can either exceed it or match it, as well for the common good, as in obedience to that ſupreme piety which may be exerciſed in the Church, and whereunto God from time to time, and ſince the very birth of the Church, hath called even the greateſt Heroes of all the Eccleſiaſtical Order.

At this time was aſſumed to the Pontificate, the Cardinal *Camillo Borgheſe* of *Sienna*, *Paul* the Fifth, about the end of the year 1605. either becauſe he had been Auditor *della Camera*, and had taken a great habit of thundring out Cenſures, or perhaps being not well affected to the moſt ſerene Republick of *Venice*, or elſe inſtigated by ſome Religious men (as I have it more certain and by clearer Arguments) who like Vipers tear in pieces, and poyſon that breaſt of State that gave them breeding and nouriſhment; the pretence of the difference being grounded upon ſome Laws of that Common-wealth which were ſaid to be againſt Church-Priviledges. So that things fell into a manifeſt diſſention among them: the Pope pretending that thoſe Laws were not only unjuſt but cancelled and aboliſhed; on the contrary ſide the Republick maintained that they were juſt and good Laws, and in no interpretation contrary to the lawful Liberties of the Church.

This buſineſs boiling betwixt thoſe two great Princes, ſome of the primary Senators, who had formerly been the Fathers Familiars, began to confer ſtrictly with him about this Controverſie, for it could not be concealed; not only in *Venice* (a City which for amplitude and concourſe of all Nations knows all things and ſilenceth nothing,) but alſo over all *Italy*; and upon his Arguments which were confirmed by a precedent knowledge they had of him, they proceeded to acquaint him with the buſineſs by a publick communication.

This fire lay long raked up under aſhes of Propoſitions and Anſwers, and Arguments on both ſides, by the ſpace of a Month, when about the entrance of the year 1606. it threw forth greater flames of Monitories and Comminations of Cenſures. Becauſe the matter being partly Theological and partly Legal, the moſt excellent Senate came to a reſolution, to chuſe next after their Conſultors *in Jure*, a man that was both a Divine and a Canoniſt. And after having cauſed to be read a ſhort Writing to that purpoſe, they made choice of the Father into that Charge, who hath ſince ſerved them ſeventeen years, not only in that Faculty, but as a Conſultor of State in all their Charges of greater conſequence. Becauſe though in his hands (as it is ſaid) are paſt all ſort of matters of Peace, of War, of their Confines, of their Covenants, of Juriſdiction, of Tribute, and of every other ſort of Treaties: But this alone may make it known how univerſal, how faithful and ſincere his ſervice was, that upon the death of the Conſultors in Law (men of eternal memory, *Marc. Antonio Peregrini*, *Eraſmo Gratiani*, *Agoſtino del bene*) the Common-wealth was ſo well ſerved by the Father alone in all ſort of buſineſs, that they choſe no

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Succeſſors into their places, as was formerly uſed to be done, except it were one *Il Signor Servilco Treo*, and when he failed by death, the Father remained alone.

Being now entred upon this Charge, he thought it of neceſſity to have Companions of experimented fidelity, whom he might truſt as himſelf, and ſpecially to turn over Books for him. Becauſe the Cuſtoms of thoſe times thought it not enough, to know things with reſolutions, and reaſons, but they would have an addition of a long ſeries of Allegations of Doctors of the one and the other Law. And he that would not err upon the credit of others, which often deceives men, thought it was neceſſary for him from point to point to ſee the Authors at the Fountain, being a buſineſs rather of much toil than wit.

To this purpoſe he caſt his thoughts upon *Fryar Fulgentio* a *Breſcian* (to whom he had long before vouchſafed the favour of a ſtrict familiarity) making uſe of him for ordinary ſtudying, and being ſo directed, not by way of ordinary readings, which he eſteemed to be rather a way of oſtentation, than any ways fruitful, but after the manner of *Socrates*, and in a Mid-wife like way appointing to read ſuch Books, or ſuch a matter, and then after by diſcourſe to find out and produce the Truth, to ſhew the Errours, and ſo ſettle a right underſtanding. A means truly both ſingular and excellent, to teach a man the way to be wiſe, although it have been neglected and out of uſe, to prevent, as they ſay, a ſhew of pomp and oſtentation.

The Reader will be pleaſed to diſpenſe with this little digreſſion in this place, becauſe it ſerves to take away an Objection made againſt the Fathers goodneſs, not only by the Fryars, but by ſome of his own intimate Friends, That he being ſo rare a man in all Learning ſhould be ſo ſparing to communicate his knowledge to others. And many have gone ſo far as to tax him of an envious diſpoſition, that he took no pleaſure in another mans Wiſdom, and loved rather to hide thoſe rich Talents of his own from others. But really it was not ſo, for he was rather of the moſt friendly and bountiful Soul in this particular, that could poſſibly be found, becauſe he communicated with an incredible readineſs whatſoever was required upon occaſion, and with a prudence ſo much to be admired, (though not to all men) but yet to every one according to their capacity or profeſſion, and in ſuch manner as hath been already told.

Here I could put you in mind of Gentlemen and Religious men whom he hath made perfect, ſome in the Morals, others in the Mathematicks and in Naturals. But to make a profeſt reading upon *Ariſtotle*, *Plato*, *Saint Thomas*, *Scoto*, or *Gratian*, (except the Mathematicks) which to be taught without order, and not to be taught is all one, this was ſo contrary to his Genius, that he could not endure it, and held it a pedantick way, as not ſerving to increaſe knowledge, or better the mind, but only to be able to argue with ſubtilty, and make a ſhew of Wit, and rather to breed a pertinacity of Opinion, than to make a ſincere ſearch of the truth.

Returning to our Narration, he reſolved to have with him for his Companion the foreſaid *Fra. Fulgentio*, who was at that time in the Univerſity of *Bologna*, and in the ſixth year of his profeſſion of reading School Divinity, having read before that three years at *Mantova*, and being further engaged from the General of the Order to read three years longer at *Bologna*, wherein he had made his beginning.

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But the command of his Maſter that required him expreſly and without exception, alledging that he ſtood in need of him as far as concerned his life, made him break through all obſtacles, and leaving his Lecture, and what hope ſoever he might conceive of preferment in Religion, and being well aſſured of what followed, which was the confiſcation of his poor Library, and thoſe moveables which were allowed him for his uſe, he came away whither the charity of his beloved Maſter or Father invited him.

After this the Controverſie betwixt theſe two great Princes grew higher than any terms of negotiation among themſelves could compaſs, and before any other Princes could interpoſe as they did after for accommodation: The Father with the other Conſultors was continually at the work, and employed by the Publick Prudence, ſeeking out how the moſt excellent Senate (*ſalva la ruierenza*) which was due to the Apoſtolical See might govern themſelves, to maintain their liberty and power of a Soveraign Prince as independent in their own Dominions. The Father made divers Informations by publick order, which are extant, and chiefly one little Tractate concerning Excommunication, wherein with as much brevity as a Writing that was to be read in ſuch a ſecrecy could import for inſtruction, and with greater clearneſs, all being comprehended that was eſſential to that cenſure, as the inſtitution of it, the legitimate uſe of it in holy Church, the manner how Princes and Republicks have grounded themſelves upon like occaſions, although it will be hard to find ſuch Government among Catholick Chriſtians, which at ſome time or other hath not ſuffered by thoſe encounters with the Court of *Rome*, ſince that about the eleventh Age from our Lord, that abuſe crept in of employing ſpiritual Arms to mundane ends, all was briefly comprehended in conformity to holy Scriptures, to holy Councils, to the ſacred ancient Doctors, and how in ſuch a ſubject a faithful, pious, and Catholick Prince ought to deport himſelf.

It is a great loſs, that among other Writings of his concerning the Publick (which are many great Volumes, and of ineſtimable value in all matters of State) this ſhould not be found, and he that kept under Key all his life long even to the leaſt bolletines and ſhort notes that he made upon every word that concerned the Publick, which he had written during all his faithful ſervice, and having ſearched for this with extraordinary diligence, yet it could never be found: but we have a certain rudiment which ſeems to have been the firſt draught of the diſcourſe, which is full of ſolidity and Chriſtian piety. Beſides the Writings and Conſultations whereof we need to ſay no more but that the moſt excellent Senate, having by publick Decree commanded they ſhould be copied out into Books for future uſe in Government, he was conſtrained againſt his will, and againſt what he had always propoſed to himſelf, to publiſh ſome things that he had written upon theſe occurrents.

Firſt, It was thought neceſſary to give the world a ſhort account of the ſtate of the Controverſie, which from thoſe Pens that were devoted to the *Roman* Court, went ſo maskt and diſguiſed, that the people were extreamly abuſed, as if the Controverſie had only concerned Religion, whereas there was nothing elſe in the queſtion but of Juriſdiction: and ſo at the very beginning there came forth at *Milan* a long Writing in print, which was on purpoſe nail'd up in the night, and faſtned in the publick places at *Bergamo*, and upon the *Bergamaſco*, (which

(which are Lands that in the temporalty are ſubject to the ſtate of *Venice*, and in the ſpirituality are under the Arch-Biſhop of *Milan.)* They contained things of much exorbitancy, That their Sacraments could not be valid, that their Matrimonies were Concubinates, their Children illegitimate, and divers other things directly contrary to the Doctrine of the very Canonical Law. This engaged a neceſſity of giving the World a ſhort account of the truth.

And becauſe the Father never made profeſſion of any Language which he had not well ſtudied, but only to ſerve to the explication of his own ſenſe, he made a collection in writing into certain heads, of all that he thought fit to be ſpoken of. And it was after given in charge to *Gio. Battiſta Leoni* a man that was moſt verſed in the elegancies of the *Italian* Tongue, having ſpent his time in it, when he was the Secretary of *Cardinal Commendone* and of other Prelates, and had to his honour put divers things in print which were well approved of. And after he had been a whole day in the company of *Leoni* to inform him throughly, being continually imployed in great matters, he required *Fra. Fulgentio,* that had born a great part in making that collection, to look to divers places in the Authors themſelves, and to diſcuſs the matters from point to point. And before he would accept the publick charge for four Months together. He ſtudied the matter day and night to be firſt well reſolved in his conſcience of the juſtice of the *Venetians* cauſe, and of the ground of it. And while *Leoni* was buſie in giving the ſtile, the Father called to mind a Tractate in the matter of Excommunication written by *Gio. Gerſon* a Pariſian Doctor, and famous for having been Chancellor of the *Sorbonne* at *Paris*, who had taken great pains at the Council of *Conſtance* to remove a long Schiſm which had laſted ſeven and thirty years in the *Roman* Church, and was reputed a man of learning and piety, living and dying with a fame of perfect holineſs. He cauſed ſome of the great Senators to peruſe it, who finding that it ſeemed to be written as if it had been directed againſt the buſineſs in agitation, did by their Authority make the Father tranſlate it into *Italian*, and prefixing a ſhort Epiſtle in the Front, ſent it to the Preſs. Againſt which little Work, *Cardinal Bellarmine* having written, and given a particular encounter to the Letter in the Frontiſpiece, and charging the Author with falſe interpretation, and with Doctrine contrary to that of the Church, after fell to confute the little Work it ſelf of *Gerſon.* The Father being engaged into a neceſſity of anſwering, and withal of defending *Gerſon.* A Book was thereupon printed, which is now in being, and entituled the Apology of *John Gerſon*, in which, I am ſure that learned and pious Catholicks who prefer not ambition, and flattery of Court before the clear Fountains, their own Conſciences, and the ſolid Catholick Doctrine, have not found any thing wanting either in the Writers modeſty, nor for depth of Learning, nor in the ſufficiency of the defence; but the work it ſelf being publick, let the learned and pious Profeſſors of the truth be the Judges.

Leoni alſo wrote, who as in matter of Elegancy and ſmooth Language, gave more ſatisfaction than needed, ſo in that which concerned ſolitude and ſubſtance, he came as far too ſhort. And truly it is impoſſible that he that of himſelf is not capable of a matter, ſhould be able to write ſubſtantially at another mans information, and how much more he ſhall ſtrive by quaintneſs of expreſſion to give it ornament, by ſo much the work will fail and be wanting in ſolid ſenſe. Nor yet

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did it give full content to thoſe that read it, and becauſe now in the mean time, a number of little Pamphlets flew abroad in Print, which were full of petulancy and impudence, and wherein either not touching the Controverſie they ſpent themſelves in ill Language againſt the Senate, and ſeditious conceits with the people, either perverted the ſtate of the cauſe by confuting their own fancies, and blotting of Paper in a vanity of diſcourſe and flattering declamations, or by touching the difference with ſo much ſlightneſs diverted it to things that were impertinent. It was thought neceſſary that Father *Paul* himſelf ſhould ſet Pen to Paper, which he did, and wrote a work under the name and title of *Conſiderationi ſopre le cenſure*.

Of the piety and ſolidity whereof the wiſeſt are only fit to be Judges, and whether the confutations that were made againſt it be confutations, or elſe confeſſions of a deſperate cauſe. And becauſe againſt that, as at a mark, the multitude of Writers ſhot all their Arrows (with which kind of Men our Age is furniſht abundantly, who make their gain the end of their writing, and their honour more than the truth) and among others finding that one Father *Bovio* a Carmelite had written leaſt fooliſhly, the Father was willing his Book ſhould be anſwered by a Book that was called *Le Confirmationi*, under the name of *Maeſtro Fulgentio*, which if it deſerve commendations, muſt be only attributed to the Father, by whoſe directions and helps it was compoſed. His is alſo (though curſorily written) *la aggimita è ſupplimento al Hiſtoria degli uſcocchi*; beſide the tediouſneſs of the Letter and Documents of Signior *Minuncio*. And another little work *De jure aſylop petri ſarpi Juris*, which is the name that *Padre Paolo* was known by abroad. And an extract of a Writing of his, made by publick order to give a rule of uniformity how to proceed in that matter of the immunity of conſecrate places through the whole Dominions of *Venice*, but it is more ample in the Original, as it was preſented to the Publick, containing particular Laws and Treaties that had paſt with the Popes. I have ſeen in the hands of ſome of the Magiſtrates a long Manuſcript which treats of the Office of the holy Inquiſition at *Venice*, and of all the State, but made by Publick Order, which although it ſeem only reſtrained to the particular uſe of the moſt excellent Common-wealth, yet it is a moſt ſingular piece, and worthy (for the exquiſite and rare things which it contains,) that all Princes ſhould purchaſe it as a precious Jewel, not only at the weight of Gold, but as heretofore the Works of *Democritus* were bought. But it may well be believed, that thoſe Lords which have it in poſſeſſion are not ignorant of that worth, but keep it as a Jewel.

Theſe are the works of Father *Paul* that are ſeen abroad in written hand, or in print under his only name; or that are certainly reputed to be his, though made upon divers occurrents. Becauſe that Tractate of the interdict ſet out in Propoſitions, was compiled by the common conſent of the ſeven Divines, which at that time the Common-wealth kept together to examine their difference with the Pope. Since then, an Opinion hath got footing in divers places; but in *Rome* 'tis publiſhed for an undoubted truth, that he was the Author of the Hiſtory of the *Council of Trent* divided into eight Books, and printed in *Italian* at *London*, and preſently after tranſlated into all the moſt common Languages of *Europe*. And it may be that *Rome* took that aſſurance, the rather becauſe for a long time the Father went gathering with extreme diligence, whatſoever he could attain to know, either

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by coſt of friendſhip, ſparing no labour about the celebration of the ſaid Council, and not only in *Italy* but abroad. And at ſuch times as it was lawful for him to converſe with the Ambaſſadors of foreign Princes, which was betwixt his being a Divine, and a Canoniſt, until his being made a Conſultor of State: he had all that while a free entrance into their ſecrets. He was moſt intimate with thoſe of *France*, with *Ferrar*, *Demete*, and *Freſnes*, and particularly with *Ferrier*, who being preſent at the ſaid Council of *Trent*, had many great Memorials (and Letters which are the moſt ſecure and real foundation of an Hiſtory.) Of this we have an Argument although it be but a ſlight one, which is, the inſcription of *Pietro Soave Polano*, whoſe Anagrammatiſm makes *Paolo Sarpio Veneto* the name and ſurname of the Father. But in theſe kinds of Encouuters the matter is infinite, though the labour be but vain; yet be it how it will, I am of opinion that a judgment of the Fathers wiſdom cannot be made upon his Writings, except it be with ſuch a diſcretion as the ſubtil Artificer, who, by the ſight of one of the Claws knows the greatneſs of the Lyon; and as in Hiſtories we find that by the meaſure of a Finger is comprehended by the Rule of Proportion the greatneſs and vaſtity of the *Coloſſus* at *Rhodes*, becauſe in Works that were written in ſuch a neceſſity of difference and diſpoſitions, it was a greater ſtudy to know what was fit to be ſilenc'd than what to be ſpoken. He that reads may well obſerve the great modeſty wherewith he ſpeaks in a time whereas (with ſcandal to poſterity) he was become the object of all malignant and petulant Pens, dipt more in the poyſon of Calumny and malediction, than of Ink; yet for all this, as a man never provok't, he choſe with all exquiſiteneſs rather to defend the cauſe which he thought to be juſt, than to make anſwer to detractions.

There is alſo to be ſeen the *Rubricks* of 206 Chapters of a Work which he had in *Idea* of the power of Princes, which gives ſome expectation to have been the moſt deſired and important compoſition that ever appeared to the World: whereof this may ſtand for a proof, that he had extended the three firſt Chapters to ſo great a comprehenſion of matter, he having with his own hand beſtowed the firſt draught of them upon the moſt illuſtrious Lord *Giorgio Contarini*. This Lord who to the Nobility of his great Houſe hath added an incomparable vivacity of Wit, a ſingular judgment and other gifts which have rendred him conſpicuous, making a collection of many rare things, eſpecially of the vulgar Writings of the greateſt perſons, is poſſeſt of this, and will not ſuffer it, as I believe, to go out of his hands, becauſe ſome of his *Rubricks* being diſperſt into divers Countries, where there are men of famous Learning and Knowledge, might ſtir them up, (if it were poſſible) to undertake a continuation of what the Father had only left in *Idea*, wherefore to ſend abroad the three ſaid Chapters as they were drawn up, would rather have been a diſcouragement than an incitation, for fear of falling upon that deformity which *Horace* ſpeaks of, *Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam jungere, &c.* for otherwiſe that Lord beſides his confidence of finding in a Fryar ſuch a Magazine of eminent Vertues, after he was grown acquainted, and had got an intrinſick converſation with him, he did not honour him, but (as I may ſay) he adored him like a *Numen*. He by his great Wit being capable to penetrate the excellency of that Divine Soul, and after the Fathers death no man was ſo zealous as he to honour his memory. This was he who after the Father was dead (while they that ſhould have done more took the leaſt care)

(as it often happens in the like caſes) cauſed his Image to be made in Chalk and after in Metal, that he might (as he hath done) have it graved in Mother of Pearl, and cut in Braſs. And in all this having not ſatisfied his fanſie, he uſed all the means he could to get it done in Marble. Theſe were the effects and demonſtrations of a moſt generous heart, and arguments of a ſublime intellect.

Here it comes to purpoſe to inſiſt upon the manifeſt injury which Churchmen had done him, to conceive ſuch an inraged hatred, and ſo unjuſt againſt his Writings and Deportment, during the time that he was imployed in the Publick Service, becauſe in his actions he had always abſtained from making any recrimination, and had kept all the Laws of a true Divine, and one that had in greateſt veneration the See Apoſtolick, and the Pontifical Dignity and Authority. And I would it had pleaſed God that all men had done the like; for then the Church had been had in more honour, and that honour had extended it ſelf further. And as for other mens Writings, I would not have Church-men think that at that very time, there was a want of perſons that made formal anſwers to ſo great Calumnies and Maledictions againſt the moſt ſerene Common-wealth, and the Defenders of her Cauſe.

But the Father *Paul* did by Publick Command with his ſix other Collegues, reduce himſelf in a Canonical way to take examination of whatſoever was preſented to the Preſs, and upon every thing there was a ſpecial care that no offence might be given to the Court. And out of that reſpect it is, that there are ſo many other Writings which were never ſuffered to be put in print. And the great piety of the Common-wealth deſerves an eternal memory, who for this end (beſides the other Examen) had deputed three of the greateſt Senators for age, for merit, and honour, who after the report was made by the ſaid Divines, did themſelves review every thing before it went to the Preſs with a moſt curious eye, that nothing ſhould be impertinent to the Cauſe, or offenſive to the contrary part, who on the contrary part are ſo far from giving the like reſpect to them, as the world well knows, having given an eternal ſcandal to Catholick Religion, and are grown to ſuch a paſs, that the Catholick Religion with them is no more, but what their own intereſt and arbitrement dictates.

And becauſe in the Writings which at that time and ſince are come forth upon ſeveral occaſions (if they may have life, whereof there is no great appearance, and much leſs reaſon, except for this, that they favour the pretences of the *Roman* Court) the Maledictions againſt the poor Father are innumerable, the impoſtures, the impudent Calumnies, being the moſt notoriouſly falſe, that perhaps were ever invented againſt a man, whereat prudent and pious men need not wonder, but rather remember, that in all ages there have not wanted ſome ſuch peſtiferous Pens, who to become ſervile to the Court, have adulterated ſo many Tractates under the name of holy Fathers and famous Writers, corrupted true Narrations, brought in fabulous Legends, and above all infected the World, with impoſtures and infamations of thoſe, whoſe works they were neither able to extinguiſh nor confute. But ſince the time that theſe Religions are ſet on foot which are ſo much tyed to the intereſt of the Court, this Licence of altering, corrupting, lying, feigning, calumniating is grown ſo great, that if other Sects or Ages ſhould be put into the ballance with them, they deſerve rather to be canonized than defended, becauſe this kind of impudency knows no limits, but hath a foundation beyond the ordinary

Topicks. Ill Language is of eaſie entrance, and falſhood is ſpoken in a few words, but the confutation is of greateſt difficulty, and requires long Narrations which are read with impatiency, and of but a few, and when a ſlander is once gon abroad, they are very few that think themſelves concerned in the excuſe of him that is ſlandred, or in diſcovery of the Truth: eſpecially ſince on the one ſide the Rewards and Allurements are large, and on the other ſide there comes little or no mundane Advancement.

But above all other theſe modern men have their own Reaſons to be in this matter as the old ſaying is, *Gnaviter impudentes*, which is their ſecurity, that how notorious ſoever the impoſture be, yet it ſhall be faſtned to a multitude, and undoubtedly to an innumerable number of their devoted Dependants, who without further diſcuſſion of truth, receive every thing upon other mens credit, as did in former times the Diſciples of the *Eleuſinian* Myſteries, or to ſpeak nearer to the purpoſe, thoſe that were adherent to the *Gnoſticks* and *Manichees*, and other ſuch like Sects, with whom it was an only Argument to believe any exorbitancy, by an *ipſe dixit*. And thus much was neceſſary to be ſaid concerning theſe Writings.

But in his actions *Padre Paolo* deſerves rather among Church-men to have a bleſſed memory. And thus much the excellent Senate and Common-weal will for ever teſtifie how unjuſtly this was objected, That either he ſought to ſtir up any thing againſt the lawful Eccleſiaſtical Immunities, or counſelled any thing that might redound to the diminution of the Authority of the See Apoſtolick. They will alſo teſtifie, with how much art and ſingular prudence he hath often tempered that ardour which (even in the moſt moderate Citizens) the zeal of their liberty hath uſed to inflame againſt any that are reputed) Offenders or Uſurpers of their Jurisdiction. They can alſo teſtifie the great reverence wherewith he hath always ſpoken, and written concerning the Popes and the Apoſtolical See. Yet for all this moderation he could not prevent being cited to *Rome* to render an account of his written Doctrine. To the Citation he made anſwer by a *Manifeſto* (which is in print) wherein he proved the nullity of the Citation, and an impoſſibility of transferring himſelf to *Rome*, which yet remains without confutation. And the Conſequence will prove whether he had reaſon to truſt himſelf thither, whether it were juſt that, as he had humbly petitioned, ſo a ſecure place might firſt be aſſigned him to make his defence before further proceeding. But without further ſcruple (as it was reported) he went to *Rome*, but there was never any lawful account or reaſon yielded to declare him obnoxious to the Cenſures or Eccleſiaſtick Penalties, it being a report, that they were ſo far ſurprized with his *Manifeſto*, that they would never ſuffer it to be publiſhed. Beſides he drew a long Writing which was after known to be preſented to the Pope himſelf, wherein he made a brief Collection of many formal Hereſies and tyrannical Doctrines which are found among thoſe Defenders which wrote on the Pontifical part. As for his own Writings he made them this offer, that if they would decline that ambiguous and captious way of Citation, pretending him guilty of Heretical Propoſitions, ſcandalous, erroneous, offenſive to godly ears, *Reſpectivè*, all the reſt being made unintelligible by the addition of that ſtrange word, *Reſpectivè*, but as if he had in particular, and by Name gathered and noted the wretched and falſe PROPOSITIONS which

were in the Writings of the Eccleſiaſticks, ſo they would but deal with his Writings, that then he offered himſelf being ſecured in any place among Catholicks; there to hold diſputation with any man, and preſently to retract if there were any cauſe ſhewed that required retractation. And to this purpoſe the Ambaſſador anſwered his Holineſs, carrying with him the ſaid Writing, which he imparted to thoſe Prelates at *Rome* that deſired to ſee it.

It ſeemed that God the juſt Judge (at the ſame time that this tempeſt of Perſecution was raiſed againſt him) was pleaſed in another kind to comfort and relieve him. And as his Divine Majeſty doth not uſe to leave his Servants under a greater weight, than what by his holy Grace they may ſuſtain, encreaſing troubles out of his Charity, and his Perſecutions coming from ſo high a hand; he was clearly healed of thoſe great infirmities, which from his youth he had born with an unconquered Patience, and under ſuch a weakneſs of complexion, he himſelf then being as healthful as he could wiſh: excepting only that of the *Procidentia* the falling down of his Guts, whereof he made no great matter, having with his Inſtrument found a means whereby it gave him no impediment at all. And the retention of his Urine troubled him no more until the ſeventieth year of his age, for at this time that we ſpeak of, he was but 55.

The Fathers actions of this year would yield us matter of too long a diſcourſe, the piety wherewith the moſt excellent Senate did govern themſelves (after ſo great an offence and continued injuries) towards our holy Catholick Religion, and towards the Pope himſelf, who had done the injuries, their prudence in Government, and charity towards their Subjects is partly ſeen in a particular Relation which the Father made by publick Order for memories ſake, which after ſtole into the Preſs; but ſure it is that it went printed into *France*, and there it was reprinted. But to return to our purpoſe, we find in the Memorials that remain in all Hiſtories, the deplorable Tragedies that have ſucceeded when Popes have proceeded to excommunicate Princes and publiſh interdicts, and no leſs when with the like Cenſures this excellent Common-wealth was injured, being parallel'd with the ſucceſſes of this which hath continued above ſixteen Months; the Father hath herein deſerved eternal memory, or rather to be canonized for one of the moſt pious, holy, well-deſerving and prudent religious men, that ever ſerving Prince with uncorrupted Faith, did likewiſe ſerve the holy Church, and the Popes themſelves. If that be true which Writers of the Eccleſiaſtick part have publiſhed in ſo many printed Books, that the Fathers reputation was ſuch, that all his Conſultations were received and executed like Oracles. Becauſe it was proceeded againſt thoſe Religious men, who either for ſcruple of conſcience (which were very few) or by way of faction and intereſt diſobeyed the Publick Orders, with ſo much favour that not any one of them was puniſhed with death for any offence, and very few deprived of liberty to go where they liſted. A Precedent ſeldom ſeen upon the like occurrents in other places, wherein the moſt ſerene Common-wealth made ſo little uſe of the power againſt Offenders which God had given them to vindicate the injuries of Malefactors. And to ſay truth, the nature of the Father was ſo merciful, that it ſorted well with the publick Clemency, nor was he ever conſulted concerning any grievous publick Offence, wherein he did not ſweeten their deliberations as much as any living man could do, and excuſe whatſoever

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was capable of an excuſe. To be ſhort, he never ſerved as a Spur to any thing but to meekneſs; he never ſerved as a Bridle to the prudence of that Government, but only in the reſtraint of ſome fiery ſpirits, and particularly in the examination of things that were deſired to be ſent to the ſtamp. In his own Writings, all his care was to ſilence whatſoever might give offence, not in what he could ſay in defence, for the matter was very ample, and the work that lay upon him was more in defalcation than addition. And they that have ſeen his originals can make faith, how much he deſired to ſtand to the cauſe without ſuffering his Pen to run riot in any thing which by interpretation might be drawn into offence, although the malitious ſubtilty of ſome Flatterers hath made it appear, that there can be nothing ſo moderately ſpoken, which is not ſubject to depraved expoſitions.

The Faction of the Court had (among other Artifices to get a Victory in this Controverſie) made uſe of this, to ſend divers men under various pretences to ſeduce (either by promiſes, or threatnings, or both) thoſe that ſerved the Republick, particularly thoſe Religious men that made up the College of the ſeven Divines, ſo as it happened, That two of them deviated from the duty of their Conſciences. And truly they did their Offices with ſuch violence, ſo much of threatning, as of promiſe, that if the juſtice of the cauſe of *Venice* had not been exceeding clear, and the infamy of deſerting it ſo notorious, after the juſtice of it examined, underſtood and defended, it had been enough to have ſtaggered a very ſolid Brain.

But ſuch was the conceipt of the very Enemies of the Fathers integrity, that having attempted all others by all their Engines whereby their fidelity might be ſhaken, they durſt not ſo much as move the Father by a word. And true it is, that the General of the *Servi Maeſtro Filippo Ferrari Aleſſandrino* being an intrinſick friend of the Fathers, and going from *Rome* to *Venice*, Pope *Paul* gave him a ſtrict Commiſſion to remove from the ſervice of the Common-weal, two of his Order, Fryar *Paul*, and Fryar *Fulgentio*, with ample promiſes of reward. But the General made him anſwer, that for Father *Paul* he thought he was able to do no good. And going to the Cardinal *de Aſcoli*, with whom the Father had been very intimate, and communicating his thoughts to him of attempting that revolt; the Cardinal told him that he had ſeen the Fathers Writings, and thereby knew that it was but a loſt labour, and not to be attempted. This great and learned Prelate underſtood the ſolidity of the *Venetian* Reaſons, the Fathers incorruptibility, and his mind that was impenetrable either by allurements of Court, by ambitions, by profits or terrours. And when *Don Franceſco de Caſtro* came extraordinary Ambaſſador from the Catholick King to *Venice*, to treat of an accommodation, having in his company ſome Religious perſons of eminency, there was not one of them that durſt open his mouth to the Father to any ſuch purpoſe. Only one of them once ſet a Net to have caught him, but in vain. One *Martino Aſdrale Vallone*, one that was an excellent Spy, came to *Venice*, pretending a ſatiety and ill ſatisfaction of the Court, who a long time addreſt himſelf to haunt the Shop of *Sechini*, (whereof you have heard.) No man had better intelligence of what paſt at *Rome* concerning that Controverſie than he. None more free to condemn the fury of the Pope than he. He was of no abſurd wit, and with much practice he grew cunning enough to let them know that the Pope was of a vindicative ſpirit, thereby laying a

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foundation to his deſign, which he had given him in charge, and it might be true.

At the end of this year, and the coming in of 1607. the accommodation was concluded for the King of *France* by the means of the Cardinal *Perone*, and the Mediator of it had been the Cardinal of *Joyeuſe*, who by the interpoſition of *Mounſieur de Freſnes* Ambaſſador for the Chriſtian King, had uſed all diligence that the Father and he might meet together for conference, alledging that beſides that he was comprehended by way of accommodation in the Publick Cauſe as a Counſellor, he had moreover ſpecial Commiſſions to treat with him of things concerning his own greatneſs. The Father penetrated the Cardinals end, giving an account thereof to the Publick, and thereupon the moſt excellent College were deſirous to hear the Fathers own opinion, remitting the reſolution to his only prudence, and to them he gave ſuch an anſwer, that by thoſe moſt wiſe Senators it was reſolved, that he ſhould not treat with the Cardinal. And among other Reaſons, the Senate never being inclined to grant either benediction or abſolution to ſuch as needed it not, they could not foreſee to what end it was to grant a private Conference betwixt ſo great a Cardinal and a Fryar. "*And although the Father were of himſelf very ſpa-*
"*ring to ſpeak, yet it was in the power of others to make it more or*
"*leſs as they pleaſed. Nor can he that ſerves a Prince have a worſe en-*
"*counter being already hated for another ſake, than to hear a thing*
"*whereby one part may be made jealous without hopes of pleaſing the*
"*other.* When the Agreement was made, it was one of the Conditions, that the Common-wealth ſhould give thanks to all thoſe that were not ſpecified by their names in that revolt. By reaſon whereof many returned back to the State that had grievouſly offended the Publick. And the Father was alſo comprehended in *Individuo*, which was a thing beyond the courſe of common reaſon, or the Doctrine of Laws, that Peace being made with the Prince, it ſhould not be intended to be made with all his Counſellors. All which afterwards the Pope himſelf *Paul* the V. did nominally ratifie to the then Ambaſſador, *Franceſco Contarini*; (and at this day the moſt ſerene Prince and Duke of *Venice*.) And the truth of thus much ſhall be verified by things ſubſequent. That the Pope ſpeaking of Father *Paul in individuo* ſaid, that he had given his benediction to all, and was not willing there ſhould be any more words of what had paſt.

Upon which promiſes of ſo great a Prince, and upon the integrity of his own Conſcience, the Father repoſing himſelf in all clearneſs and tranquillity, ſerving his natural Prince with that faith and diligence which he kept incomparably to his laſt breath; it fell after divers times into debate, whether the Father ſhould go to viſit the *Nuncio Geſſi*, that was ſent to *Venice* after that accommodation. It was anſwered that it was but an Office performed in relation to their own Ambaſſador at *Rome*, and howſoever that it was but an expreſſion of Reverence; and it being referred to his own conſultation, he for his part ſhewed himſelf moſt willing, but yet with regard had to the manner how *Nuncios* uſe to treat with the Prince himſelf, having power to colour their Treaty with a pretext of Religion; whereupon it was reſolved, that he only uſe a ſet form of preciſe words that were preſcribed him from the moſt excellent College. And further what he ſhould tolerate, and what he ſhould reply to, in caſe the *Nuncio*, as he pretended, ſhould fall upon the cauſe. This had ſo much variety

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of opinions and contrariety, that the buſineſs without reſolution fell to the ground. But it hath ſince happened, that the greateſt Prelates of this State, as well Patriarchs as Biſhops, have indifferently upon all occaſions treated with the Father of theſe Affairs, ſome viſiting him in his Monaſtery, and others ſending to invite them to their Houſes.

It fell out at this time when the differences were already compoſed in *Venice*, that *Gaſparo Schoppio* a man well known to the World by his Writings in print, coming from *Rome* to paſs into *Germany*. (as he ſaid) or that he brought with him (as it was alſo ſaid) a Writing full of reproach againſt the Republick, to be printed in *Germany*; beſide other Writings full of impiety (as that of Fryar *Tomaſo Campanella*, a Dominican) who having attempted to betray *Coſenza* into the *Turks* hands was at that time kept a Priſoner in the Caſtle of the *Egge* by the *Spaniards*; in that of this he gave documents to the King and Government of *Spain*, how under certain pretexts of Religion they might impropriate the Papacy, or elſe ſtir up his Holineſs to raiſe new Controverſies againſt the leſſer Princes, continuing the practiſe until he found an opportunity to ſeize upon their Eſtates, and ſo proceeding as he would have the *Spaniards* do, until they had gotten the Pontificate into one of their own, that they might be both King and Pope at once, or elſe that the Pope might be held on as an inſtrument of the oppreſſion of others. Whether it were for this, or for any other ſecret cauſe that he had incurred publick indignation, he was detained in Priſon three or four days (if they were ſo many) and afterwards by publick order he had liberty to go where he liſted.

But *Schoppio* was deſirous to treat with the Father, and they diſcourſed together in matters of Learning very long, and particularly of the Doctrine of the Ancient Stoicks, which he profeſſed he would recall to light out of the thick darkneſs wherein it was obſcured, beſides many other learned thoughts of his, and very much alſo in matter of ſtate, eſpecially concerning the Proteſtants of *Germany*. And ſo falling into nearer diſcourſe with the Father, he began to let him know that the Pope like a great Prince had long hands, and having conceived ſome deep offence againſt him, it was impoſſible but that it would fall heavy upon him, and that if he had deſired to have him ſlain he did not want the means.

But that the Popes intent was to have him alive into his hands, and to fetch him from *Venice*, and bring him to *Rome*. Yet nevertheleſs he offered himſelf (whenſoever he pleaſed) to treat for his reconciliation, and with as much honour as he could deſire, affirming that he had many Treaties in Charge with the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* about their Converſions. To this the Father anſwered, that he had done nothing for which his Holineſs had reaſon to be offended, that he had defended a juſt cauſe. That he was extreamly ſorry that ſuch a defence as was made, ſhould be encountred with the Popes indignation. That in the accommodation he was individually comprehended, and that he could no way preſuppoſe a falling of publick Faith in a Prince. But as concerning his being ſlain, that of all things troubled him the leaſt. That it was a thing plotted againſt Emperours, executed upon Kings, and great Princes, not againſt private men, of ſo low a fortune as his was. But if ſuch a thing were deſigned againſt him, he ſaid he was prepared to ſubmit himſelf to the Divine pleaſure, and that he was not ſo ignorant of Humane condition, but that he knew what was to be thought both of life and death, and whether (of him

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that knew them both well,) they were either of them to be deſired feared more than was neceſſary. And if he ſhould cauſe him to be ken alive, and carried to *Rome*, yet all the power of a Pope could r arrive at this, to make another man Patron of his life before himſelf and that he was reſolved to be the Patron of his own life before the Pope. For the reſt he gave him many thanks for his good affection, not caring to make any party for himſelf, or his own ſafety, ſince his cauſe was ſo united with the publick, that they could not be disjoyned.

Thoſe two Propoſitions of killing or taking him alive, ſeemed ſomewhat ſtrange, but that which followed not long after will make it clear, that *Schoppio* ſpake upon good ground, and that the things were already deſigned. He went away from *Venice*, and in a ſatyrical compoſition relating that he had congreſs with Father *Paul*, he atteſted that he had found him *nec indoctum nec tumidum.* But the Father was ſo good of himſelf, that he was not able to think an ill thought, but believed whether that theſe were both conceipts of *Schoppio*, beſides that of his own nature he was beyond meaſure undaunted, and being ſo reſigned to the will of God, he lived moſt confident in his own innocency. And though he were often admoniſhed to have a care of himſelf by thoſe Lords that were the Inquiſitors of State (this is a ſupreme Magiſtracy in *Venice* to whom many ſecret things are made known) to whom intimation was given, that there was a machination againſt the Fathers life, which they (in their charity) as often warn'd him of, that he might be put upon his guard; yet he ſeemed to take no care of himſelf, either out of the greatneſs of his ſpirit (as they that have had often experience can give aſſurance) or elſe by being ſecure that nothing could happen without the Divine diſpoſition, and that thoſe things which are appointed by God, cannot be hindred by any humane caution or warning, but that rather many times too much caution and ſolicitude are among the cauſes of contrary events, and eſpecially in ſuch accidents, where travel may be both uncertain and infinite. Certainly he was never inclined to change his accuſtomed manner of life in the leaſt kind, but would ever ſay, that it was indifferent to him to dye this way or that way, only that he might dye juſtified, becauſe he was reſolved that in no way Death ſhould ever take him unprovided. And among the excellent Vertues of this man, it was not the leaſt, that he never valued his life, ſo it is a rare example of him that hath this reſolution rooted in his mind, that it is an indifferent thing either to live or to dye.

Six Months after this accommodation happened an accident, which gave the World much to talk of, and confirmed *Schoppio* that he had not ſpoken in the Air, nor that thoſe iterated admonitions to the Father to guard himſelf were ſuperfluous; becauſe in the Evening of the firſt of *October* about three of the Clock, the Father returning home to his Convent from *Saint Marco a Santa Foſca*, and coming down near the foot of the Bridge, was aſſaulted by five Aſſaſſins, a part of them king watch, and the reſt to do execution. So that the innocent Father had three wounds with Stillettoes, whereof two were given him in the neck, and one in his face, which entred at the right ear, and came out again betwixt his noſe and his right cheek. The Aſſaſſin could not get back his Stilletto, becauſe it had paſt the bone, where it ſtuck ſo faſt and went ſo far in that it was bearded. In the ſucceſs of Humane things, Divine Providence is ever to be admired, where Humane Prudence vaniſhes out of ſight, it being moſt certain that in actions there is an eternal

nal force, and a long Chain of cauſes, ſo far without us, that neither our knowledge nor any conſideration of ours, can ever come near. It was above three Months that the Father (except that night) was never left alone, but had in his company beſide *Fra. Marino* his ſervant, *Padre Fulgentio,* with another companion of ſpirit and valour.

For although the Caveats to look to himſelf were now very frequent, yet theſe religious men walkt about with an intire confidence, fearing no ill, becauſe they knew they did none, but had defended ſo juſt a cauſe, and believing that the heat of the controverſie being once over, no man could be of ſo impious and tyrannical a mind to preſume (after ſo ſolemn an accommodation) to give the world and all Princes ſo wicked an example, or to think that Princes had not learned Perſons always about them to be able to defend their actions, but that they muſt employ murtherers, and cut-throats. That night it happened he was left by *Padre Fulgentio,* and his other companion, and it was upon this occaſion. Two daies before by a caſual fire, there were ſome houſes burnt in a ſtreet that leads towards *Saint Marks,* and *Fulgentio* hearing men talk of a fire, and that it could not be extinguiſht, was deſirous to go ſee it, asking the Fathers leave, and intending at his return to go home with him. But making his ſtay ſomewhat longer than he intended, and believing the Father to be gone home by the way of *Saint Lio,* came home himſelf to the Monaſtery, by reaſon whereof the Father was that only time left ſo long together with his only ſingle companion, who having behind him Swords drawn and Guns, was ſeized by one of the murtherers, and had his arms ſtrait pinioned behind him, while another of the murtherers thought he had diſpatcht the Father, and thereupon gave over, leaving behind (as it is ſaid) the ſtilletto in the wound, then they took up their Guns into their hands to terrify ſuch perſons as were like to make noiſe or purſue them. After which *Fra. Marino* being left by him that held him bound, and ſeeing three other of the murtherers ſtand together and ſhoot their Guns, he took his heels and ran away in a fright. A good old man *Aleſſandro Malipiero* deſerves much to be remembred upon this occaſion for a ſincere and vertuous ſoul adorn'd with ſolid piety without hypocriſy, a friend of truth. This good man being very nobly born was yet more noble in the integrity of his life, being of a conſtant and wiſe judgment in a decrepit age, and had uſed every evening to accompany the Father (to whom he bare a ſingular love and reverence, which was alſo enterchangeable betwixt them.) He went a little way before the Father, ſo that by the advantage of the Bridge, the Aſſaſine had a full opportunity to ſtrike, and gave him fifteen ſtabs, with his ſtilletto, as it was ſeen by ſome Gentlewomen who ſtood in their windowes, and the holes were afterwards counted in his hood, and the coller of his doublet, but he was only wounded by three of them, wherein is eaſily ſeen a particular Divine protection, which deprived the murtherer both of his wit and force, who with one light ſtab either in his flank or the chine of his back might have ſlain this innocent man, that all the while never ſtir'd nor ſpake one word, but (as himſelf after reported) he thought that at the two firſt ſtilletato's he felt like two blows ſtrucken with fire at one inſtant, and at the third, as if a great weight had fallen upon him with ſome aſtoniſhment, which he felt but in a confuſed manner. The women in the windows raiſed an outcry, and the Signor *Malipiero* turn'd back again, and ſeeing the ſtilletto ſticking faſt in the Fathers head, with all his ſtrength pull'd it out, and began to cry

out murder, and perceived immediately two of them with their Piſtols in their hands running down the ſtreet of *Saint Marcilian*, and from thence to *Corte vecchia della miſerecordia*, at the end of which they had a *gondola* ready, and their companions that tarried for them, from whence they ſaved themſelves in the houſe of the Popes Nuncio, then reſident at *Venice*, and from thence the ſame night they paſt to the ſhore, where having prepared a flat Boat with ten Oars and well armed (which waited for them) they went therein towards *Ravenna*, or (as ſome ſaid) to *Ferrara*. But it being divulged and underſtood that the *Aſſaſines* had firſt ſheltred themſelves in the Nuncios houſe, the inſurrection and concourſe of the people was ſo great, that although it were very late at night, the houſe was ſurrounded, and what with reproachful words, and popular clamours, the perſon of the *Nuncio* himſelf was ſeen to be in manifeſt danger; The high Council often were fain to ſend him a numerous and publick guard to prevent the occaſion of a grievous inconvenience. The murtherers were not ſo quickly purſued as they might have been, by another ſtrange accident. Some *Comedians* who were allowed that night to repreſent at the Theatre which was at *Saint Luigi*, where there was acted one of thoſe Comedies which they call *Opera con intermedii*, a Comedy with Muſick, and there was come thither all the neighbourhood; ſo that in thoſe ſtreets of the Pariſh of *Santa Foſca*, the like number of people had not been ſeen together, at any time, by reaſon whereof the murtherers had a more ſecure retirement. The executioner of this Aſſaſinate was one *Ridolpho Poma*, who at firſt being a Merchant in *Venice*, was eſteemed for a man of honour, but failing therein was retired to *Naples* for the recovering of ſome of his debts, and from thence he went to *Rome*, where he was alſo well reſpected. But every man began to wonder at the intimacy which he had got with the Cardinal *Borgheſi*, who brought him to his Uncle the Pope, from whom by great favour he obtained a promiſe that two of his daughters (which were left in the State of *Venice*) ſhould be received Nuns into a Monaſtery there. And he put ſome of his friends into an amazement by writing to them, that ere long (having recovered ſome of his debts) they ſhould ſee him in a gallant condition, and by his Letters it might be gathered that he conceived hopes as high as to be made a Cardinal. This was the Conductor of the Plot, together with one *Aleſſandro Parrhaſio* of *Ancona*, and there were Companions added to them, *Giovani* of *Florence* the Son of *Paul*, who that he might remain at *Venice* without being ſuſpected, till the Treaſon were grown ripe for execution, cauſed himſelf to be liſted with a company of other Souldiers, which were to ſerve under a Captain of ſome Ships that were bound for *Soria* and *Alexandria*. And one other there was by the name of *Poſquale da Bitonto*, who was alſo in pay with another company, being all of them experimented men in ſuch kind of profeſſions, as it may be well concluded by the reſt of their bands, who were all, or for the moſt part either baniſht men, or fugitives.

The ſpy or guide of the Plot, was a Prieſt, *Michel Viti* of *Bergamo*, who had ſometimes officiated in the holy Trinity in *Venice*, which puts us out of doubt, how many Months this buſineſs had been hatching before it came to light. Becauſe this Prieſt in Lent before, under colour of being much taken with the Sermons of Father *Fulgentio*, had uſed to go every morning into the Convent of the *Servi*, to the door of the Pulpit (which anſwers the inner part of the Convent) and treated with him very courteouſly, to be ſatisfied by him

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in ſome ſcruples of conſcience, and continued his reſpects every day by ſaluting him and conferring with him of things which concern the ſoul. So eaſily and ordinarily is religion made a ſtalking horſe or Inſtrument of the greateſt wickedneſs by thoſe, who being either faln from a right courſe, or elſe faſcinated by ſome more potent error, ſuffer themſelves to be guided by a blind obedience.

Before the ſucceſs of this curſed Act, Father *Fulgentio* had many times obſerved, that as he came home with the Father over the bridge of *Santa Foſca* either at the one or the other end of the Bridge, he had ſeldom or never failed to encounter one while with one, and another time with two Souldiers, which proved afterwards to be thoſe very Murderers. And becauſe he perceived that they lookt narrowly upon the Father, and being gone paſt him, turned again to look back after him, he began to adviſe him of ſome danger that was toward him. But the Father reprehended him of too much curioſity and ſuſpicion, becauſe ſuch things as muſt take effect can by no humane foreſight be prevented.

Before we return to the wounded Father I would deſire the Reader to tolerate a little tranſtemporation, and digreſſion concerning the murtherers, becauſe the mind is ſeldom ſatisfied without hearing ſomething of matter of events. It was verified by publick report, that when *Kidolfo Poma* came with his Confederates to *Venice*, he took up a thouſand Crowns at the Chamber of *Ancona*, and coming to *Ravenna* after the fact, with the news that Father *Paul* was ſlain, he was honourably welcomed, it being alſo ſaid that from the Chamber of *Ravenna* he received a thouſand Crowns more, but this I do not affirm, becauſe I have it not upon any certainty. There he got a Coach, and a guard of armed Men, and in the other rites of *Romagna* they went with their *Harquebuſes* in a kind of triumph. So in their way as they went they were entertained and careſs'd in all places by Governours untill they came to *Ancona*, whither the fame by Sea being got before them, that the Father was wounded but not dead, did turn their Glory into ſome Eclipſe. Then they arrived at *Rome*, where though they were well received with aſſignation of entertainment, yet their expectation was unſatisfied, and there they continued until they fell all into their ſeveral diſaſters.

The Prieſt *Michel Viti* was clapt up in Priſon in the Tower of *Nona* (whereof I could never know yet the certain cauſe) where he found a Fryar of Father *Paul*'s Order in Priſon, who told others of his Order, the fooliſh things which he had heard from *Michel Viti*, and what promiſes had been made him and the manner of the whole buſineſs, wherein he ſaid he had done the Church very great ſervice. As for *Poma*, as he was apprehended by a Provoſt Marſhal he was ſhot above the chin, or ſo wounded that he died of it. His Son that was with him, and he, were ſent to *Civita Vetchia*, where he died in Priſon very miſerably. There was alſo ſeen ſome years after another Son of *Pomiani* in *Venice*, a young man of great Stature, and beautiful Aſpect, put out of his wits, and followed in the Street by a company of Boys, ragged in clothes, and begging his bread. He was born for an example of Gods puniſhment which paſſeth from Fathers to their Children by a terrible viſitation.

Of the other three I cannot tell the particular ſucceſſes, nor which of them was beheaded at the Caſtle of *Perugia*. But true it is, they came all to ill ends. And becauſe in *Rome* after they were ſecur'd and

ſtipended for a time, it came after to a reſolution of caſting them into Priſon, or baniſhing them (as the effect made it appear,) ſo the cauſe is in concealment, as it ordinarily comes to paſs in the reſolution of great Princes. It was imputed to their impatience becauſe the promiſes were not performed, it being reported that *Pomz* was to receive 10000 Crowns, and the other very great ſums, which was the cauſe why they began to ſpeak in derogation of the Cardinal *Borgheſe*, and of the Pope himſelf in extravagant language, diſcovering too clearly, that what was unperfectly executed, could have no abſolute praiſe nor due reward, no not from thoſe that could have given luſtre to a thing that was done, and had therefore been better wrapt up in ſilence. Then it was ſaid or charged upon them that they held a conſpiracy to kill both *Borgheſe* and the Pope. (Such is the fecundity of finding out cauſes in Courts, and eſpecially in *Italy*.) That which I conceive more probable is that which was told me by a Prelate now living, that about the ſame time *Ridolfo* the Emperour being dead, and his Brother *Matthias* to ſucceed him, the Pope ſent the Cardinal *Mellini* as his Legate into *Germany* to intervene in that action, upon thoſe ordinary pretenſions which the Popes have had always in the creation of Emperours. At his return to *Rome* he told them that the Catholicks of *Germany* took very great ſcandal, that perſons which were guilty of ſuch accurſed crimes, ſhould find entertainment at *Rome*, and that thereupon the Hereticks took occaſion to publiſh odious writings againſt the Perſon of the Pope, and to the reproach of all the Order of Cardinals. This diſcourſe came to the Popes ears, or was elſe fomented by the bold words which were ſpoken concerning the non-payment of the 10000 Crowns which had been promiſed, and thereupon a juſt provocation given.

True it is, that he gave order they ſhould be put away from *Rome*, although not without entertainments in other places. This ſeemed to them a thing of ſo much ſharpneſs that they began to lament that they were betraid, and that thoſe were not the promiſes which had been made them, and for which they had put themſelves upon ſuch evident dangers of dying upon Gibbets, and now to fail with them in matter of faith, and in ſuch manner as had been infamous among the very *Turks*: but the provoking ſo mvch the minds of thoſe great men, that were impatient of the leaſt injury, was the cauſe that the foreſaid ill fortune fell ſo heavy upon them, approving that old ſaying, "*That no kind* "*of Traytors are pleaſing to Princes, and that Divine Juſtice though with* "*a lame Foot, fails not to overtake the ſwifteſt forerunners.*

Now returning to our wounded Father, the firſt thing (after his wounds were bound up, and he tumbled upon his Bed) was to prepare himſelf in his ſoul to God; to receive (as he did the next morning) the moſt holy Communion in the greateſt humility, entreating all the other Fathers that were preſent with many tears in their eyes to excuſe him, if by the impediment of his wounds he were not able to ſpeak much, as he deſired to have done, that he might by greater demonſtrations of the ſorrow for his ſins have begged a pardon of God. And (as it is the order of that Government) the *Avogador* being come to take his examen, (who was then *Signor Girolamo Triviſano*, and at this time General in *Candia*) the Father told him, that he had no Enemy that he knew of, nor had he known any. Only he prayed the high Council often, that as he with all his heart did pardon him that offended him; ſo they would make no other demonſtration of it, but what might

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ſerve to defend him better, if God ſhould be pleaſed to prolong his life any further, expreſſing in his actions as a Chriſtian, and Son of the Heavenly Father, his due obedience to the Goſpel, and as a Philoſopher that he had eradicated out of his Soul all ſpirit of revenge (which is a kind of ſavage Juſtice, but deeply inſerted into humane nature.) It was not a ſingular action of his upon this offence alone, but obſerved by him formerly, and after in the whole courſe of his life, never to procure a revenge, although the injurie were never ſo great, and the moſt that was ever heard come forth of that bleſſed mouth of his in caſe of his wrongs though moſt unſufferable in words or writings, or actions, was to ſay ſometimes with a ſerene face, *Videat Dominus & requirat.*

The next morning the General *Filippo Aleſſandrino*, hearing of the buſineſs, came in all haſt to viſit him; (having been intimate friends together) and when he had heard how the buſineſs had been acted, he fell into ſuch an amazement, that having communicated his Commiſſions to *Fra. Fulgentio*, he remained for a while ſpeechleſs.

But obſerving his own order in avoiding oſtentation or unneceſſrry ſhews of weakneſs; it fell into conſideration whether he ſhould uſe the help of more than one for his infirmity, and ſo he was willing that *Signor Alviſe Ragora* a young man but very diſcreet and in Chirurgery of a light hand and no hard binding, ſhould give attendance upon him. But the condition of his perſon, and the publick reſpects conſtrained him to give way that almoſt all the famous Phyſitians and Chirurgeons in *Venice* ſhould have a hand in his cure (beſide ſuch, as by publick order came thither from *Padua)* among whom was *Girolamo Fabritio Aquapendente* (an old friend and an admirer of the Fathers vertues) And he was commanded not to ſtir from the Convent, (being aſſiſted by *Adriano Spigelio* who ſucceeded in the *Anatomy Lecture* at *Padua)* until it might be diſcerned whether the malady would determine to life, or death, it being very long in doubt of judgment whether the one or the other. Becauſe beſide that the wounds themſelves were very grievous, and much more by the complexion of him that was wounded, being ſo extenuated in nature, that when at the beſt, he ſeemed but a Skeleton (ſo diſtinctly might his bones be numbred) as alſo by ſo great a loſs of blood, that left him almoſt bloodleſs, continuing more than 20 days before he could move or lift up hand. To this was added another accidental miſchief which was real, The multiplicity of Phyſicians which is a miſery common to great perſons; becauſe ſome were of opinion that the wounds by the blackneſs of their orifice gave an argument of a poiſoned weapon, and others that the treacle in the Medicaments had cauſed inflammations, and it ſeemed to ſome that the inflammation went not far, but might be pared away, whereby the patient was forced to ſuffer as much by his Phyſicians as by the Diſeaſe, which was very long, with divers recrudeſcencies and prognoſticks both of life and death. In all which continuance the Father behaved himſelf with his wonted piety and conſtancy. Wherein he was much to be admired; nor did he forbear in his greateſt dolours ſometime to pleaſe himſelf with his own conceipt. As at one time he ſet all the Phyſicians and Chirurgeons a laughing, that were not leſs than a dozen about him, becauſe as he was in dreſſing, *Aquapendente* ſaid that the greateſt wound was not yet cured, the Father ſuddainly replyed, I, but the World will have it that it was given *Stylo Romanæ curiæ.* And the ſame night being laid in his Bed, and being told that the ſtile was

there

there which was left ſticking in his head, he cauſed it to be brought him, and having felt it with his fingers, he ſaid immediately, it is not filed.

Not many hours after there ran a fame that the Aſſaſſins were apprehended. Thoſe that were preſent, and yet alive, make faith that upon the news he ſeemed to be much diſpleaſed, ſaying, Perhaps they may diſcover ſomething that may give ſcandal to the world, and prejudice to Religion; which we may the better believe he ſaid, becauſe he had received aſſurance, that they had betaken themſelves to the houſe of the *Nuntio*, as alſo of the tumult which we told you of. But in the whole courſe of his infirmity he never ſhewed the leaſt ſign of pain, as in emplaſtring, in cutting to widen Orifices, which being made with a ſtile, and ſo deep, require dilatation by the rules of Art. And becauſe the bone of the upper jaw was broken, many times when the wound made a ſhew of healing, nature making abſceſs to expel corruption, renewed always the inflammations with exceſſes of conſiderable Fevers, until ſuch time as it was abſolutely healed, and the ſcars remaining in his Face, both at the entrance, and coming forth of the Weapon.

Aleſſandro Malipiero would have the ſtile as due to him becauſe he pull'd it out of the wound. But conſidering the ſucceſs, which if it were not full of miracle, was yet a particular demonſtration of Divine providence, and the moſt ſpecial cuſtody of the innocent Father, ſo he was content it ſhould be hung at the feet of a Crucifix in the Church of the *Servi*, (where it yet remains) with this inſcription, *Dei filio liberatori.*

The day after the receipt of his wounds he received the news of the death of *Mounſieur de Maiſſe*, which afflicted him with an immenſe grief, whereof he made demonſtration to *Pietro Aſſileneo*, ſaying, *We have loſt our dear friend* Monſieur de Maiſſe. *This is a wound which admits no remedy. And in this humane condition of ours, where among friends we muſt expect to be either a ſpectator or a ſpectacle.* And as the Father loved him ſincerely, ſo in his loſs he became ſenſible of much diſcontent and ſorrow.

The moſt ſerene Republick could not make a greater demonſtration of their reſpects to the Father, nor of their publick diſcontent upon that accident, nor of their munificence (their ordinary property) nor of their charity toward him that had been their ſervant, becauſe upon the news of the accident, the excellent Senate that were then aſſembled, broke up immediately without proceeding any further, with an univerſal murmur of condolement. The Council often being alſo met (who have the judicature of the greateſt criminal cauſes) And there was that Evening ſo great a concourſe of Senators in the Convent of the *Servi*, that one would have thought that they had intended to have held a Senate in the place.

They ſent Money to the Monaſtery to be ſpent upon the cure. And beſides the reſort of the Primary Senators, that ordinarily viſited him, He was ſent to every day by publick perſons, and the Senate commanded that the Phyſicians ſhould go to attend the Senate to make a true relation of the ſtate of the Father, and with a rich recompence of a chain and Medals, the Signor *Aquapendente* was created Cavaglier, for having attended upon the cure. And as for ſecuring the Fathers perſon in time to come, whatſoever was imaginable was done. As for the murtherers who were preſently known, and diſcovered by particulars from

from whence they came, and whither they went, they gave them baniſhment of the higheſt nature that the Supream Council had ever done to any for crimes of the greateſt exceſs. They printed Proclamations alſo with promiſe of ample rewards to the people or any man that at any time upon the like occaſion (if any ſhould attempt to offend the Father) ſhould raiſe themſelves to kill or apprehend the attempters of any ſuch offence, with the ſame rewards propoſed to whoſoever ſhould make a diſcovery to Juſtice of any Plot or machination againſt the ſaid Father. They gave allowance alſo to the keeping of a Guard about him with liberty to bear Arms arm'd of any ſort, and for maintaining thereof an encreaſe of ſtipend, with a houſe at *Saint Marks* at the publick charge, where he might remain in ſecurity.

But the Father was reſolved never to change his courſe of life, and beſought them that he might continue in the Monaſtery among his Brethren, with whom he had lived until that Age, affirming that he could not tell how to live otherwiſe, and that was his calling, wherein they were content to gratifie him, only cauſing ſome little buildings to be added to his Chamber, from whence by a little Gallery, and a Ladder he might have the commodity to take Boat; that when it happened he was to return from the publick ſervice home to the Monaſtery by Night, he might not be expoſed to treachery.

Neceſſity yet conſtrained him in part to make an eternal change of the tenor of his life. Becauſe (howbeit the ſerene Republick had from the beginning aſſumed him into their ſervice by aſſigning him a convenient ſtipend,) yet he until thoſe very times was never willing to make uſe of more than neceſſity required, without declining at all from the rigour of his Religion, or the poverty thereof; being content with that ſimple food and rayment without any alteration.

But by this accident he was conſtrained to go no more on foot from the *Servi* to *Saint Marks*, it being neceſſary to have paſt through ſome blind Alleys which had given opportunity to ſuch as ſought his life, but to uſe the commodity of gondola's. For which conſideration in ſixteen years following he hath been accuſtomed to embark himſelf, landing at the *Rialto* to go the reſt of that little ſtreet of the Mercery in ſecurity being ſo frequented as it is, and by the advantage of a dayly exerciſe to keep himſelf in ability of walking. Likewiſe he foreſaw a neceſſity of having two Companions; the one to ſerve him, and the other for a writer. To *Fra. Marco* which was one of them he gave at two ſeveral times ſix hundred Ducats (beſides a good revenue of 50 *per An.*) And upon the other *Fra. Marnio* 300 in bank to put forth at 10 *per Cent.* becauſe he might have a ſubſiſtence, and afterward 40 *per Annum.* And beſide this in the Convent it was thought neceſſary for him to enlarge his hand to thoſe that managed Bread and Wine, and to ſome Cooks he gave no leſs than 60 Ducats in one year. Nor will any that ſhall read his life, eſteem it either imprudence or prodigality, but the neceſſary defence of his own life. He went yet further to give largely upon all occaſions, and to be liberal among his Conventuals, which things gaining him more benevolence, and intereſting many in his conſervation, did likewiſe ingage him to give over that rigid reſolution of not accepting thoſe proviſions which were aſſigned him from the publick munificence, which alſo enabled him to exerciſe thoſe Acts of liberality. The habit of which vertue was ſo natural to him, that when he was at the pooreſt of his fortune, he never denyed any thing that was asked him, whether it were

were Money if he had it, or elſe any of his Books. And if it were not of neceſſary uſe to himſelf, his parting with it was an irrevocable giving it away. And in theſe latter times that he was able to give Almes and Gifts, he hath given ſo much to ſome one man that deſired it of him by way of Loan, that he that knows it affirms by good proof that it did amount to above 2000 Ducates. And his manner of lending was always with this condition, that except he redemanded it, they ſhould never offer to repay him (as one that was willing to give in ſuch a way, that the thing that he gave, ſhould not have ſo much of meanneſs and inferiority that it might be ſaid to be beſtowed.) And very often he had in his mouth this ſaying, *Imitiamo Dio ela natura*, let us, *&c.* who whatſoever they give, they never expect again, and let us avoid that common error of ſuch as think that to lend is to loſe, or elſe put a friend to bluſh or be aſhamed.

He made another change alſo in this, that from that time forward, while he lived, he never converſt abroad out of his Chamber, in the Monaſtery, except it were in publick places, as the Church and the Quire, or coming to Divine Offices, or to the refectory at Meals. His life being ever after, Hermite like and totally ſolitary, as far as the publick ſervice could diſpence with it, and his narrow world was confined to his poor Cell, and that little path betwixt the *Rialto* and *Saint Mark*, which is but the ſtreet of the *Merzaria*, ſpending the reſt of his time in the exerciſes of his ſoul in his never interrupted ſtudies, and in the ſervice of the publick, or of his private Neighbours, it being come to that paſs that in all ſorts of buſineſs they came to him for advice, and he gave anſwer to all with ſuch meekneſs and profundity, as if he had been every mans advocate. And to this particular purpoſe two ſtrange things fell into obſervation. The one that never any thing was propoſed to him, whereto he did not as readily and ſolidly give an anſwer, as if it had been in his only profeſſion, and yet he gave no reſolution nor anſwer ſo ſuddainly that it ſeemed not to be moſt ſtudiouſly conſidered of, and ſuch an one as it was impoſſible to be bettered, and in ſixteen years there ſeldom happened any matter of conſequence wherein he was not conſulted, becauſe from all the Cities that were ſubject to the Signiory, in the moſt difficult cauſes his opinion was always deſired, as in Teſtaments, in Matrimonies, in Feoffments, in Hereditaments, and even as far as in points of honour for the making of peace.

I omit thoſe publick reſpects which concern the ſubſtance of government. In matters of benefices ſo abſtruſe and various, in all kind of Eccleſiaſtick Controverſies, it is a ſtrange thing that his foot never trod awry, no not ſo much as that the whole Court of *Rome* could ever find any thing in his judgments that was fit for reproof. But as oft as it happened that things went to conſultation, although to the famous Univerſities and Colledges, if the Father were of a different opinion from thoſe that gave anſwer at the inſtance of the party, it was always concluded in matter of judgment that the Father had hit the nail on the head. In all ſuits and proceſſes of private perſons, his anſwers were always taken for Oracles.

And here I may ſummon the conſcience of a number of people that live, to acknowledge this for a truth, whether in all thoſe conſultations which ſurpaſs thouſands, he hath ever been known to err in his judgment. This is the diſadvantage of him that writes the life of this Divine Soul, that thoſe things which ſeem hyperbolical,

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and merely Rhetorical, come not near the expreſſion of that which is, and which was more in fact than can be related. Of matters of Government it will not be neceſſary to ſay more than what the moſt excellent Senate (the very *Idea* of politick Chriſtian prudence) knows. Another thing was rare in him, that having yielded his ſervice freely in private cauſes as well of the Church as Secular (as if gifts had had a power of Enchantment, according to that Fiction of the Poets *Muneribus Divi placantur*, and thereby an adminiſtration given to all men to take heed of receiving them) ſo he would never receive a recognition from any man, whatſoever, not of the leaſt value, as others in the like kind did or would have done, and ſome have enricht themſelves by great ſums of Money that have not taken pains to the tenth part of his Employment. Beſides many, who underſtanding his merits, have attempted to fix a gift upon him; yet to the glory of God and of this excellent Creature, there is no man alive that can ſay that ever he received the leaſt gratuity, being always content with this only reward of having done well. And if when God and the Publick were ſerved he had any ſpare time, he would not loſe a minute from reading or hearing others read, or forming Mathematical Figures upon Papers or Aſtronomical Deſigns of divers Inſtruments, which when he had after torn in pieces, it was to ſhew that he did it but to paſs away time. The greateſt part of his time he beſtowed upon the New Teſtament, and upon the Morals. In matters of Experiment the Humane underſtanding is unſatiable, ſuch was the life of this Father, ſingularly compoſed of active and contemplative, always yielding to God what he could; to his Prince what he ought, and of that which belonged to his own Dominion more than he ought by any Law but that of Charity.

But yet neverthelefs, this ſo pious, ſo holy an inſtitute and order of his was not able to pleaſe the implacable, as it happens with Engines of many pieces, and inſtruments, that though the motion took beginning from ſome principal wheel, nevertheleſs that impreſſion which it makes upon others doth not ceaſe, though the principal move no more; nay rather that impreſſion which is made upon the leſſer pieces draws after it with violence that piece which gave motion from the beginning. So in ſome Governments the motion that took beginning from the Prince and was derived, and after divided among many Miniſters; follows and continues a motion in them, although the Prince have abandoned it; in like manner it happens concerning hatred and malevolence, that the intereſt of Court advancements take deep root with many that perſwade themſelves they ſhall do the Pope a very great ſervice, and 'tis grown almoſt natural for men to ſhew that they having an affection to that which at firſt they took from others, (being none of their own but feigned, that they may arrive at ſome end of their own,) and ſo in progreſs of time forgetting themſelves become really tranſported in their affection, the like being alſo obſervable in the corporal affections of nature, as in infirmities and diſeaſes of fancy. So there were many that from the beginning, knowing neither why or wherefore, but only ſhewing a hatred to the innocent Father, and believing that in ſo doing they ſtruck into the humour of the Court, and were thereby like to prefer themſelves as many have done that have founded their fortunes upon that only foundation, and ſince have really entred into affections of hatred and malevolence, fomenting them by feigning a falſe fame that the Father was oppoſite to other Prieſts, that in conſultations he went always againſt Eccleſi-

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cal juriſdiction, and this is at this day the very centre where all their lines do collineate. A meer falſhood and well known to them that govern, which they being able to carry no further, muſt now teſtifie to the glory of God, whether he ſerved for a Bridle or for a Spur according to the urgency of occaſions, and the good Offices which he continued to do in favour of the Clergy; and whether he were not a perpetual Advocate for the Juriſdiction and liberty of the Church. "*I mean* "*the true Canonical and legitimate Church, but not that which is now uſurpt* "*and employed to the ſubverſion of Publick Governments and of Religion it* "*ſelf. Becauſe the Father always affirmed with a moſt intenſe zeal, that* "*nothing gave ſo great an impediment to the progreſs of the Catholick* "*Religion as when they extended their liberty into licenſe, and that this* "*alone had cauſed and maintained ſo deplorable a diviſion in Religion*, and ſome have been very injurious to calumniate him, that either in Conſultations or in his Writings he went about to bear down the jurisdiction of the Church, and to exalt more than was neceſſary, the power of Secular Princes.

It is true that with a frequent zeal of the conſervation of holy Church and Religion he was moved to blame Princes as guilty of a great ſin, for not caring to preſerve that juriſdiction and power that God had granted them, upon which ſubject he hath written much, and grounded it upon piety and irrefragable truth. Becauſe Authority is given by God to Princes, not for themſelves but for the benefit of the people, the Prince being but the Depoſitory, the Cuſtos and Executor, not the Patron of that Authority to change or leſſen it at his pleaſure. Wherefore 'tis a groſs ignorance and a moſt wretched ſin not to keep up that which God hath conferred upon them. And Princes are not peradventure guilty of a greater ſin and offence before God, than out of an ignorant zeal to have ſuffered ſo great a part of their power to be uſurped, and that they are no longer able to rule the people committed to their charge without continuing a change of Government. The negligences of Princes in this particular hath been pernicious to the Church of God, and to all Eccleſiaſtick Order. And whoſoever ſhall without paſſion conſider how far the Father was any way a breeder of Controverſies that have been in the Church, ſhall find how he hath deplored them to be the true original of all thoſe miſchiefs which have now brought into the Church the moſt politick mundane Government that ever was: and buſied the Eccleſiaſticks in things not only different, but alſo contrary to the inſtituted Miniſtry of Chriſt, keeping Chriſtendom in perpetual diſcord. And the diviſions at this day, that are among Chriſtians ſo irrevocable by any other means than the Omnipotent and Miraculous Hand of God, he held it for certain that they were bred not ſo much by obſtinacy in diverſity of Opinions, and contrariety of Doctrine, as from the ſtrife about juriſdiction, which after by degeneration, and growing into Factions, hath taken up the Mask of Religion. And as one well verſt in Hiſtories hath obſerved, that good Princes from time to time have been they, that have kept their Juriſdiction moſt entire; but effeminate ignorant and vitious Princes are they, that have loſt a great part, or by their inſufficiency ſuffered others to uſurp it, with ſuch a deformation in the Church. And for a proof of this, it is not neceſſary to run back to the Examples of the *Conſtantines*, the *Theodoſio*'s, the *Juſtinians*, whoſe Laws and Codexes whoſoever will read ſhall find this to be verified, but to thoſe that are nearer our own Age, and to thoſe whom

whom the *Roman* Church this day acknowledgeth to be even the baſis of their temporal greatneſs. *Charles* the Fifth, *Philip* the Second, and other Catholick Kings.

But this malevolence hath not been unfruitful to all ſorts of men, for as it hath been helpful to ſome, ſo it hath been hurtful to others, becauſe in the Fathers life, and (which is more to be wondered at) after his death, it hath befriended many Religious men, not only of the Order of the *Servi*, but others to the obtaining of Degrees and good Offices, always giving the foil to their Concurrents, by ſaying no more but that they were affectionate, or that they had but treated with the Father, and by this means they have ſupplanted thoſe perſons, that never ſpoke with nor ever ſaw the Father even ſo far as to be laught at by thoſe that have known the truth of particulars, eſpecially after his death: as of *Alberto Teſtoni* whom we named before, who to obtain a Prelacy from Pope *Urban* by way of Brief, (which was againſt the Law,) uſed this as a means. That it having been formerly collated at a Chapter, it had belonged to a Dependant of Father *Paul's*, who had been dead two years before. And another to exempt himſelf from the command of his Provincial, wrote that he had been a Diſciple of Maſter *Paul*, to whom the man had never ſpoken at any time, and another obtained a very fair abſolution for having brought Whores to live with him in his Cell, for wearing Piſtols and other things of that nature upon confeſſion and conviction, and by his only excuſe that he had been in diſgrace with the Father: but all theſe are ridiculous levities.

Returning to things that are more ſerious. This hatred thus nouriſht, brought to light a new machination againſt the life of the Father, in the year 1609. In the time that the Cardinal *Borgheſe* (and before his Uncle had aſcended to the Pontificate) ſtudied at *Perugia*, *Fra. Bernardo Perugino* inſinuated himſelf into his Grace and Friendſhip, and for certain youthful ſervices, which he perſormed to the Cardinal, he being but a young man himſelf, and one that did not abhor the ordinary guſtoes of his Age, he grew into ſuch intimacy with him, that being after made a Cardinal, he called him after him to *Rome* there to make him amends for the pleaſure and ſervice that he had done him. Whether the Fryar invited himſelf, or were invited, goes beyond my knowledge.

True it is, that he treated with, and inſtructed a Fryar of *Perugia Gio. Franceſco*, ſending him to *Padoua* from the General of the *Servi*, under pretence of being a Student, where he was after made a Doctor although with very little Learning. This man by the vicinity of *Padua* came oft to *Venice* to the Houſe of the *Servi*, where he frequented much with *Fra. Antonio da Viterbo*, who ſerved as a Writer, and was very familiar with the Father. The privacy was eaſily obtained becauſe they were both of one State and Province, and had been formerly acquainted in their Country. This practiſe began to diſpleaſe the Father, but his modeſty was ſuch that he did but caſt out a word of diſlike in general terms only to *Fra. Antonio*, who in appearance ſeemed thereupon a little to withdraw himſelf from that Converſation, but in exiſtence and really they had private meetings together without the Convent, whereupon the ſaid *Gio. Franceſco* was forbidden to come there any more. And yet notwithſtanding they wrote one to another, and the Letters were brought to *Fra. Antonio* by the hands of a Jew. It fortun'd that the Jew brought a Letter when *Fr. Antonio* was from home, and the Letter came to the hands of *Padre Gio. Franceſco Segnira*, who having received it,

carried it presently to the Father, and telling him that the Hebrew had confeſt to him that it was uſual for him to carry Letters betwixt them. And as that Nation of the *Jews* is very cunning and timorous, he told him, that for his part he would declare himſelf to *Fra. Antonio*, that he ſhould make him carry no more Letters, becauſe he knew not what the buſineſs was, that was ſo ſecret betwixt them. The Father cauſed *Fra. Antonio* to be ſent for, and giving him the Letter, told him, that he ſhould either give over his practiſe with the *Perugine*, or elſe to come no more into his Chambers, for he would have no more to do with him. He excuſed himſelf the beſt he could, and paſt it over with a jeſt, (which he was very good at) and for which he was eſteemed good company, being reputed rather ſimple than malitious, and that all the reaſon of his practiſe with him (as he ſaid) was only to get a good Dinner out of him. But although he was forbidden this Commerce, yet it was not ſo cut off, but he followed it more covertly, in the Houſe of a certain Gentlewoman, and in unſuſpected places until the buſineſs grew ripe.

Becauſe one morning about break of day they had a meeting and ſecret conference in the Veſtry of the *Servi*, where having been a good while together, and obſerved that at their parting they were very earneſt, *Fra. Gio. Franceſco* pull'd out of the Pocket of his Hoſe a bundle of ſoft Wax lapt in Paper, to take the print of ſome Keys that were to be falſified, which being heated with lying near his fleſh, drew out with it from his Pocket a little Packet of Letters, which for the weight, the Wax not being able to keep ſticking, fell to the ground (being unperceived) and when *Fran. Antonio* had received the Wax they parted, he to the Convent, and the other as his way lay. The Sacriſtan that kept the Veſtry *Fra. Valentine da Venetia* (who yet ſerves in that place) coming and finding the bundle of Letters, took them up, and went with them preſently to *Padre Fulgentio*, who reading them, found them to be in Ciphers, and that it was a buſineſs of much importance, becauſe *Fra. Bernardo* had written to *Fra. Gio. Franceſco* to ſollicit *Fran. Antonio* to diſpatch the Quadrageſimal, for that the four hundred Crowns were in a readineſs, and ſhould be put into his hands, but that the twelve thouſand alſo and more were as ready and ſecure.

In ſome of them he ſaid that he had ſpoken with the *Signor Padre*, and another while Col. *Frutello* with the little Fryar and with divers others, and that they did all of them deſire the Quadrageſimal. That the Father General of the *Servi* intreated him not to doubt, but that he ſhould be beatified. That the *Signor Padre* had cauſed all other Suitors to withdraw to give him audience, with many ſuch particularities, which being made known to Father *Paul*, you need not doubt but he would quickly penetrate the importance of the buſineſs, but ſuch was his meekneſs and manſuetude of mind, that he exhorted *Fulgentio* to make no words, but to keep ſilence until the ſecret of this buſineſs might more clearly be diſcovered, only he added thus much, that there was nothing more to be done, but to put *Fra. Antonio* out of his Chamber and out of the Convent. But *Fulgentio* was otherwiſe reſolved, who without more ado carried the Letters to the Inquiſitors of State, telling them how he came by them, whereupon *Fra. Giova. Franceſco* was attached firſt, then *Fra. Antonio*, and what enſued further in that ſecret judgment remains in their own Papers: The things that came after to publick notice, (and they are very true,)

true,) that of many perſons that were named in that Cipher of Father, little Fryar and Couſins, it appeared upon the counter Cipher that except the General of the *Servi*, there was not any under the degree and dignity of a Cardinal. That under the Quadrageſimal, there were three perſons enciphered; The firſt was, that becauſe the Father, by reaſon of the falling of the Gut Colon (whereof mention hath been made) had need to keep that part very fair and clean, being every eight days waſht and ſhaved, to which Office he would never admit Barbers, nor Secular men, and of himſelf being not able to do it, he made uſe of ſome Fryar the moſt domeſtick and confident that he could find. And this charity at this time was performed him by the ſaid *Fra. Antonio*, and to that purpoſe he was treated with, that when he ſerved him upon that occaſion, he ſhould give him a cut with his Raſor with a ſure way.

But *Fra. Antonio* refuſed ſo to do, either becauſe he had no intention to offend the Father that was his moſt bountiful Benefactor, or elſe as he had excuſed himſelf both by Words and Letters ſent to *Rome*, that his heart did not ſerve him; and affirmed that ſo ſoon as he ſhould ſee blood he ſhould fall into a ſwound, as by nature it uſed always to be with him. The ſecond was that ſomething ſhould be ſent him from *Rome*, to be given him either in his Meat or his drink, and this better fitted his fancy to be done, becauſe with one Bean (ſuch was their Language) he might catch two Pigeons, which were the *Father Paul*, and *Fra. Fulgentio*. But this party carried along with it many difficulties. Firſt, how to find a thing of ſuch efficacy, and how it might be ſent with ſafety: Then becauſe the Fathers diet was of ordinary Meats, ſimple and without Sauce, and ſuch as were common with all thoſe of the Monaſtery, whereby it was neceſſary that above thirty other perſons ſhould partake of the vertue of that Drug aſwell as they, or elſe it would fail of effect, ſince it was now come to paſs that every thing would be narrowly lookt into, and that they had an eye upon every one that came near him: And he that ſhould watch a time when they two would eat by themſelves, would have a long buſineſs, and this ſtood not with that expedition which was preſt by the Letters for the having of the Quadrageſimals. There were likewiſe ſome that are alive ſuſpected upon a late accident, that they two having eaten a little quantity of a Cake that was preſented to them at the Table, they found themſelves both very ill upon it, and with the ſame accidents, whereby caution was grown very quick ſighted. The third (whereon they ſet up their reſt) was that *Fra. Antonio* (which ſeemed a thing without difficulty) ſhould take the print of the Keys of the Fathers Chamber in Wax, and thereupon make falſe Keys, and to this purpoſe the Wax that had been prepared was to ſerve, (as 'twas ſaid before) the Plot being, that as *Gio. Franceſco* had thoſe Keys at his command, they ſhould ſecretly bring into the Monaſtery two or more Murtherers, and by night murther the innocent Father.

But God was pleaſed to diſcover this great wickedneſs, as you have formerly heard. And becauſe he that was guilty was a perſon of as much cunning as could be found out, for ſuch a purpoſe, and had prepared his expoſitions upon all that could be demanded of him, which not being ſufficient to ſatisfie the minds of the Judges, nor they able to convince him ſo clearly as they deſired. The moſt excellent Council often deſired extreamly to ſee the bottom of this practiſe, and all the diſtinct particularities, whereupon they grew to give a ſentence

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that *Fra. Gio. Franceſco* ſhould be hanged by the Throat, but with this alternative, that if within certain prefixt days he ſhould diſcover the whole practiſe with a full expoſition and juſtification of the Letters, that then after a years impriſonment he ſhould be under a perpetual baniſhment from the moſt ſerene Dominions, with capital puniſhment in caſe of contravention. Whereupon he deſired that a publick Miniſter might be ſent to his Chamber in *Padoua*; where in a ſecret Cabinet there were Letters found in great number, with Ciphers and Counterciphers, whereby all that you have formerly heard was clearly juſtified, and ſomething elſe which was not publiſhed, nor ever came to any knowledge in particular. The piety of this Government being ſuch and ſo great, that they thought fit to conceal, whatſoever gave no hindrance to the execution of their moſt mild Juſtice.

But for all the gravity of the injury the Father never forgot his gentle nature, but beſought and petitioned many times upon his knees, demanding this as a favour in recompence of his beſt ſervices which he had ever done to the Publick, that for his ſake they ſhould not be made ſpectacles to the diſhonour of his Religion, inwardly and cordially grieving himſelf that his Life ſhould be the ruine of any others. And it was believed that his inſtances and intreaties were a great part of the cauſe of the ſaid alternative. Thus the tedious buſineſs came to an end, which hath produced many ſtrange effects. In the Churchmen a moſt ſharp hatred and blame becauſe it took no effect; in the Republick a moſt intenſe deſire of the conſervation of their good Servant, and in the univerſal a more glorious fame to ſee (beſide other excellent qualities) ſo ſingular a favour, and Divine protection.

But beſides the aforeſaid attempts of treachery brought unto juſtice, the Father hath been advertiſed of many others from time to time in following years (not only in private from ſuch as were in fee for diſcovery, but from thoſe perſons that were intereſted in that ſtate and Government where ſuch ſecrets paſt. And among theſe one was of a bargain that was made to take him alive, and with a Barque prepared for the purpoſe to carry him into anothers juriſdiction. But he never appearing but in the greateſt frequence of the City, or becauſe it begun to be known that the Popes mind was mitigated towards him, and therefore it would not be ſo acceptable a ſervice as formerly it had been; I believe that for theſe Reaſons the Plot was not attempted.

There happened to come about this time to *Venice* a young man habited like a Souldier, but in his carriage and in his cloathing more than in his Sword and Dagger he ſeemed to be a Religious. He uſed all the means he could to ſpeak with the Father, who by ſo many publick admonitions was now brought to ſuffer none to ſpeak with him, except he were firſt known by his name and ſurname, by his Country and Profeſſion, or elſe brought in by ſome noble and near friend. By reaſon whereof he could have no acceſs unto him. But addreſſing himſelf to *Fra. Fulgentio* he uſed all the art he could to be brought in by his means, affirming that he had ſomething to ſay to the Father of great importance, which would be very well worth his knowing, and that if he might ſpeak with him, he would lay down his Arms and ſubmit himſelf to any ſtrictneſs the Father would impoſe upon him. But the Father excuſing himſelf, that although he was not much in love with his Life, yet after ſo many fair warnings, it would be aſcribed to great imprudence if any inſtructed man ſhould have offended him, as it hath been lately ſeen in the caſe of a great Prince; wherefore the

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young mans great importunity to ſpeak with him was ſo much the more ſuſpected, and the ways that he took did accuſe him more, being (as it was believed) a Religious man of the modern Order, or at leaſt one of their education; and therefore he would never conſent to hear him. But being ſtill inſtant with the Father *Fulgentio* with whom he thought he had bred a confidence, he told him that he was a near Kinſman to Cardinal *Baronius*, though fallen into diſfavour with him, and that he would adviſe him ſomething, that concern'd his life, whereof he would give him ſuch inſtances as might aſſure him of the truth. Whereupon it was further reſolved that he ſhould not hear him, and then the Father ſpoke it with ſome little paſſion, that it was a leſs trouble to dye a violent death, than to be put into a neceſſity of living in continual fears, becauſe miſchiefs have their terminations, but fears go in infinite. So being able to get nothing but an exhibition from *Fulgentio* (according to his need) he reſolved to deſiſt in the buſineſs, and looking upon him, when he parted with a fixt look, he ſaid thus, *Guardatevi da traditori, Guard your ſelves from Traytors, for you have very great need; God preſerve you, for you are honeſter religious men than others wou'd you were.* And having made another attempt (but in vain) to ſpeak with the Father upon the ſtairs of the Palace, he went his ways, and was ſeen no more.

One other particular to the like purpoſe muſt not be ſilenced. The Cardinal *Bellarmine* with whom the Father had ſome acquaintance (as hath been ſaid) and although their Writings one againſt the other were abroad in print: yet that good affection, whoſe root is from Vertue and Chriſtian Charity, was not extinct neither in the one nor the other. He ſent twice to him to preſent him with ſalutations of love, once by a Roman Secular, who told him from the Cardinal that he wiſht him to look carefully to himſelf, for that he had great cauſe. And another time when *Alberto Teſtini* was come from *Rome* to a Chapter at *Mantua*, the Cardinal impoſed it upon him, that going to *Venice* he ſhould ſalute the Father in his name with much affection, and to aſſure him that his love to him was not abated at all, and by this he deſired him to take an aſſurance that a Fryar of *Vicenza*, naming one *Fra. Felice* (that lives) had under the title of the life of Father *Paul* compoſed a famous Libel, and made it to be preſented to the Pope *Paul* the Fifth, who had delivered it to him the Cardinal, to peruſe, and to give him his opinion, whether it were fit to be publiſhed; and that he the Cardinal made this relation, that he knew the Father very well, and that his Holineſs might take his word, that the things mentioned were notorious Calumnies, which would be diſhonourable to whoſoever ſhould publiſh them. Thus much *Maſtro Alberto Teſtoni* told the Father beſides ſome other things. In offences of all ſorts both againſt his life and his honour (the Calumnies which have been put in print againſt him being infinite, which ſuch a number of Libellers thinking to pleaſe the humour of the Court have written) and it hath ſo far exceeded the limits of all Chriſtian profeſſion, that like a ſwarm of Frogs in a muddy Marſh, they have taken that emblem from their ſhameleſneſs, only to ſee how far their malediction could be carried; yet the Father never ſhewed the leaſt ſign either of diſdain or revenge, one of his moſt excellent Vertues which hath accompanied him to his Grave, was his meekneſs in ſuch a perfection, that thoſe of his Religion with a general voice render him this teſtimony, that they never knew him endeavour any the leaſt kind

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of revenge, and it is to be obſerved, that the Author of that famous Libel, whereof we have made mention, was not *Fra. Felice* of *Vincenza* as it was reported, but another whom for his diſcredit I ſpare to name, and one whom the Father might well have procured to be puniſhed at his pleaſure. But he would not only not do it, but as long as the Father lived, that man lived in ſecurity, with employments of honour; but the Father was no ſooner dead, but that injury being reſented by the Publick, with other failings and wretched operations of his, brought him ſo far into the publick indignation, that he was not ſuffered to remain in the Dominions of *Venice*. Philoſophy and the very Law of Chriſt can very hardly eradicate a certain pleaſant itch of revenge, and it is no ſmall matter to abſtain from the action.

But this Father of ours was arrived at ſuch a degree of Vertue, that when he received the greateſt wrong, he kept the ſame ſerenity of face, mildneſs of language, extenuating the injuries that were done him, as much as 'twas poſſible to do, alledging this many times for a Reaſon; That ſuch an one either had his brains crackt, or that his condition hung upon ſuch intereſts, that he could do no otherwiſe. After this time the Popes mind ſeemed to be much mitigated, and he was ſomewhat ſincere in the opinion of the Fathers goodneſs and piety.

True it is that the Biſhop of *Tine* being not long after called to *Venice* upon a Proceſs form'd againſt him by Inquiſitors of theirs, that were ſent into the *Levant*, his cauſe was committed to the conſultation of the Father *Paul* who made ſuch a judgment and relation upon it, that the Biſhop was rather commended, than reprehended by the Publick, obtaining divers Priviledges for his Church, and for his perſon. And returning afterwards from *Rome*, and coming to *Venice*, he told the Father that the Pope had enquired diſtinctly of his ſucceſs in his buſineſs, and underſtanding how the Father had comported himſelf, he ſeemed to be much pleaſed, and broke into ſome expreſſions, that from divers parts he had heard that the Father was a great friend to juſtice, and carried himſelf with much prudence and ſincerity: And on the other ſide, the Father prayed and deſired God to ſend the Pope a long life, and that he might ſurvive him, as he was younger than he by a year or thereabouts. And he would often ſay to ſome of his inward Friends by way of prognoſtick, that Pope *Paul* he believed had ſhakt off his ill affection towards him, but if he were dead, whoſoever ſhould ſucceed him, would revive it again, becauſe the effects of the paſt Controverſie continued ſtill like ſcars, which in ſome ſort or other would quickly come into demonſtration, and he was not at all deceived in his judgment, (as will hereafter appear:) But notwithſtanding this malevolence, it was a thing more than certain, that even at *Rome* among the great Prelates, he had a mighty repute, and that when they had occaſion to ſpeak of him, though but to ſatisfie the Court, and their own intereſts, yet they diſcovered that they had him in opinion of a great Perſonage, both for honeſty and learning. And it is alſo certain that Cardinal *Bellarmine* found much fault in Publick, that ſo little reckoning was made of a man of ſuch eminent parts, and ſaid, that if he could have been reconciled to the ſervice of the Church, although they had given him but a dry Flower to ſmell on (for thoſe were his very words,) conceiving that the Father had formerly been deeply diſtaſted at the Court becauſe Pope *Clement* had twice refuſed to give him a ſmall Biſhoprick, the one of *Melopotamo*, and the other of *Nona* in *Dalmatia*:

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and he ſpoke it freely that he had always deſired to have him live at *Rome*, becauſe he had known him, and practiſed him, and knew very well how great ſervice he was able to have done the Church. The Signor Cardinal *Boza* being a Prince of ſuch a ſublimity of vertue and blood, as 'tis well known, might be believed to have had the baſeneſs of Flatterers in abhorment, who to feed the humour of the Court proſtitute their Tongues (making them venale to lying and calumnies) this Cardinal would often with much delight tempt another Father *Fra. Amante Buonvicino* that was at *Rome* (*Parcellan* of *Santa Maria in via*) and went under the name of a *Venetian*, and put him into diſcourſe concerning Father *Paul*, ſeeming to oppoſe him in it, wherewith that Father finding himſelf to be too far urged, would enter into a Narrative of the Fathers life, of his Studies, of the poverty wherein he lived, with all the particularities; in which he was both wiſe and cunning, perceiving how much the Cardinal was pleaſed with it, becauſe when he came to give demonſtrations of his excellent piety, he would anſwer him with a ſmile, and ſay that thoſe perhaps were but hypocriſies to cozen the World, but he ſpoke it after ſuch a manner that the Fryar might well perceive it was ſpoken but in a way of upbraiding or giving the lye to ſuch as thought ſo of him, and thereupon he freely gave him the ſame reply which the Signior *Villiers* now Ambaſſador to the moſt Chriſtian King, had done to two Nuncios *Zachia* at preſent; and *Aſcoli* that was before him, who being often conſtrained in point of Argument, by the too notorious truth of the innocent and exemplary life of the Father, would always ſpit their venom, by ſaying he was an Hypocrite, whereunto the ſaid Ambaſſador *Villiers* made them this reply: That the Fathers courſe was quite contrary to that of Hypocrites, becauſe they make all their actions to appear clothed with piety in publick as much as they can poſſibly, although they can never go ſo concealed, but that they make a diſcovery of their ends to be but avarice, ambition, and temporal enjoyments, inſomuch that the skin of the Lamb could never quite cover nor conceal that of the Wolf: But the Father never made any ſuch ſhew to the Publick, but lived in an abſolute retiredneſs. He was never known to uſe any hypocritical actions, not to hold out Crowns in his hand as he went through the Streets, not to kiſs Medals, not to affect ſtations and places at times of concourſe, not to ſpeak with affected Spiritualities, nor to uſe ſordidneſs in his Garments, but only a cleanlineſs of attire, which though poor was yet decent. And if this be called Hypocriſie it is an unknown ſort of Hypocriſie, which hath neither object nor end, nor ſo much as a circumſtance of either.

The Dialogue between the Nuncio *Zachia* and *Villiers* was occaſioned in this manner. Monſieur *Villiers* is a Gentleman of great ſincerity, and of a moſt ingenuous heart, but not very capable of the Artifices, eſpecially of the Courtiers of *Rome*, which are the moſt refined of the World. *Pietro Aſſiline* a Frenchman was the Phyſician to his Houſe, who was the very ſincerity and goodneſs of nature; and having been a great Friend to the Father, now by the ſpace of forty years, he made it known to him, how every time the Nuncios talked with the Ambaſſador concerning the Father, they ſpoke always of him with ſuch Prefaces of honour, as if they would make him to become of the moſt wretched men in the world; at this the Father laught and would ſometimes ſay, So it is fit, and ſo it ſhould be, becauſe I am the moſt divers

and differing from their humour that's poſſible: And if they be the moſt perfect and holy men, then I am the moſt lewd and wretched man that can be ſpoken of. But he ſaid yet further deſiring to be ſatisfied how the Fathers life ſeemed ſo ſcandalous to deſerve ſuch Elogies from Churchmen, and that he knew not what to do to give ſatisfaction to thoſe great Prelates, nor what to abſtain from to take away their ſiniſter opinions, only he wiſht that the next time the Nuncio ſpoke of him to the Ambaſſador, he would interrupt him a little, to know what was his reaſon to charge him with ſuch hypocriſie. His friend informed the Ambaſſador of this diſcourſe, who taking his opportunity which happened to be the 16 of *February* 1621. when the Nuncio entred into his uſual cuſtom of railing upon the Father, the Ambaſſador replyed upon him, that from all other men he had always heard the Father to be much commended for his goodneſs and integrity, but withal ſaid he would be very glad to know from him, what ground he had for the contrary, that he might the better know how to believe thoſe that informed him otherwiſe.

The Nuncio was ſuddenly ſurprized, with this demand of his, and durſt not deny what the Ambaſſador had ſaid, becauſe it was too well known, but deſired to diſengage himſelf, by charging his good actions and his innocent life with hypocriſie. But this foil'd him ſo much the more, becauſe the Ambaſſador preſt him again to know what end he had diſcovered in the Father, or what external action to prove him an Hypocrite. To this the Nuncio knew not what to ſay, but was deſirous to divert the Diſcourſe to ſome other Subject.

But becauſe all things took eaſie impreſſion with the Father, eſpecially things of weight, the Father after a little merriment and facetious diſcourſe conjur'd an inward friend of his to deal plainly with him and to adviſe him of his defects, and in particular, if according to the Rules of Holy Evangelical Doctrine he found in him any arguments of Hypocriſie, acknowledging that a man is not better known to any, nor yet more concealed from any than himſelf, and that the nature of ſelf flattery is not eaſily rooted out. Such Dialogiſms as theſe paſt betwixt them a little after thoſe times of the late Commotions in *Spain*, and alſo at the Court of the moſt Chriſtian King, betwixt the Ambaſſador *Pietro Contarini* and the Cardinal *Ubaldini*, at that time Nuncio in that Court, This Cardinal did always uſe to infamiſe the Father for his publiſht Writings with odious appellations. *Contarini* on the other ſide, a Gentleman of ſingular candour, of a placid nature, ſweet and nothing contentious, but yet ſolid, made him this anſwer, that he himſelf was neither a Divine nor yet a Doctor of the Laws to maintain a difference with his moſt reverend Lordſhip, but concerning the Fathers Writings he was well aſſured, that they were neither ſo ignorant nor ſo impious as the Nuncio had made them, which was eaſily ſeen by ſo great a commendation wherewith they were received in all the Catholick States, by the moſt learned and pious Profeſſors of Sciences, but concerning his Life and Manners, he was very certain and knew it, not only by relation but by experience, that he was irreprehenſible, and that he lived an holy retired and exemplary life. To which the Nuncio *Ubaldini* made anſwer, that by ſo much he confirmed himſelf more in his opinion that he was a lewd Fellow and an exquiſite Hypocrite from his irreprehenſible life; but *Maffeo Barbarino* that was the Nuncio in *France* talkt in a higher ſtrain againſt him and with more violence cryed out with poetical amplifications

that

that he was worſe than *Luther* or *Calvin*, and contained not himſelf from ſaying that it was fit he ſhould be aſſaſſinated. There he came to know that the Father wrote to, and received Letters from ſome of thoſe Lords that were Counſellors of Parliament, and from the *Sorbo-niſts* who were very orthodox, and maintained the defence of the lawful Secular Power, oppoſing themſelves againſt the Uſurpations of *Rome*, and maintaining the liberty of the *Gallican* Church.

And true it is, that he did write to, and receive Letters from *Mounſieur Gillet Peſchaſier Servino Richer Buniello*, and ſome from *Caſaubon* after the fame was grown conſtant, that he was turned Catholick. The Letters were always conſulted by the juriſdiction. All men were Hereticks with *Barbarino*, to whom the Father either wrote, or they to him. But they that knew not how to convince him either in his profeſſion, or in his life, had that only common-place againſt him that he was an Hypocrite. A fair confrontation of the judgment of theſe Prelates of the *Roman* Court with the Doctrine of Chriſt and his holy Apoſtles, who taught us to know mens Faith by their Works, and the Tree by the Fruit. And if a life led with a marvelous evenneſs and conſtancy from his childhood unto ſeventy one years old, which for his actions none could tax, and in whoſe words was never either obſcenity, nor ſo much as an Oath ſworn, nor any baſe thing, but in his life a moſt exquiſite poverty, a perfect obſervance of Laws far from all ambition, and above all he was an Enemy to all delights, nor ever ſhewed the leaſt ſign of avarice nor ambition of any Degree or Dignity; And if theſe be the arguments whereby Chriſt hath taught us to know Hypocrites, let it be referred to the judgment of other men. But neither God nor humanity will permit Innocency to have ſo ill a fortune, nor Vertue ſuch a miſadventure, that fame and infamy ſhould always be at the diſpoſition of great perſons. The juſt man is like a Palm-Tree, who raiſeth himſelf under the burden of Calumny. God was never pleaſed that thoſe very Tyrants that had a total licence againſt the life of poor innocents, ſhould likewiſe have any power over their fame and memory. And if this were but in humanity it ſelf (without a mixture of any vertue) it would lye under too great an injuſtice. But becauſe this mark (whereat all their poiſoned Arrows were ſhot) could never be hit: his contempt of money being ſo well known, and that he had nothing but to ſuffice his pure neceſſities, and thoſe rather in defect than plenty, much leſs delicates of every kind (whereof he was always abhorring) even ſo far that to the laſt breath of his life he hath conſtantly been obſerved never to have any other guſto than that which took his original, and was terminated in his Studies and in vertue, and therefore his life was the moſt arduous, the moſt toilſom and painful that any Religious man was able to lead; he being in his laſt ſeventeen years like a recluſe always ſhut up in his Chamber, except it were when the publick Service or his Religious Profeſſion compelled him abroad, and to live ſo ſparing and ſo abſtinently, and according to pure neceſſity, that the greateſt part of his time was paſt with a little Bread toſted upon hot Coals, and only one ſort of other Food to his Bread, which was both vile in quantity and quality. He had no Kindred to advance (for of thoſe there were none left.) But this ambition and appetite of Glory, which among Humane Affections is the laſt which is ſubdued, and the wiſe MAN calls it the Shirt which the wiſeſt men ever put off laſt.

This is that putrid corruption whereupon all theſe Fleſh flyes fluttering up and down the World, do at laſt ſettle themſelves. But againſt the Aſſaults of this Vice, he had an impenetrable ſhield, inſomuch as if ever man had totally ſubdued this affection of the Appetite of Glory, it was this man of whom we write.

And firſt, for a certain proof that no advancement of Fortune nor any credit in the World, had moved him to any mutation of mind, ſo far as could be concluded from external effects, continuing always in the ſame, and his own tenor of Life, to which purpoſe he had always this ſaying in his mouth, *ſi Spiritus dominantis ſuper te aſcenderit, Locum tuum ne deſeras*; and in a way of jeſt he was uſed to ſay, That he that walks upon ſtilts, or ſits in an high place, does not leſſen his labour, but goes in a greater danger. Beſides that conſtant purpoſe of never writing, nor publiſhing any thing in any kind of profeſſion (being in all things eminent, and as I may ſay prodigiouſly perfect) ſhews whether he were far from any ſuch deſire, and whether it could be done with any vain Glory or no.

Theſe few things which neceſſity hath drawn from him can well witneſs, He hath been curious to conceal himſelf from being known to be the Author of divers ſort of Inſtruments. The two manners of *Pulſiligio* were of his invention, the inſtrument of knowing the variation of heat and cold, of that perſpective which in *Italy* is called *Galilean*, and form'd in *Holland*, the Artifice of it was diſcovered by him; when one of them was firſt preſented to the Signory of *Venice*, with a demand of 1000 Checchines, the charge was preſently given to the Father to make a tryal what it would ſerve for, and to deliver his judgment, and being not allowed to open it, to ſee how it was made up, he imagined ſtraight what it could be, and conferred with the *Galilean* who acknowledged that the Father had found out the ſecret, and ſo of divers others. But it is a thing to be obſerved, that ſo many inſtruments as have been invented by the Authors of the Mathematicks and of Aſtronomy, and deſcribed with ſo much ſolemnity, that it is a difficult thing to make them, and much more to make uſe of them, he making them with his own hand, and giving out Models to Workmen, reduced them to ſuch a facility and ſimpleneſs, that one would have thought he had had both the Heavens and Earth in his head. It hath been a great prejudice to thoſe that are curious, that in the Problem of the motion of the Earth being ancient, but renewed by *Copernicus*, he had found the means *Salvare tutti i Fenomeni* with one only motion, and ſought Workmen to make him an Inſtrument to put under ones eyes, for the diſcerning of it. I ſilence thoſe ſecrets which were unknown until his age, and he was ever well pleaſed, that ſome of his Friends ſhould have the honour to publiſh them, as if they had been their own; which ſhews a great moderation in this affection of his. And of things of his that are in print, what glory hath he ſought by thoſe, having uſed ſuch exquiſite means to conceal his name. One particular muſt not be paſt over, which was a firm reſolution of leaving nothing either of his own hand, or other mens that might carry his name or preſerve a memory, as may appear by this that he would never let his Picture be drawn from the natural, notwithſtanding that it were deſired both by Kings and great Princes. And although many of his Pictures go abroad for Originals, yet they are all but Copies of one which is ſaid to be in the Gallery of a great King, which was taken againſt his will, and by a ſtratagem.

But

But for himſelf this may give aſſurance that he did not endure to have his Picture drawn, becauſe in the laſt years of his life being intreated by the moſt illuſtrious and excellent *Dominico Molini*, and likewiſe of his confident *Fra. Fulgentio* being ſet on to beſeech him, yet it could not be obtained, ſo much as to give a famous Painter leave to take his Picture, although he was promiſed that he ſhould not ſit at it above an hour. And yet he was ſollicited by this great Lord in the vertue of the Friendſhip that had been betwixt them, and by ſuch ſignificant means, that for the denial which he gave him fifteen days together whilſt he entertained the Painter in expectation, he grew ſo angry with the Father, that there paſt ſome Months betwixt them without ſpeaking to each other. And yet the deportment of this Senator, and the eſteem which the Father had of him as of a Subject, in whom to be nobly born was the leaſt of his Vertues and Merits, becauſe of that exquiſite Learning which he had in Hiſtories ancient and modern, (a politick prudence moſt ſingular, grounded upon a marvellous underſtanding of the ſtate of all the Princes in *Europe*, both of the quality of their Governments, and their Intereſts, how they rule, and who hath moſt power with them, with all the notable particulars of their current buſineſs, with all the ſeries of their important Affairs,) have rendred him conſpicuous, not only in this Common-wealth, but with all others, beſides a certain ardour in him of the liberty and conſervation of his Country, and a total dedication of himſelf to the publick ſervice, which had rendred him ſo intimate and familiar with the Father, that in ſeventeen years there paſt but a few days, wherein they ſpent not a long time together, and yet for all this he could not obtain his requeſt: ſo far the Father was from every thing that ſavoured of Ambition, which together with Avarice are the two main Rocks that cannot be avoided by *Hypocrites*. But the abhorment which he had to live in Court, which he ſhewed firſt in his youth when he left that Court of *Mantua*, and in his virility that of *Rome*, and having conſtantly refuſed to go thither upon the invitation of ſo great perſons, and ſuch opportunities, ſhall eaſily convince the moſt pertinacious, that at leaſt they ſhould not dare to contradict Chriſt ſo openly in this ſaying of his that thoſe which wear rich clothing are in Princes Courts, and in theſe days of ours it is well known where Ambition hath her chiefeſt ſeat.

But in Church-men it is certainly a thing moſt unſeeming and ſcandalous to calumniate ſo rare a piety of Hypocriſie, becauſe to thoſe ends which they propoſe to themſelves, to thoſe appearances which are ſeen in them by that Language which they ordinarily ſpeak, they ſhew well enough that they do but mock the world and very little believe that there is a God, while they pretend their lives ſhould be eſteemed either Apoſtolical or Chriſtian, and in the mean time condemn the Father of Hypocriſie. But the eye of God makes a diſcovery of all hearts, and in the interim this ſhall be received for an irrefragable teſtimony, that theſe men which were ſo apt to make a ſiniſter interpretation of all things, being not able to oppoſe his actions, were fain to paſs to his intentions which are only reſerved, and attributed to God by thoſe that believe him to be Judge of intention, and the ſearcher of hearts.

This digreſſion cannot be ſuperfluous to them that will conſider the diligence that hath been uſed to trace the life of this innocent Father, and to find imperfections in that fair ſoul for ſome further and hidden

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ends. But it was not the Father that gave them this offence, it was his Doctrine, and in this matter the Eccleſiaſticks were greatly guilty of offence before God, and of ſcandal to the World, by having given ſo great a cauſe to confirm thoſe in their opinions who write that it is *Arcanum Curiæ Romanæ*, after it hath drawn to it ſelf the authority of all Eccleſiaſtick Orders, and a great part of that of Princes for the making good in religion of whatſoever turns to their advantage, to aſſume yet further to themſelves what belongs to the whole Church by canonizing perſons, to canonize thoſe Doctrines and Opinions of theirs that are profitable to their greatneſs. And ſo likewiſe to reprove thoſe Doctrines which make not to their pretenſions, although they be both true and Catholick, they have uſed from time to time the Artifice of calumniating the Perſons that have written how holy and blameleſs ſoever they have been. I do not deliver this opinion for true, nor do I conſent to thoſe examples for proof, but I ſpeak honeſtly, and do atteſt before God, That in the example of this Father of ours, not the Church, but the Minions of the Court have uſed this ſtile, and how much worſe they make it, by ſo much they increaſe the ſcandal and irritate Princes, or elſe awaken them to make them ſee, that to calumniate thoſe perſons that ſerve to defend their juſt actions, is to condemn in obliquity the Princes themſelves, and a making the World believe that they can put a yoke of Tyranny upon them at their pleaſure, by oppreſſing them in Life and after Death, and conſequently thoſe that were their good and Catholick Defenders.

In the publick Service he was ſo daily an attendant, ſo faithful, and with ſo much fervour to the good of his Prince, that the moſt ſerene Republick honoured him with a thing that was never before granted to any of their Conſultors, that he might enter into all their Archives and Records, into their two ſecrets to ſee and manage all their Writings and their Government, to which honour he hath correſponded with ſo much fidelity as they very well know that ſit at the ſtern, and in a ſhort time he grew ſo verſt and knowing, having ſeen whatſoever he could deſire, that he was able by the felicity of an incomparable memory immediately to lay his hand upon any memorial, or Book or Writing, or relation, or whatſoever elſe was deſired or ſought for. He that knows what is meant by the two ſecrets of *Venice*, may very eaſily from that alone draw an argument of a divine Wit, and of a monſtrous Memory, becauſe in them there are beſide the publick Reaſons of State, the fundamental Laws, the Treaties of War and Peace, of Truces and Confederations, and of whatſoever can any way belong to a great State, there are alſo all the great paſſages of all *Europe* for ſome hundreds of years, the changes and alterations of all Chriſtendom, and they are in old Books in Letters of former Ages which are very hard to read. And if Fire had not twice deprived them of a great part of that Treaſure, I dare be bold to ſay, it had been one of the moſt inеſtimable things of the whole World.

Now this incomparable wit was grown to be ſo much the Patron of thoſe things, that at an inſtant he knew the places where to find the particulars, inſomuch as his mind was now become the very ſecret place, where without ſearch any one might read *vivâ voce* whatſoever was either of neceſſity or curioſity to be known. And that this important benefit might not be loſt nor periſh with his life, he hath alſo made ſome Indexes, with ſo many Notes and Regiſters, that the uſe of them is now

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made very eaſie for all times to come. And the importance of his labour herein is found to be ſo uſeful that the moſt excellent Senate have ſalaried with an honourable Stipend the Fathers Writer, for adjoining his conſultations to the Regiſtry, which happily may riſe to a little leſs than 1000 Tractates and Counſels, all bound up in Volumes of Parchment. And in thoſe Treaties either of their Confines, or their juriſdiction which might happen during his ſervice, the helps and inſtructions are eaſily found, whereupon the cauſes are founded; whereof I muſt not inſiſt upon particulars, becauſe it concerns the Government. But the moſt excellent Senate know very well the conſequence of that ſervice, and what he hath revived out of ignorance upon divers Negotiations which happened in his time. Becauſe the allegations in Law import ſo much, wherein the Republick have always been ſerved of the moſt able men of *Europe*, and which is yet nothing in reſpect of the dilucidation in matter of fact, which is gathered from publick documents, which how much it hath imported in the matter of the Confines of their ancient Dominions of the Gulf, of the Juriſdiction of Fees, or the Precatia of *Teneda* and *Aquileia*, hath been clearly proved in the Treaties that followed in his time, by virtue whereof the Eccleſiaſticks were never able to prevail againſt them in any thing of conſequence, nor were able to find out any thing which could hold oppoſition againſt the true, real, and fundamental Rights of the moſt ſerene Republick.

In all this time of the Publick Service which continued ſeventeen years, I cannot ſay that he was ſubject to more than one infirmity, which was of moment. I find that he was once in the hand of the Phyſicians in the year 1612. which was the firſt time that he referred himſelf to their cure, except when he was conſtrained by neceſſity of Chirurgery which was only thrice, once in his youth, when riding from *Lombardy* towards *Padoua* in the very heat of Summer, he was ſuppreſſed with a terrible Squinancy, whereupon ſending preſently for a Barber to take ſome blood from a vein, the Barber refuſed to do it without order of a Phyſician, and the Father not being able to over-rule him, but finding the increaſe of the inflammation to grow upon him made ſhew of believing him, and agreeing with his opinion, but deſired him that while he went for a Phyſician he would let him ſee whether his Iron were good, and he giving him the Caſe, he took out his Lancet, and preſently ſet it to his own Arm, whereupon the Barber ſeeing his reſolution did his office, and in a few hours, as it is uſual in ſuch accidents, he was free and well. Another time likewiſe in a Voyage from *Vicenza* to *Padoua* he fell into a ſuppreſſion of Urine, which having not had his courſe for a whole day, he was conſtrained to uſe the help of a Syringe by the hand of *Aquapendente*. But knowing himſelf to be incident to that Diſeaſe, he would be provided of a Surgeon, and Candles, to operate when need ſhould require, as he did always after with his own hand. And although by *Coll aqua da virgine*, he was ſo eaſed that he ſeldom relapſt into that indiſpoſition, yet for late years he hath ſometimes ſuffered, and once among others with ſo much vehemency, that making tryal as he had formerly done, and not able to help with his own hand, he held himſelf to be but a dead man, and immediately with a true tranquillity and ſettledneſs of his mind, he received the Sacrament, ſaying, *Queſto è da facere poi ſi penſare al rimanente*. This muſt now be done, and after we ſhall think of the reſt, but he could not help himſelf as he had done at other times. In the mean time *Fra. Fulgentio* having

having without his knowledge fetcht *Carto Scivos* and *Lingi Ragoſa* that were famous in that profeſſion, the buſineſs ended with mirth, for ſo ſoon as they were come to his preſence, and he had had ſome diſcourſe of the Diſeaſe, they deſired him that ſince he had no help by his own hands, that he would give them leave to try theirs. So riſing up upon his feet without any ſhew of trouble, he ſaid, But muſt I make a tryal in your preſence, what will you ſay if I do it my ſelf according to Art and like a Workman? and immediately he fell to work with his Candle, and ſo the buſineſs ended, being well laught at.

Yet the Father knew very well that Age decreaſeth ſtrength, and changes the uſe of the very natural parts and inſtruments. He had alſo another Diſeaſe growing in one of his Legs, which troubled him for ten Months, but for that he cut himſelf with his own hand many times, and in many places where the Apoſtemes made, until it was well healed. A thing very rare in *Venice*.

But in thoſe infirmities that are bred in humours which are occaſioned by Agues, he was never in the Phyſicians hand until the year 1612. I know what it is to depart from common received opinions in matters of ſpeculation, but much more in operations, eſpecially where it may concern life. But I have not undertaken to juſtifie, but only to give a Narration of the Fathers actions. He was ſo ſubject to Feavers, that every little accident cauſed him to have long and ſharp ones. In which he governed himſelf very differently from the common practice. For firſt he would alter nothing of his ordinary diet except it were from the more to the leſs. He would not keep his Bed, but riſe and perform all his uſual Functions, he read, he ſtudied, he wrote. In the fury of any of his Fits, being in his Cloaths, he would lay himſelf along upon a Cheſt, or a Table, but ſeldom in his Bed. He ordered the hours of his own eating, and would have his ordinary allowance as well of Wine as other things, except (as I ſaid) from the more to the leſs. When he ſaw his beſt time he would take Phyſick of his own appointment, but ſimple, not compounded, as *Caſſia*, *Manna*, *Tamaris*, or ſome ſuch thing, which either he took by themſelves, or elſe being mixt, he received them as he did his other Meat, ſo much as he was able always to command his affections. He held an Opinion, and profeſt it openly, that the way of medication in our time with a ſudden change of Diet, and living with ſo many Purgations and Receipts, ſerved for nothing but to make ſlow recoveries, and to hold a Diſeaſe in credit, and particularly for men in years, to give over their wonted actions for many days together did greatly diſ-improve them in the uſe of the parts of their body, and that for one to betake him to his Bed, obſerving ſo ſudden and abſolute a mutation of Diet and Exerciſe, was a neceſſary weakning of a mans ſelf. And that concerning himſelf he was ſure that he knew more than any body elſe did or could. And it was truly a rare thing that in ſo weak a complexion a convaleſcence could not be more eaſily diſcerned. Many times it could not be judged whether he were ſick, except it were by his aſpect which accuſed him, for otherwiſe he would perform all his accuſtomed actions. And with this tenor of governing himſelf he continued to ſixty one years of his age, at which time about *July* being in the houſe of *Signor Servilio Treo* upon a weighty conſultation he was ſurpriſed with a violent Feaver, that continued with him 18 days together, and begun by a ſtrange accident, that it was not poſſible for him either to take meat or drink, but ſo ſoon as

as it was preſented, his ſtomach abhorred it. In ſo much as he fell into a wonder of himſelf, and ſeemed to grieve that he was not able to command, and as he ſaid to vanquiſh a falſe opinion. When the fits came upon him in thoſe hot days of *July*, as he deſired that they would give him a little cold water, his ſtomach loathed it as ſoon as it was preſented unto him, whereat he would ſometimes laugh making a jeſt at it. It was not poſſible for him to be without the viſits of Phyſicians, becauſe the publick had commanded them to attend him. It was often in his mouth, *Queſto ho avanzato che mi conviene ad altri pui credere di me, cha me mediſimo.* This is all I have gotten that I muſt believe others of my ſelf more than my ſelf. But he would go no further with them than often to diſcourſe of his ſickneſs, and propoſe ſome medicament, and of many that were propoſed to make choice of ſome one which was propoſed to him by *Santorio* who had been his ancient friend, and of a very ſtrict acquaintance.

The Phyſicians, and *Santorio* more than others held him a dying man, of which the Father *Fulgentio* ſpeaking to him, Father *Paul* anſwered him that he was ſecure of his recovery from this ſickneſs, but if he felt himſelf worſe, that the Phyſicians ſhould hear more of him. *Fulgentio* replyed, bidding him take heed, becauſe he might be deceived; for it was the opinion of *Santorio*, that without doubt he ſhould die of that diſeaſe, ſeeing no amendment in him, and that his ſpirits began to fail, like a plant that begins to wither, and that he knew the ſolidity of *Santorio's* judgment: why then (replyed the Father) you had beſt believe him; and thereupon he fell a laughing with a witty conceipt which was ſpoken to another purpoſe by *Speron Speroni* who uſed often to ſay, *Che ne ſi hoggi.* And after when *Santorio* came to viſit him, he began to jeſt with him, and would not let him feel his pulſe, asking him why he would now flatter him after he had peremptorily ſentenced him to death. And when he preſcribed him the milk of an Aſs againſt his dryneſs, he ſlighted it facetiouſly by ſaying, this is fair counſel indeed from a friend, now that I am above 60 years of age to make me an alliance with Aſſes, and ſo went on ſmiling. And do you not think it a pretty relation for me now to become foſter Brother to that young Aſs of whoſe milk you would have me uſurp a part? It was alſo his cuſtom that as in his ſickneſs he never changed his courſe of life, nor his wonted actions, ſo neither would he change his pleaſant and argute replies, which in ſo diſtempered a body were a great argument of a full ſecureneſs and entire ſerenity of ſoul. He that was ſo well ſtudied in Medicine, was able to diſcourſe of it as of his ſimple profeſſion, wherein of neceſſity there muſt be a tincture, but in his latter years he was entred into ſuch a diffidence, that he ſeemed to believe no longer in his own skill of diſtinguiſhing what was either good or hurtful. And whereas formerly he was taxed that ever and anon he took ſome medicament for preſervation of his health, afterwards he would receive none at all upon any condition except ſome local Medicines, and thoſe upon great neceſſity.

From his very youth his learning had rendred him famous in all the parts of *Europe*, from whence it happened, that ſo many perſons of value that came to *Venice* (and the condition of that City draws to it from all parts the greateſt ſubjects) took great content to look upon him, and many to receive into their Books which they call *Albus amicorum*, ſome ſentence of his, which is a thing very much in uſe beyond the Mountains, and he uſed to do it always with ſome notable Ancient ſentence, or elſe of Divine Scripture. But on the occaſion of the interdict a controverſy betwixt two ſo great Princes of *Italy*, (and where-

in by way of accommodation the two Kings of *France* and *Spain*, the Emperour and all the other Potentates of Chriſtendom were entred not only by notice but by participation) made him very famous, and deſired to be ſeen of divers great perſons who made it not the leaſt motive of their peregrinations, and was a cauſe that he was known of all the learned men in *Europe*, but eſpecially of thoſe that make profeſſion of defending the lawful Authority of Princes. He was viſited by Letters from the moſt learned that were in *France*, *Gillot*, *Leſchaſſier*, *Salmatio*, *Richer*, *Boviel*, *Caſaubon*, many Princes have likewiſe honored him with their Letters and by the viſits of their Sons ſent into *Italy*, and in what eſteem he was with them may be ſeen by their Letters, if it be not thought affection. Only I may add this, that a great Prince ſending his Son into *Italy* put it into his inſtructions that he ſhould not fail to viſite *Orbis terrarum ocellum*, giving that Title to the Father. And when the Ambaſſador of the *Holland* Eſtates *Signor Arſeus* came to *Venice*, having uſed all means poſſible to have a ſight of him, he was ſatisfied therein, being brought into the Antiſecret to hear the anſwer read that was given him by the moſt excellent Senate to his denials (as it is the courſe) and having ſeen the Father as he croſt the Chamber to go to his place, he ſaid to that Senator that bare him company, the illuſtrio *Signor Guiſtimano*, that he was ſo well pleaſed to have ſeen that great man the moſt conſpicuous of all *Europe*, that he ſhould be well ſatisfied to return home again to his Country, although he had obtained none of his demands from the Republick, and think the labour and expenſe of his journey very well beſtowed. I have known further alſo by very good information, that he was ſought to, and invited from two Crowned Heads, if he would have accepted their ſervice, in things of greateſt importance, by relation had from their Letters to the Father delivered by their own Ambaſſadors then reſident at *Venice*. But he with terms of acknowledgment due to ſo great Princes refuſed to depart from the ſervice of his natural Soveraign whereunto God had called him.

Of one of theſe meetings it is neceſſary to make a particular mention. The Prince of *Conde* 1622 being the laſt year of the Fathers life but one, came to ſee *Italy*, and deſired by all means to have diſcourſe with the Father, who would by no means condeſcend to be ſeen of him. But the Prince did ſo beſiege him in his Monaſtery, that he was oft conſtrained to ſhut himſelf up in his Cell without ſo much as eating his dinner, becauſe he would not come abroad, and all the while the Prince knew him to be within. But at laſt breaking into ſome impatience and laments, that it was a more difficult thing to ſee Father *Paul*, than to ſee the Pope himſelf; one of the gentlemen of *Venice* that accompanied the Prince remembred to adviſe him that the Father as he was a conſultor of ſtate could not hold any congreſs with Princes nor their Miniſters by the Law without a publick knowledge, and leave firſt obtained. Whereupon the Father had leave and was commanded to let the Prince ſee him. To which he obeyed although with a very ill will, only he would have their meeting not to be in the Monaſtery, but elſewhere and in the publick preſence of ſome others, as if he had foreſeen what happened afterwards. So the Prince viſited him in the houſe of *Signor Angelo Contarini* a Cavalier who being lately returned from an Embaſſy into *France*, was by publick order appointed to Court, and to attend that Prince. In that meeting the Father was nothing deceived of what he ſuſpected, that beſides the Princes own curioſity he ſhould be environed with interrogatories at the inſtance of others. All the diſcourſe that followed betwixt them is found written, with the very conceipts and words that were then ſpoken, and remains where

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it ought to be. The ſubſtance of it was, that the Prince as he was of great birth which is very well known, ſo he was of a great vivacity, and an extraordinary ſpirit, joyned with great ſtore of learning, and was continually upon a tempting way to ſound the Father concerning the Sects of the time, and chiefly concerning the reformed Religion in *France* (which he railed on as pernitious to government) and then concerning ſuperiority betwixt a Council and the Pope, as alſo of the liberty of the *Gallicane* Church, and whether it be lawful to make uſe of the ſervice in Arms of thoſe that diſſent from us in Religion, of the excommunicating of Princes, and moſt of all who was the Author of the Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, which the Prince more by the inſtigation of ſome other than of his own Genious was deſirous to know, (ſuch power hath the contagion of thoſe that practiſe with ſome Religious men.)

This flying diſcourſe full of ſnares, of provocations and interrogatories ſeem'd like a floating of waves that were to break themſelves upon the Rocks, of rare, of brief and of only neceſſitated anſwers. His blaming of the Hugonots in *France* without touching upon the leaſt point of their Doctrine was by the Father diverted with a ſingular dexterity, repreſenting to his memory the valour and prudence of his Father and Grandfather, whereof the Prince being very intelligent, did quickly perceive what that ſignified.

Concerning the difference of ſuperiority between the Pope and Councils, from that he diſentangled himſelf by putting him in mind of the *Sorbon*, and the alteration and depravation of that State ſince the admiſſion of the Jeſuits into *France*, and the difference which is betwixt the ancient and modern *Sorbonits*, without touching any thing of the ſuperiority which the Prince had moſt deſired. And likewiſe the liberties of the *Gallican* Church, that he paſt over in general terms, ſaying that the Parliaments of *France*, and the *Sorbon* it ſelf have maintained theſe liberties, as the natural rights of all the Churches; but in *France* they have been better defended than elſewhere from the uſurpations of others. As for the making uſe of the Arms of thoſe that differ from us in Religion, he ſaid no more, but that Pope *Giulio* the ſecond ſerved himſelf in *Bologna* of *Turks*, and *Paul* the fourth of the *Griſons* at *Rome*, calling them Angels ſent from God to defend him, and yet that they were but Hereticks. More largely they continued their diſcourſe of the Excommunications of Princes, and the Father reduced the Prince to the Hiſtory of *Gregory* the Seventh, on this ſide the *Alpes*, and particularly in *France*, making him confeſs that he had ſeen the private Writings, and alſo of the States upon the like ſubject, where if the Popes had not pretended ſo far, that Princes ſhould not hear Maſs, nor be preſent at other Offices, perhaps the Controverſies had not grown ſo hot. But the Point was, Whether Princes had a cauſe of complaint, that under pretences of Excommunications which are ſpiritual pains, they ſhould ſuffer their Subjects to rebel againſt them, and be diſobliged of their fidelities and ſubjection which is due to them by Laws both Natural and Divine, and ſtirring up Wars and Seditions againſt them as far as to lay wait for their lives, and take away their Crowns and Scepters.

To the point of the Author of the Council of *Trent*, the Father told him that he knew well, that he himſelf was the man that had divulged it in *France* to be his, and had alſo told as much to the Ambaſſador of *Venice*, then Reſident with his Chriſtian Majeſty, whereupon the

Ambaſſador was conſtrained to write of it to the publick, and ſurth he did not anſwer him but only this; That at *Rome* it was well enou known who was the Author, and after this with all his windings and turnings he could get no more out of him.

He that ſhall conſider throughly of theſe Points, and that knows the Father, and knows the Prince well, though of an elevated ſp will give his judgment upon the report that was after divulged, I be lieve rather from others than from the Prince himſelf, who gave it out that he had confounded the Father, and reduced him to ſuch a ſtraitneſs, that he knew not what to ſay. But as there is nothing in the world without his contrary, nor any thing ſo holy that is not ſubject to a ſiniſter interpretation, after the Father was in puplick employment, and that his actions begun to be more obſerved, and commented upon, it behooved him to reſtrain himſelf from ſuch vertuous commerces wherein he was formerly frequent, although the occaſions were leſs frequent. Becauſe thoſe that were ill affected to him, made it a concluſion, that he had no ſincere ſence in the *Romane* Religion, becauſe he treated with ſuch indifferency and moderation, not enquiring into occult things that pertained not to him. And that he was now grown more ſenſible of ſuch defamations than he had been formerly, did ariſe from this conſideration (and he ſpake it openly) becauſe hertofore he had only treated of things of his own intereſt: but that being now a ſervant of the Republick it was fit he ſhould deny himſelf the pleaſure of thoſe learned converſation, with this reaſon, that thoſe Impoſtures which were put upon him as a Miniſter of State, might not redound to the publick prejudice. But his conſtancy in the purity of Religion, hath no need of a defence, nor is it needful to make a digreſſion upon that. Only I ſhall touch this particular, whereof ſo many men yet living are able to make faith, and which whoſoever goes about to deny ſhall find too many adverſaries to contend with.

One notable inconvenience from the imprudence of thoſe writers that favoured the Eccleſiaſtical cauſe, in the year 1606, was this; That the cauſe being pure, and meerly temporal, and matter of Juriſdiction, they procured by all their cunning to repreſent it as a point of Religion, thinking that to be their abſolute advantage, not ſeeing how they could otherwiſe defend it, or at leaſt inſinuate it to be defenſible either at Court or among the people. In the zeal of this courſe they did ſo far ſurpaſs the ſtreight line of verity and conſcience, that they grew to publiſh in conference, in their Pulpits, and in Print, that at *Venice* they were reſolved to change Religion, having begun by the denying of obedience to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and by a manifeſt ſchiſm. It is not much to be wondered at, that this courſe took begining from a ſwarm of hungry ambitious libellers, that were meerly ignorant of former paſſages. But it is more to be admir'd, that ſo wiſe and learned a Cardinal ſhould enter into this dance, as *Bellarmine*, *Baronius* and *Collonna*, that had reaſon to know what prejudice ſuch a fame (though falſe and now diſperſt abroad) might bring to the Eccleſiaſticks.

In all Ariſtocracies, equality is by the neceſſity of humane condition moſt unequal, as to the ability of the Optimates, there having never yet been a Colledge or Society ſo well choſen that had not their dregs among them; otherwiſe Ariſtocracies would conſiſt of ſo many Kings, and the vulgar part of it would be only among the Optimates. For this reaſon, (although for the defence of their liberty, there were in all their Bodies and Counſels at *Venice*, a ſingular concord, yet) there

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were always ſome ſubjects of more valour and eminency than others that ſerved as guides to the reſt. Compariſons are not to be admitted in Commonweals, wherefore it will not be fit to name any particulars, But ſpeaking of things in general, it was a grace and providence of almighty God that thoſe which were the moſt reſolute and diſpoſed to this Common defence, were the greateſt not only in Nobility, honors, experience, hability, and activity, but even for Piety and Religion. A part of them are yet alive, moſt eminent Senators, and for purity and zeal of holy Religion known above all others. The reſt of them are paſt away from hence, by a moſt religious death, to the glory of the bleſſed.

The ſaid Eccleſiaſticks ſhot all their curſed Darts eſpecially againſt theſe men, as the moſt high and conſpicuous objects, taxing them for innovators of Religion, charging them with a deſign of making the Commonweal revolt to the Proteſtant Religion. The Oltramontans, that were moſt attentive to the ſucceſs of theſe paſſages, and to the ſettling of ſo famous a controverſy, did greedily read and receive whatſoever came abroad, believing all to be true that came from the Eccleſiaſticks with ſuch aſſeverations, that the Serene Republick was about to deny obedience to the Pope, and ready to change religion, becauſe thoſe that were the chief in government, had the ſame deſign. And thoſe that were greateſt zealots among them, allured with hopes of enlarging their Religion, and having obſerved that upon all thoſe occaſions, which the Church of *Rome* had taken to excommunicate Princes, and interdict States, there ever followed ſome notable revolts, thought fit it ſhould be fomented with a hope (which they had already conceived) of a change, and the Princes of *Italy* failed not to procure a Strict intelligence with the Republick, who when they ſaw the King of *Spain* declare himſelf Protector of the Eccleſiaſtick Party, were conſtrained for reaſon of good government to hear all, and adhere only to thoſe whoſe intereſt was conjoyned with their own. And divers private Doctors were not wanting to ſend out Pamphlets, which for any diligence that could be uſed in ſuch a confuſion were impoſſible to be ſo ſuppreſt, but that they were alſo received at *Venice*. The ſcope whereof was to give colour and credit to that change which the Eccleſiaſticks gave out to be in hand. The heads of all were to propoſe that the Pope exerciſed an intolerable tyranny over the ſouls and bodys of thoſe that were ſubject to him, and to ſhew the great happineſs that thoſe Eſtates enjoyed that had quit their obedience, and might enjoy the goods and lands which were left by pious Chriſtians to pious uſes, which were either imployed to a right uſe, or elſe enjoyed by the people of the Country to a common beneſit, whereas in thoſe States that are under the Papacy, there was ſeen an abominable uſurpation, a venality and publick thievery, and which was more, thoſe goods conferred upon ſeditious men, and enemies to thoſe very States where they placed, the Popes being arrived at this quinteſſence of ſubtilty, to maintain in all their dominions a formidable faction, which for the moſt part is defrayed by the purſe of thoſe very States, whoſe deſtruction and deſolation they had in deſign. That their Religion was the ſame which was contained in holy Scripture, in General Councils and in the holy Fathers of the five firſt Ages, agreeing with the Church of *Rome* in all the old articles of faith, only their diſcord is in thoſe that are of their late invention, which if any man will examine one by one, he ſhall find that they make very little to the glory of God, but to the

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gaining of Riches, and reputation, and of mundane Juriſdiction to the Eccleſiaſtick order.

They further inſinuated that the Roman Religion was inſenſibly abaſtarded, and that nothing elſe was reduced to Religion, but that which makes for the intereſt and benefit of the Court. They made a collection of the intolerable grievances of Princes who for the preſent make lamentable and continual complaints. They deſcended to the particulars of the ſerene Republick, which confining upon the *Turk* for above eight hundred miles, and as much upon the houſe of *Auſtria*, and with the Pope very few miles which were nothing but of Sand and Sea-ſhore, yet they received more Offence from that ſide and more trouble of juriſdiction in one month, than from both the others in ten years, beſides other continual troubles with their Nuncio's, who where they come to treat with their Prince, they do it with ſo much inſolency and ſoveraignty, as if he were not only their ſubject, but their ſlave, carrying ſtill before them the head of *Meduſa*, the pretence of Religion, to fright the timerous: And the greateſt Politicians that ever were, are not able to penetrate the profundity of the Arcana of the Papacy, by his miſchief, which was meerly cauſed by the Eccleſiaſticks themſelves, and was by them attributed afterwards to thoſe eminent ſubjects in *Venice*, that were the principal maintainers of the publick cauſe.

But ſtill the Father was he on whom the blame was laid. He it was (if we believe the Courtiers) that excited Proteſtants to put forth Books to illuminate the people. He it was that counſelled theſe great men to a neceſſity of a change of Religion, under pretence that the Popes were grown to ſuch a greatneſs, that nothing could ſerve their turns but the ſervitude of all *Italy*.

But if ever any thing were falſe and calumnious, it is this; and although the Father ſeem'd not much to regard their deſamations, yet ſo far as it concern'd the declaring of himſelf, touching the proviſions that were to be made from time to time with the Senators, he gave his opinion and counſel *viva voce*, and vehemently upon all occurrents, and oft in writing upon innumerable counſels, having always taught and inculcated, that not only for truth and conſcience ſake, but even for neceſſity and reaſon of good government, every faithful man, but moſt of all Princes ought to invigilate to the maintenance and conſervation of Religion. He affirm'd, that to this end God had conſtituted Princes as his Lieutenants in thoſe States wherein the Church was planted, and conferr'd their greatneſs upon them, to make them Protectors, Defendors, Conſervators, and Nurſes of holy Church, as ſacred Scriptures make mention, in which calling, the greateſt of them can never give a ſufficient diſcharge of himſelf, except it be by a continual and vigilant care in matters of Religion. That God by his ſingular grace had placed them in this Catholick Apoſtolick Roman Holy Church, for which they were bound to acknowledge his Divine favour, and render him continual thanks. No greater misfortune being able to befal them from Heaven, than that they ſhould abandon or forſake it. And howbeit there be many abuſes, yet that is not to be imputed to the fault of Religion, but of them that abuſe it. And all this being moſt true and undeniable, no man ought to ſuffer himſelf to be ſhaken in his confidence, nor the Prince to give way that a change or alteration ſhould be ſo much as ſpoken of. That perfection, and abſolute purity, is the very Terminus whereunto the Church, and every faithful man

man ought to pretend, though it be not the path wherein always they tread. Thoſe Churches which were founded by the Apoſtles themſelves, and where they Preacht and reſided, were not exempt from imperfections, whereof the Epiſtle to the *Galatians* gives a clear teſtimony, but more clearly that to the *Corinths*. That as for their charity ſome adhered to *Peter*, others to *Paul*, others held of *Apollo*, with ſchiſm and expreſs diviſion from Chriſt. As for opinions, there were ſome that denied the Reſurrection. As for concord, they drew their pleadings and differences to the Tribunals of Infidels. As for manners, they had fornication among them, ſuch as was unheard of among the Idolaters. As for Cuſtoms, the Supper of the Lord was converted into banquets, where ſome were drunk, and others hungry. And yet all this while the Apoſtle acknowledgeth them to be a true Church, and a body of Chriſt. How much more ought we then to ſtand firm in the Church, where God by his ſingular grace hath ſettled us, although in the Government thereof there be imperfections and abuſes, which are alſo ſince converted into intolerable grievances?

But if at this day thoſe evils have gotten growth, the fault will be found to be in the Princes themſelves, who having little regard to the Divine Precept, which ſo ſtraitly obliges to take knowledge of Gods moſt holy Law, and of Religion, but have altogether neglected this duty, as if Religion were a thing that did not concern them, and as if they were not to render an account to God, neither for themſelves, nor their Subjects, by neglecting the care and defence of it againſt the Divine precepts of Gods Word, the Doctrine of holy Councils and Fathers, and the uſe of Pious Princes, contenting themſelves with a Religion, without knowing what it is, or how it ſhould be kept from corruption, tolerating for their own intereſts, their adulation, and connivancies, the coſenage of the people with continual alterations, under colour of devotion and piety, with a daily licence, not only to religious men, but to all ſorts of perſons, to invent new orders to their own gain, and greatneſs, without conſidering that every Cuſtome carries his credit along with it, and ſo Religion becomes changeable, and accommodated to the advancements of them that manage it. And theſe ordinary alterations being received, the Princes themſelves have tolerated them, and ſo they have agreed with poſterity for approbation, by an authority which time and Cuſtome had put upon them. A thing that happens in the greateſt part of humane affairs, but moſt in Religion where the vulgar are the inventors of ſuperſtition. The Pope, beſide that he is the head of Religion, is alſo a Prince, and one that from above 500 years to this day hath aſpired to the Monarchy of *Italy*, whereunto he is ſo neat a neighbour: And what wonder can be made of it, if he practiſe all the means he can to enlarge his juriſdiction. He hath three great charges upon him; that of Religion; that of the Eccleſiaſtical affairs; and the temporalty of his Eſtate. And the Fountain from which all ill is derived, is in this, that his right is not well diſtinguiſht from that of Princes.

There are alſo three kinds of Canons, of ſpiritual things, of temporal things, and thoſe that are mixt of both; Of the firſt, the care ought to be in the Eccleſiaſticks; of the ſecond, none can carry the exerciſe beyond their own temporal eſtates; and for the third, it is as much the duty of Princes to take care, as of the Eccleſiaſticks themſelves,

ſelves, if not more. In all the life of the Father, there hath not ha pened in the moſt ſerene dominion any diſſention of opinion in the leaſt tittle. Not in the firſt of theſe three Heads, becauſe the Republick was born Catholick, and hath alwaies continued ſo. All the diſturbance hath happened upon the ſecond head, whereof the Court hath made uſe to the augmentation of their juriſdiction, and of their temporal dominion. From the third, that Prince is too ignorant and unworthy, that ſuffers himſelf to be excluded. And that the Court at this day more than ever, do their uttermoſt endeavour to enregiſter and authenticate the excluſion of Princes: yet this is becauſe Princes (having in favour of their cauſe ſuch clear ſentences from the new and old Teſtament, from Councils and holy Fathers, beſides the practice of all times) do not ſeek to repair themſelves. If at ſuch times as the Nuncios and Eccleſiaſticks appear mask't with religion in pretence, and the ſacred Canons (abuſing the ſecond and third by the firſt), and if thoſe which govern, and are inſtructed by Divine precept, would take notice what thoſe Canons were which concern faith (which the Republick inviolately obſerves with high reverence) and thoſe which concern Eccleſiaſtick affairs of diſcipline, and adminiſtration of goods, of ſecular affairs, and thoſe which concern neither faith nor Religion, but the greatneſs of the Court, and that they underſtood and would maintain in them the power which God hath given Princes, they would quickly pull off the Mask, and make thoſe bluſh that thought ſo to abuſe the goodneſs and ſimplicity of others, and would vindicate themſelves from that perpetual injury which is offered them, as if they had offended religion by defending the power which God hath granted, and the juriſdiction whereof a Prince ought not to ſuffer the leaſt diminution, without being guilty of this grievous ſin.

Of this pious ſence of his, let that ſupream reverence (wherewith in all his conſultations and writings, he had always honored the See Apoſtolical and the Popes) be an argument. Although in the mean time he ſpared not to ſet forth the truth in that which concerns the legitimate power, which God hath given the Prince. But unjuſtly do theſe men complain, that would have Church-men be without affections, *Erunt vitia donec homines*, or of Princes ſervants that ſeek the advantage of their Maſters. If Church-men ſerve themſelves of the pretence of Religion to this purpoſe, let the other complain of none but themſelves, if they be not well enough inſtructed to reduce the oppoſites to this point, to make them ſee that the zeal of Religion is not weaker in any than in Church-men, and ſo to go no further.

Theſe and other diſcourſes he uſed, inculcating always the duty of every one for the defence and conſervation of the Catholick Religion, and not to ſuffer themſelves to yield to any abuſe how great ſoever. But the Court (which hath known his piety, and holy courſe of life which began from his childhood, and continued without reprehenſion to his laſt breath in all thoſe exerciſes of Religion, which belong, not to a ſuperſtitious and paſſionate flatterer of the Court, or a fautor of reformations, but to a ſolid and ſincere Catholick and a man religious by profeſſion) have nevertheleſs gone ſo far with their calumnies, as to attribute that to him, which God grant be not found in many of themſelves (an indeleble blemiſh) of having no Religion at all. God forbid that by the conceipt of theſe men a blameleſs life, and irreprehenſible converſation in the view of ſo many ſevere enemies

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ſhould be thought to be the effect of Atheiſm and impiety, and that the argument of this ſo great a cenſure ſhould be drawn from the opinion of his learning. The Divine Scripture which attributes Atheiſm to ignorance, to fooliſhneſs, to an unbridledneſs in diſſolutions, and a being given over as a prey to their own paſſions, hath taught it far otherwiſe. True it is, that the fooliſh and ignorant vulgar, ſeeing ſome eminent ſubjects in ſciences not to comply with their fooliſh ſuperſtition, which are only tolerated by their own guides and canonized becauſe they are gainful, have been accuſtomed to judge thus ſiniſterly. But it is a judgment is only worthy of thoſe that formed it. But if a profound knowledge of ſecond cauſes do induce us to a more tenacious reverence of the firſt (as *Saint Paul* teacheth) the matter is clear enough, beſides, that thoſe very Courtiers who having their eyes dazeled at ſo great a light of goodneſs and ſcience, are grown ſo injurious to that rare vertue, as to be frequent in ſuch domeſtical arguments as theſe, that thoſe that are fallen from the right hand and have baniſht Divinity from their heart, do uſually ſtrike into one of theſe two extreams, either of a total diſſolution or a violent ſuperſtition, and perhaps never into the mean. Thanks be to God that in deſpite of themſelves they muſt confeſs the contrary of our Father, in both theſe, nor do I believe that the moſt ſuperſtitious men will ever yield him the commendation that either in word or actions he ſhewed any favour to their voluntary Worſhip or their other Impoſtures. And to ſay the truth, how can any wiſe man comply with their opinions, and ſuperſtitious actions? which are the very quinteſſence of humane fooleries, and of higheſt injury to the Creator?

The neceſſity of Publick Employment had brought him into the knowledge of the principal men of Publick Government, whoſe vertues if I ſhould commemorate, with their Honors due unto them, it would be neceſſary to engage a volume of praiſes. Let it ſuffice that with all the Grandees of the Republick he was in the greateſt conceipt that any private perſon could obtain, nay rather, none ſhall ever obtain the like till God and Nature ſhall produce another Father *Paul*, who in that way of prudence, which we will call converſation, hath not only arrived at that excellent degree, which the wiſeſt have obſerved to have been only in *Socrates*, but hath gone beyond it, by converſing with, and admitting to his converſation all ſorts of perſons and profeſſions, and of all ages, and hath got the love of all who had nothing elſe to ſay of him, but of the greatneſs of his modeſty, humility, and affability.

In all companies he appeared the maſter, and in the variety of his opinions ſome went away believing that he was of theirs, and others thought he had the intentions of *Socrates*. And although he were now grown into years, yet with the ſame hilarity, and chearfulneſs, that as he converſt with Senators of his own age, ſo he applied himſelf to thoſe young men of the primary Nobility who conſecrate their wits to vertue, and to their Country with honour, which we will call the *Tyrocinium* or the young Militia of ſtate in the Commonwealth, who are called among us *Savii dordini*, the wiſe men of the Orders. To them he was a Treaſury of Records, a Hiſtory, *Tacitus*, *Polybius*, *Xenophon*, *Thucydides* and what not.

Thoſe eminent ſubjects will always celebrate his memory. *Pietro Contarini*, *Leonardo Guſtiniano*, *Giacomo Marcello*, *Giorgio Contarini*, *Andrea Capello*, *Marnizane*. That flower of Nobility of ingenuity and hope of his Country, that ſublime wit *Giacomo Moreſini*, Oh bitter death,

that whileſt I am writing hath robbed us of this man that was the delig of his friends, the great example of thoſe of his own years, a great Patron to his ſervants, great hope of his Country and many others. I have reſerved for the laſt place Signor *Marc Erizzano*, becauſe I muſt not paſs him over in a word.

This Signor began an intimate friendſhip with the Father from the time that he was created *Savio de gliordini*, as uſually others did. But the privacy was ſo ſtrictly knit betwixt them after he had renounced his attendance upon honors, and given himſelf to moral Philoſophy and to all kinds of learning that might improve a man, that he daily viſited the Father, who took ſo much pleaſure in his company, that notwithſtanding the greatneſs of his employments, he had given order that whenſoever Signor *Marco* came, he ſhould be brought in unto him, which favour was vouchſaſt to no other but himſelf. And this was becauſe their converſation was now paſt into ſuch a degree of friendſhip with a full liberty of ſaying to him, without offence when he came to him, go your way Signor, for at this time I am very buſy. The Father rejoyced infinitely among the other ingenuities, and rare qualities, and vertues that were in him, at this veracity, and would ſay freely, *Lodato iddio che lo pur trovata uno che mi parla non in Maſchera*, praiſed be God that I have met with one man that ſpeaks not to me in a Mask. And verily Signor *Marco* told him without a Vail the truth of all things in *Venice*, the conditions of perſons, their intereſts, their deportments, whereof he had exquiſite information, but where he diſcovered any defects in the Father himſelf, thoſe with all candor. They call you (ſaith he to him) the Patron of your affections. And I obſerve you to have affections like other men, though different. This perpetual ſitting in your Cell, and turning over Books which are not legible to others, this ſhutting your ſelf up in your ſtudy without ever coming abroad, this unrelented way of reading and writing (Father) is a kind of intemperance, as heretofore were my amorets and wantonneſs, but yet with this difference, that opinion gives a Tittle of lewdneſs to one, and to the other names of honour.

He proceeded to tell him, that in this he ſeemed rather to be in a degree of obſtinacy than otherwiſe, becauſe in a declining age he would not remit; but intend thoſe Travels which in his more vigorous years, he was hardly able to undergo. He told him further, ſmiling, this is (pardon me) a kind of ambition that raigns in you, and a thouſand other learned and facetious gallantries. The firſt time that they diſcourſt together, The Father (who as his manner was to ſay much in a few words) ſaid when he was gone, This treviſanetto hath a great heart (alluding to the littleneſs of his body that had yielded ſo far to the greatneſs of his mind) and is very able for great reſolutions. But after he came to know of the friendſhip that was betwixt him and Signor *Barbarigo*, which, (let it be lawful for me to ſpeak of a thing that by fatal encounters hath raiſed it ſelf to ſuch a height that it hath wearied all Pens;) He was alſo willing to contribute ſomething to ſo rare a work. It was not fit that ſo high a fabrick of vertue ſhould be raiſed at *Venice*, except this great Architect put his hand to it. And hearing Signor *Marco* recount the various accidents that had paſt betwixt them, and a deſire of a total tranſmutation and tranſfuſion not only of external things but of themſelves, according to that of *Amicorum omnia communia*, which is in every mans mouth,

mouth, and perhaps never practiſed but in this example, certainly never in ſuch a degree as afterwards it proved to be betwixt theſe Gentlemen. And having delivered ſome excellent Doctrines concerning friendſhip, he did appoint *Fulgentio* to tranſlate out of *French* into *Italian* that Eſſay of *Michael di Montagna* of friendſhip, which ſo ſoon as it was done, I cannot relate how acceptable it was to both theſe Gentlemen, finding in their own hearts and affections not only thoſe conditions of friendſhip which that great perſon had expreſt with ſo rare examples ſet out for an *Idea* of a perfect friendſhip, but alſo to find thereby how far they had exceeded his deſcription. And there was nothing elſe to be done but to raiſe that Fabrick to the height, which after among civil vertues was grown to be the right of Miracles. The preparations to it were infinite, not ordinary mutual Offices, the foundation was a faith and ſecure confidence, that one might believe his friend as far as himſelf. The conſtruction a meer charity, which hath ſhewed the world that *Signor Marco* did in a moment and not by degrees ſtrip himſelf of thoſe exceſſes and inveterated habits of vices of laſcivious delights and other things which had brought him to a poor fortune, becauſe he would not be thought to be a waſter of thoſe fortunes, whereof he was now by the vertue of friendſhip made a Patron. And in Signor *Barbarigo* that had a Wife and many Children, to be able in his life time to make another man the abſolute Patron of his fortunes, whom all men knew to be the conſumer of his own, and upon no other conſideration ſave only of being his friend.

But the Father did not live to ſee the Garland with which this Fabrick was Crowned with the two *Pyramides* which were carved and ingraven by the knife of all the judicious with a *Non plus ultra*. Although in his life time he might ſee Signor *Marco* (in the houſe of *Barbarigo*) Lord and Patron of all, and knew by his ſpeculation, that they having ſetled in their hearts that rule of *Amicorum omnia communia*, might alſo make an external practice of it, in all and every thing elſe. Wherein his charity (the greateſt inventreſs of the world) did afterward put him in mind of a way to effect it, by procuration and teſtament ſo far as it was in the power of Law to do it. And theſe Gentlemen have arrived at ſuch a perfection of charity, that to die one for another (which hath been reputed the ſupream point of friendſhip) in a mutual preparation and readineſs, and not in ſhadows but by effectual preſenting themſelves to dangers, is a thing ſo far below their love, that they ſpeak of it as a thing not to be eſteemed, and wherein they know no imaginable difficulty. Many have ſuſpected that this affection could not laſt always, and the Father himſelf obſerving the violence of Signor *Marco* made a queſtion of it. But being after acquainted with *Barbarigo*, if the mind may be called a Sea in reſpect of affections, and perturbations, then this of his was a ſmooth Sea and always calm, and toward his friend without winds, without ebbing or flowing, an eternal tranquillity, and a mind though without oſtentive profeſſion of knowledges, yet capacious of all things, eſpecially thoſe that regard humanity. Then he changed his opinion, and believed it would be perpetual, and ſaid it was like the conjunction of Iron and ſteel, where the one gave toughneſs and the other gave edge. And as it happened afterwards, I my ſelf thinking of their friendſhip, which at this day is one of the glories of our City, and of our age, have concluded, that if it were poſſible for a diviſion to riſe betwixt theſe two, it could not be upon any other ground than this,

that if it came in queſtion to expoſe themſelves to any danger, the o and the other would be he, and each would conteſt that the otl r ſhould be reſerved, both believing they had reaſon, being ſo ſha ned in their charities, as to explicate, and confute each others reaſon and without doubt this would have put them to diſcord, if charity it ſelf had not found a remedy of their being always together, wher ſoever any danger ſhould have happened, becauſe nature does n permit that two ſhould be one alone except it be by a concordan of Wills. And I am of opinion, that next to that degree alread eſteemed the higheſt (which is to lay down, not verbally but real y their lives for one another) they have arrived at that great point r which, as yet it is believed, that nature or moral vertue never came; Lu in this only effect of an excellent Divine charity, that if it fell into que ſtion that one of them ſhould be ſubject to damnation, and Divine wrath, the ſtriſe would be betwixt them which ſhould take it upor himſelf and preſerve his friend. In which kind of acceſs I find no ex amples in the courſe of Hiſtories nor in the redundance of Divine graces, among mortal relations of ſuch an affection in any kind, except it were of thoſe two great Heroes and Divine men *Saint Paul* anc *Moſes*, and in a fable of a kind of dark report of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* which hath but little to do with this living and known example of ours becauſe they underſtood not what it was to be either bleſt or damned And if among the Heroick vertues there was found out an Apotheoſis which is nothing elſe but an extenſion of vertues and humane condi tions to a perfection not humane but chimerical and imaginary, ther with more ſolidity by true and real Acts, and not diſtant from us either in times or places, but exiſtent and under our eyes have theſe two Gen tlemen ſo well deſerving of humanity merited for having taught us a new way of vertue, and made us ſee that a ſole conſent in all things both Divine and Humane, is not a bargain of wit alone, as hitherto the world hath believed it to be, but a real work truly heroical anc excellent, whereat love and benevolence can only arrive, not only to b admired, and had in veneration, as an Idea of true friends, but to be re puted the tutelar powers or Numen of friendſhip.

Notwithſtanding it be very true, that to multiply knowledge, is to encreaſe travail and ſorrow, becauſe the poor Father, from the fame of his knowledge, the dexterity of his wit, the charity of helping al that came to him, and of a goodneſs of nature to do well, was become not only the ſervant of the publick, but of particular men; not only of this City, but of the whole State, and even to ſtrangers, becauſe in all difficult cauſes his opinion was ſought, and appeared in all things like the ſentence of a Divine Oracle, and to the wonder of the World that his anſwers how unpremeditate ſoever, were yet ſo wiſe and ſolid to the moſt arduous demands, that upon a long meditation they could not have been made better either for brevity or ſpeaking to the point. And whatſoever proceeded from that bleſſed mouth of his was fixt gold weighed in the ballance of more than humane judgment.

That which made him moſt admir'd was the coupling together of ver tues, and with conditions which are not uſually met in one and the ſame ſubject, as knowledge and humility, prudence with meekneſs, retiredneſs and officiouſneſs, ſeriouſneſs and pleaſantneſs, argutenes without offence, brevity and perſpicuity, ſweetneſs and ſolidity. But it appears that ſcience hath a venefick vertue of ſwelling many men; but that is only proper to vain and ſuperficial ſciences; but that which

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is conſummate and profound is on the contrary like an engine to caſt down every proud thought, and the Father had particularly ſpent ſo much of his time in the ſtudy and knowledge of humane nature, that if it ſhould pleaſe God that ſome form were but given to his notes that he left upon that argument, I am certain that hitherto no Philoſopher hath ſpeculated ſo far into the knowledge of humanity. And I ſay boldly that in all courſe of time hitherto, none ever arrived at the depth of that nothing of humane nature (ſo it may be lawful for me to call it, becauſe the Father himſelf ſaid ſo, who eſteemed himſelf as nothing.) It is remembred by one that told him of his humility, that he bluſht like a Virgin to hear himſelf praiſed for any of his excellent parts. And although he thought very well of a Gentleman yet living, and full of Philoſophical and Politick learning, and an eloquent Orator, yet the Father avoided him what he could for this only reaſon, that when he ſaluted him he entituled him always *Illuſtriſſimo Padre*, which was done with reſpect to his vertue and merit, and not according to complements. And he reſolved that his friend *Fulgentio* ſhould acquaint him with his diſlike of thoſe ſalutations; but the Gentleman anſwered him again, To whom then can that Title be due, if it be not due to that Angel of Heaven? And always when he made enquiry of his health, or how he did, he would do it in that or the like ſort, How does, or what does that Angel of *Paradiſe*? This was all the fruit of his great ſtudies, which were not addreſt to oſtentation but to true wiſdom, to the cultivating of his mind (which is the greateſt felicity of this life) and to humility.

Prudence for the moſt part makes men ſomewhat rigid, and difficil to be treated with, and truly in former times the Father hath been taxed of ſuch defects, and he himſelf in his anatomy of his affections and defections, where it appears that he had liſted them all for a combate and for a victory to be had over them (which he had deſigned) and there he acknowledges himſelf to be ſevere, inofficious, and hard to pleaſe. But he had now ſo vanquiſht thoſe diſpoſitions, that his affability and mildneſs was grown to be ſingular: his modeſty ſo marvellous, that when he ſaw another in an errour, or that he underſtood not the buſineſs, he would never uſe a ſharp reprehenſion, but bring them to a review and confute them with ſo civil language, that he left them not without ſome conceipt of his own propenſion to their opinions, only excuſing himſelf that what he could not condeſcend unto was by reaſon of his own incapacity, which neither gave him leave to ſee the reaſons that had induced them, nor how to reſolve well upon his own.

And for that officiouſneſs wherein, it ſeems, when he was in a lower fortune, he had been wanting, he was grown ſo prompt and obſequious, that if he could not do a ſervice, or a courteſy to him that required it of him, he would be ſo diſcontent, that he could not conceal his diſpleaſure. In one thing he was inſuperable to himſelf, in activity, and reſolution, becauſe as in things of ſpeculation, he was ſuddain and ready, ſo in conſultations that were to be put in action, he was grown ſlow and irreſolute. He would turn over, and revolve, and never ſeem ſatisfied, and this fluctuation ſtill increaſt upon him. Whereupon I am ſometimes of opinion, that a prudence in mediocrity makes men active, and reſolute; but too great an one, with an extraordinary knowledge of Hiſtories, and obſervation of examples and events, makes men timerous and reſty. Or whether this be a weakneſs

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proper, and inſuperable by old age, or whether in the greatneſs of his Soul, from that time forward, he beheld all thoſe things ſo far below himſelf, as to make that a Remora to his activity. I am only ſure that he was now reduced to ſo great an indifferency concerning humane events, as no man could aſpire to a greater.

Now I am in a kind of neceſſity of defrauding the Father of that which ſhould be the top and ſupream degree of his Heroick and moſt perfect Vertues, and which would make him to appear to be of an intrepid heart, and of a conſtancy which in a good cauſe were inviolable, by telling the true occaſion for which ſome Senators, not only the principal, but the very prime ones, and of the greateſt Families, conceived ſome ill affections towards him, which while they were alive, and ſome of them after the Fathers death, could not diſſemble. Now with reverence to their illuſtrious Poſterities, let them ever preſerve this picture of the Father truly, without either too much light, or in the pureſt colours, and let it be drawn over with this vail, that *Fra. Paulo* (ſuch as he was) never had any enemies, neither as he was a publick ſervant, nor a Conſultor of State, nor ever incurr'd the ill affection of any, except it were for a publick cauſe.

This famous man pleaſed himſelf with a writing of his, where he acknowledged he had contracted the hatred of ſome great ones, and great in government, but yet ſuch as did for the moſt part poſpoſe the publick honour, to their own intereſt, and private commodities. He might have comforted himſelf yet further in this, that neither for promiſes nor threatnings, they were able to make him decline the leaſt point from that which was either of juſtice, or publick ſervice. And it was not becauſe he was ignorant how much it might have turned to his advantage to have done otherwiſe, or that he had it not always in his mouth, *Conviene fedelmente ſervire:* And therefore he would do nothing but what belong'd to his charge, nor more willing than what he was commanded by the moſt excellent Senate.

But in a charge ſo univerſal, it is impoſſible that ſomething of the publick ſervice ſhould not traverſe the intereſts and affections of private men, which are a part of the body of government, and in particular concerning Eccleſiaſtick Benefices, and cauſes of that kind, wherein they are blinded by their paſſions; for which reſpect the Father would always ſay, the Commonweal had need to have both a Divine and a Canoniſt among them; to which purpoſe, before his death he had publiſh't a little Tract; but to his friends he would ſay more freely, that no man could be able for ſuch a ſervice, that had not troden under his foot both hopes and fears. The reaſon of which ſpeech ſhall be beſt underſtood by him that beſt underſtands Government, and knows how impoſſible it is to find a body ſo united to the publick good, in which there ſhall not be ſome that will hate and threaten, and perſecute, when they apprehend that any one ſhall oppoſe the deſignes of their private profit, how neceſſary, and clear, and juſt ſoever the oppoſition be, and this for the moſt part abounds in Ariſtocracies.

The fervour, and total dedication of himſelf (next after God) to the publick ſervice, may take argument from hence, that he was always reſolv'd, that by his means, nor for his ſake, no controverſies ſhould ariſe. But under *Paul* V. there was no occaſion, becauſe all diſcord was put to ſilence, as it was conſidered before. But *Gregory* the XV. being created his Succeſſor, the Father had heard of

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ſome diſcourſe that was uſed by him to the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors that were ſent to congratulate his Election, that there would never be a perfect Peace betwixt the Republick, and the See Apoſtolick, but ſuch a one as the Father *Paul* ſhould approve of. Whereupon the Father in that now declining age of his, was ſtrongly reſolv'd, rather than there ſhould be any difference, not only to withdraw himſelf from the ſervice of that Senate, but declining the Popes anger if he ſhould have perſevered (as not long after it removed out of his fancy, and there were no more words of it, it being the nature of that Pope not to inſiſt long upon any thing; and perhaps in this he was not moved of himſelf, but by ſome others, or elſe that he had received ſome more brief and ſignificant ſatisfaction than he expected) to retire himſelf out of the State of *Venice*. And becauſe to have ſo diſpoſed of himſelf (as many great ſpirits would have done) neither his conſcience, nor Religion, could well bear, and to paſs himſelf into a Proteſtant Country, had been to expoſe himſelf to calumnies; or if into thoſe States where the Court and the Eccleſiaſticks have an abſolute Power, had been without prudence to hazard himſelf again to poyſon, or ſtilletoes, he reſolv'd to go into the Eaſt Countries, to *Conſtantinople*, or into ſome other place, and made preparations accordingly. He deſired to be inform'd from ſome that had made Voyages, and particularly from an *Hebrew*, that had gone thither often by Land, to be diſtinctly inſtructed of every thing. He had found means alſo to have a paſsport from the Port of the Grand Signor againſt the dangers of that Voyage, in caſe he went no further. He was alſo reſolv'd to reſerve ſome proviſions for his own uſe, whereof he was a creditor, and had formerly uſed to expend, and give away in Alms, and otherwiſe, without keeping any for himſelf, and the Sum that after remained in the Convent was about 1000. Ducats, and conſequently he had all things in readineſs to encounter with any adverſe fortune, rather than that for his ſake, either his Country or his Prince (whom he had faithfully ſerved) ſhould ſuffer the leaſt inconvenience, although he were ſecure enough, that the Senate would rather have undertaken a War for him, than abandoned his protection.

And of this tranſmutation he would ſpeak with all cheerfulneſs, and ſay, that in his age he ſhould enjoy that which in his youth he had extreamly deſired, which was a peregrination, which although in his mind he had much affected, knowing by Geography as much as could be known of Kingdoms, and Scituations and People, and by Hiſtory their Actions and Cuſtoms, yet that ſeem'd to him, in reſpect of that which a man ſees with his eyes, but a dark knowledge, *un ſapere in ombra*, and the deſire of knowledge encreaſeth with years. God and Nature gave him not leave to prove what the Succeſſor of *Gregory* intended, *Maffeo Barbarini Urban* the VIII. who (as it was ſaid) was Nuncio in *France*, when he was created Cardinal 1606. having given teſtimonies of an implacable hatred againſt the Father, by actions not worthy of a Chriſtian, and by inventions moſt baſe and chymerical, which for reverence we ſilence, and not to poſſeſs the world, that the petulancy of ſpeaking and writing falſhoods and calumniations, (a thing bred in the bones of our modern Eccleſiaſtiques) is arrived at the very height. In this ſtate of abſoluteneſs in all Sciences, perfection of judgment, without defect of memory, which in him was ſo rich, and more faithful than ever was in any, and with ſuch health, as ſuch a complexion could beat in a perſon ſo continually tired out in the manage

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of ſo great affairs, and without any relaxation at all, except times in ſeeing his Friends: He entred upon the year of his ſixty nine, and in the end of Lent, in *Sallato Santo* being in his ſtomed place, which was a withdrawing-room of the Senate houſe, there fell upon him ſuch a ſudden coldneſs, as if he had been frozen, and withal a hoarſneſs inſtantly upon his voice, with a fearful benumbedneſs, being the firſt time in his life that he had known what a Catarrh was, and it held him above three months with a manifeſt Ague; for all which yet he would not change his way of living, nor diminiſh his labour. An apparent declination of his ſtrength was to be diſcerned, and he would always ſay, that he was never well after that diſtemper.

But as that continued indiſpoſition did ſignify a Divine admonition, it was alſo obſerved by his neareſt friends, that in things of the Spirit, he was much more devout and attentive than he had been formerly, and particularly in meditation more aſſiduall; ſo that, whereas before, beſide his ordinary Prayers and ſpiritual exerciſes the reſt of his time was ſpent either in making one of his Writers read to him, or write at his appointment, or in writing himſelf: After this time, he had no more reading or writing, but preciſely what the neceſſity of his charge, and publick ſervice conſtrained him unto. All the remainder was ſpent in the meditation of another life, and immediately he diſpatcht *Fra. Marco*, who at his return found him in his uſual place, which was before a Crucifix, at the foot whereof he had (as 'tis ſaid) a natural deaths head, whereunto he was ſo attentive that *Fra. Marco* at his coming in ſometimes ſurpris'd him before he could take notice of him; and yet he was willing to diſguiſe his devotion as far as he could, becauſe when he had a deſire to be alone; he would ſay to him, that he might go abroad a while, becauſe he deſired to give himſelf a little paſtime in making Caſtles in the air of Mathematical concluſions, and give his brains a little liberty to range where they pleaſed. And when he was ſurpriſed at his devotion, he was always ready with ſome excuſe or other, that he had either fabricated Inſtruments, or Figures, or the like. But before a Crucifix and a deaths head, it may well be imagined that he had other contemplations more ſutable to his age and ill affected body. Thus he went on, bearing up as well as he could, till his entrance upon Winter 1622. being then entred into the year of his age ſeventy one, when a manifeſt defailance of vital virtue was viſible in him, and the declination of his forces gave evident ſigns of the diſlodging which this great Soul (who in it ſelf had never felt old age) was preſently ready to make from the cottage of his body. His ſtature was mean, his head compar'd to his body was great, becauſe he was ſo very lean, that inwardly he ſeem'd but a frame of bones; yet his head accus'd him not to be ſuch, but rather contrary. In the hinder part and upward it was round, and well proportioned, his forehead very ſpacious, and declining a little from the middle part toward the left ſide. There appeared ſo great a vein, that ending about the middeſt where his noſe begun to riſe, when it was full, it ſhewed as bigg as a finger, and when it was empty it left a chanel, where a little finger might be laid, and it would often change from fulneſs to emptineſs. His eyebrows were well archt, his eyes great, quick, and black; and in his ſight till he was 55. he had an extraordinary livelineſs, that if with others he had read a Letter, he had ſooner read it all over than

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another had read the beginning. His noſe was large and long, but very ſtreight, little Beard, and thin, and in ſome places without Hair, but yet without deformity. Looking him in the face you would rather have thought it fleſhly than otherwiſe, his colour pleaſing, and when he was in health, was mixt with white and red, with a little yellowneſs, which became him not ill; his neck was ſutable to the reſt, only ſhewing meagerneſs. Altogether he had a grave aſpect, but pleaſant, and inviting one to treat with him. His hand was fair and very long, and his fingers ſeemed to turn backwards, and were of an exceeding length. He ſuffered ordinarily extreme cold in his hands and feet, for which he had not found a better remedy than warm Irons, which he carried always in balls wrapt up. But at the entrance of Winter, his paſſibility increaſed ſo much upon him, as if his hands and feet had been turned to Iron or Stone, receiving from within no heat, and externally but a flying heat. His face fall, his lips that had wont to be coloured, eſpecially the nether lip, with a ſmiling kind of ſweetneſs, were grown livid. So it ſeemed he had changed his form, his eyes hollow, without their wonted vivacity. Nothing could be found to keep him warm. He had loſt his appetite that it was not poſſible to find that meat for him, which after once taking he grew not to loath, and in that he grew to wonder that he had no more command upon himſelf. And although that at that age he had all his teeth left, yet he began to chew his meat with much difficulty. He began to go double, and very heavily, ſcarce able to go up and down into his Gondola, but worſe up a pair of Stairs.

In his Dreams, that little that he ſlept, was no more of his wonted non-ſenſe, or incongruities, but diſtinct, natural, ſpeculative, and regularly diſcurſive, which he that obſerved all things, did not only obſerve to himſelf, but conferred of it with his Friends, and called a riſing by little and little of his Soul from the bond and commerce with his body. And thus much I do not find that others have obſerved, but having told it you of ſo great a perſon as this, it may perhaps upon ſome or others make a reflection. Now nothing more could give him entertainment, not ſo much as to hear a relation of the ſucceſs of affairs how the World went, wherein he had from his childhood a ſpecial delight even to this time. One only delight remained with him, in his waking after Divine Meditations to revolve in his mind his Mathematical and Aſtronomical Figures, and he would ſay ſmiling; How many words and how many wits have been framed in my brains? He had all the ſigns of a ſoul that was ready to take her leave of her old body, whoſe health beginning now to fail, was ſupplyed only by an indefatigableneſs of mind, ſo that he never forſook his former charge, but gave anſwers to the exhortations of his Friends, and the authorities of his Patrons, concerning the abatement of his Travels, ſaying, That this Office was to ſerve, and not to live, and that every one ſhould always dye in his profeſſion; above all, the Signor *Marco Treviſano* (whoſe liberty and veracity the Father ſingularly approved) he would often reproach him of a manifeſt intemperance for ſeeming to continue his ſtudies and his travel as he had done at other times when his ſtrength was greater, and that it was an indiſcretion in him not to be ſenſible of approaching age, and other ſuch like things which he would hear with delight, but yet without ever ſlacking or letting his Bow ſtand unbent. Many times he had ſo manifeſt a failing of his ſtrength that he was conſtrained as he

went along the Street of the Mercery, to lean and ſtay himſelf upon the arms of *Fra. Marco.* And he would not conceal his being ill, but gave manifeſt tokens upon divers occaſions of foreſeeing his inſtant end, whereof he ſpoke more than he was wont to do, not only with a freedom of Mind, and as of a debt to Nature, and an indifferent thing, but manifeſt cheerfulneſs, as of a long reſt after a weary days journey. And beſides his ejaculated Prayers which he repeated often with devout ſentences of Scripture, he would moſt frequently ſay, *Nunc dimittis Domine ſervum tuum*, and to his Familiars, Courage my Maſters, we are almoſt at the end of our Journey. And upon a time as he went to conſer of buſineſs concerning the Government of the Province, and particularly the time being at hand that they were to nominate a Prior in this Convent of the *Servi*, the Father ſpoke aloud to the Provincial that was preſent, and others, *A queſto penſarete voi*, Here look you to that I pray you, for I ſhall not be preſent. But he would often ſay to his familiar Friends in a jeſting way, that he ſhould dye in ſecurity, now that at his death there could be no miracles done, becauſe *Baronius*, *Bellarmine*, and *Colonna*, and the Pope himſelf were ſo lately dead before him, and almoſt all thoſe that had written of the Eccleſiaſtick part, although they were ſo much younger than he, alluding to that raſh way of Writing, which ſome men uſe, who if a man happen to dye in diſgrace with the *Roman* Court, they write that ſome heavy Judgment befell him, or that he was ſtrangely dead, and that God had inflicted ſome other puniſhment upon him, as if having formed to themſelves a God after their fancies, they had alſo made him the Executor of their partial and intereſted votes, or as if God had nothing elſe to do but to puniſh and afflict ſuch as were fallen into their diſfavour, or that thoſe that were united in faction to them, could be preſerved from death more than others. And with ſuch petulances as thoſe their Writings were for the moſt part ſtuft.

But *Chriſtmas* being come, whereof Father *Fulgentio* uſed always to put him in mind (being the moſt holy Feaſt of the Nativity of our Lord), with accuſtomed Complement, which was meerly uſed among themſelves to ſalute the Father by ſaying, *Ad multos annos ſancte pater, &c.* He freely made anſwer that this was the laſt that he ſhould ſee, and that ſo ſeriouſly, that it was well diſcerned to be ſpoken with more earneſtneſs than that which he had wont to ſay, concerning the brevity of his future end. And no doubt now he began to feel himſelf very ill; and that he was in a high Feaver, becauſe at other times, he had not uſed to change his Cuſtom for any length or continuance of Feaver. On the day of *Epiphany* it appeared that his ſickneſs trode upon his heels, and that morning he took Phyſick, which made him worſe, becauſe being called to go to the Palace, he would not excuſe himſelf neither by ſickneſs, nor that he had taken a Medicament (ſuch was his modeſty.) So being called the ſecond and third time, he went, but returned with a manifeſt impairment of his health, being not able for two days following either to take food or reſt, yet for all this he could not keep his Bed, but riſing upon *Sunday* about eight a Clock he celebrated Maſs, and went to the Table, at the Refectory, where after he had dined, came Signor *Lingi Secchim* to viſit him, and walkt with him a pretty while, *Secchim* perceived that he was very ill, and told him ſo, which he confeſt, and that of neceſſity he muſt go lye down, which he did according to his cuſtom) in his Cloaths upon a Cheſt, cauſing a Coverlet to be thrown over him.

He continued thus till *Friday* following, betwixt which time and his death there was but another day, ſtill riſing out of his Bed and clothing himſelf, and doing his ordinary function, as reading and writing, and when he could do no more, to caſt himſelf upon the Cheſt, and make others read to him. But his infirmity being one of the greateſt demonſtrations of the greatneſs of his mind, deſerves to be more particularly known, and I am reſolved to ſet it down with the ſame Narrative, which with ſome other notes of the remainder of his life are come to my hands, becauſe that Proverb ſeldom fails, *Ze'l modo della morte e ſincero argomento della vita, e leva tutte le Maſchere*; The manner of a mans death is an infallible argument of his life, and pulls off all masks.

Upon *Monday* morning being riſen out of his Bed, and having put on his Cloaths, he was ſurpriſed with a total defailance both in his hands and his legs, on which he was not able to ſtand without ſupport, nor move the other without trembling, which was followed with ſo great an abhorment of his food, that if it had not been born out by the ſtrength of his reſolution, he could not have received a cordial. But this accident did not at all diſable his mind, nor deprive him of a fulneſs of judgment, accompanied with the ſame memory, and that which was of moſt importance, his tranquility and chearfulneſs of mind never forſook him, in which manner he remained till *Saturday*, comforting thoſe that were about him, and always intermixing ſomething that was facetious, ſo that upon the *Saturday* he ſaid to thoſe that were about him, I have made you merry as long as I was able, and now I can do ſo no longer, you muſt chear me up. The diſeaſe was ſuſpected by the Phyſicians to be the beginning of an Epilepſie, and there were ſome that ſuſpected poiſon. But truly there was no great ſign either of the one or the other, but rather of a natural reſolution and extinction of vital Spirits And being opened after his death, there was found in all his parts the faireſt conformity that could be deſired, except that his heart was exceeding little, and ſeemed (as it were) to be deſerted. His ſtomach was without any thing in it, either good or bad, but without all ſign of offence. The *Tueſday* after he took his Phyſick, but it did him no good. On *Wedneſday* he would go out of his Chamber, and go dine in the Rectory, from whence to his Chamber, beſides the Stairs, was a good diſtance, and he went it ſupported by two, all trembling as he went, but with his former courage. He admitted all viſits, diſcourſt of all occaſions that he had uſed to do, and nothing of his own weakneſs, except with the Phyſician (and that very ſhort) and ſo paſt his time; ſitting upon a ſtool, and hearing one read to him.

In all thoſe days he made a moſt exact examen of his Soul, with a total reſignation unto God, and with a heart as chearful as his body was afflicted, and from thoſe that were preſent, he concealed much of his infirmity, that neither by ſhew of grief, nor voice of laments, nor intermiſſion of his hilarity, any thing could be diſcovered, except only by his want of ſtrength, and by his abhorment of meats, which accuſed him of a manifeſt relaxation.

I would have no man think that he had not a full knowledge of his own Eſtate, although to Father *Fulgentio*, when he askt him often how he did, (as he uſed to do in all his ſickneſs,) and whether he thought he were like to dye of this, he anſwered him that he thought he ſhould have a long ſickneſs, and perhaps fall into a Quartane;

but to the Phyſician, his moſt cordial Friend, Signor *Pietro Aſſileneo*, when he firſt ſaw his Excrements, he put his finger in his mouth, as men uſe to do when they would have ſilence kept, and then the Father told him freely his eſtate, but deſired him not to diſcover it to Father *Fulgentio*, that it might not torment him. But he might have known it long before, conſidering the Fathers preparations, and what he had told him. Many times in his life he would ſay, that he truſted in God that he ſhould know when he was near his end, but that he would not ſpeak of it to any but to *Fulgentio*, becauſe it was to no other purpoſe but to breed confuſion, and make them give over thoſe diligences which God would not have omitted. But he did not obſerve that rule, for now he concealed his eſtate, and did not think it needful to be known, any further than it manifeſted it ſelf. On *Thurſday* in the morning he ſent to call *Amanto di Breſcia*, the Prior of the Convent, deſiring him to recommend him to the Prayers of the Fathers, and that after celebration of Divine Service, he would be pleaſed to bring him the holy Communion, telling him further, that he had lived in the poverty of the Religion, without any thing of his own. That whatſoever was in the Chambers, was granted him for his uſe, as others had the like, and being in his hands, it was as it had been always at the free diſpoſition of his Superiors, and gave him a little Key of a Cupboard, wherein were the remainder of the Proviſions which the Republick had beſtowed upon him, nothing being ſhut, but all open, except that Cupboard, and one other, wherein all the Writings were kept that concerned the Publick, which ſhould not be medled with. Yet he put on his Cloaths, as he had been uſed to do, and ſpent all that morning in hearing ſometime *Fulgentio*, and ſometimes *Fra. Marco*, reading either Pſalms, or the Stories of the holy Evangeliſts of the Paſſion of our Saviour, making them ſtop whenſoever he was entred into any devout Meditation. Many times he deſired to try whether he could kneel upon his knees, but the freeneſs of his ſpirit could no longer rule the languidneſs of his body. As ſoon as Maſs was ended, the Fathers of the Monaſtery came together upon the ſounding of a little Bell, and proceſſionally the Father Prior accompanied with all the reſt (with Torches in their hands) brought him the holy Sacrament, which he, being apparelled and laid upon his Bed, received with ſuch demonſtrations of piety, as could be expected from ſo pure a ſoul, and drawing tears from the eyes of all that ſtood about him, leaving an impreſſion in their hearts of a ſingular example of a Religious man, that was well prepared to paſs to a bleſſed life.

All this while he would not endure that any body in the night ſhould watch with him in the Chamber where he lay, which was obſerved by him in all his ſickneſſes, and it was not poſſible to perſwade him to the contrary, ſaying, that it only ſerved for pomp, and to incommodate others without doing him any good, only it was his diſquieting to ſee another loſe his reſt. And becauſe *Fulgentio* had ſhewed his reſolution to keep him company, and to ſit up with him, he roſe the next morning, and put on his Cloaths, though very weak, and would go ſupported from the firſt to the ſecond Chamber to try (as he ſaid) whether his ſenſes ſerved him, and what ſtrength was left him. But (as it was believed) it was only to ſee whether there were a preparation of another Bed for him in that Chamber. Whereupon *Fulgentio* told him; Father you make preparations as if you were to dye within an hour, and yet you would hide your eſtate from

from me, as if your infirmity would continue many Months; whereto he made anſwer; and why? Muſt we not always be prepared?

The Father was moſt obſervant of all kind of Laws, and among ſo many novelties of Reformations, which had been ordained in the ten laſt Popedoms, he accommodated himſelf with admirable readineſs and facility to all, howbeit he did not much approve of them, becauſe things of Cuſtom (he ſaid) had their remedies, but innovations are never without their miſchiefs, againſt which we have learned no cure. But whatſoever was ordained, he was ever the firſt in the obſervance of it, whereof he gave an Eſſay, that in the morning, being *Friday*, he would neither take meat nor broth, nor any thing elſe, that was not common to the day; and it ſeemed a difficulty to perſwade him to take any thing but Lenten meats, and in taking his dinner, he turned him to his Cook *Fra. Coſinio*, and meekly ſaid to him, do you treat your Friends in this faſhion, to make them break faſting days? (It was not ſuperſtition, but a conſtant tenacity, and an habited cuſtom to obſerve Ordinations with all exquiſiteneſs, though the leaſt, and not eſſential.) For this conſideration he had always entirely obſerved *Lent* until the 69. of his age, valuing above all things the giving of good example.

The night being come, he was reſolved to be in the firſt Chamber upon any terms, and there he had three in his company with him. But conſider a little while the conſtancy of a ſick man. He was a dying man, and of a languiſhment by defect of Nature, and that day it was neceſſary to put him in mind of his Reſtoratives, yet he continued all that night without ſpeaking a word to any of them, ſerving himſelf of thoſe things that were neceſſary from their accuſtomed places where they were uſed to be laid. And he was never heard to ſay any thing, except ſometimes *oh Dio.*

That *Saturday* (the laſt of his life) was the only day that he remained in his Bed, in great languiſhment of body, but full ſtrength of mind, whereof they took this for a demonſtrative document. That morning the Prince of *Venice*, with the reſt of the Senate ſent for *Fulgentio* to come to them, who being demanded of the ſtate of the Father, and having anſwered them that he thought he was drawing to his laſt gaſp without any hope of life, the excellent Signor *Octavian Bon Savio* deſired to know how he was in his mind, and having anſwered him, that in that languiſhing of his Forces, the Prince and their illuſtrious Excellencies might know that in his judgment and his memory he was the ſame *Maeſtro Paolo* that for 17 years paſt they had known him to be, when he ſerved his Serenity and the Senate, and conſulted with them in their moſt arduous Affairs. Then they enjoined him to enquire of him three things concerning the moſt important publick buſineſs, which was done that very night at 12 of the Clock, the Father cauſing his anſwers to be written from point to point by his Writer, and being ſealed up they were ſent and read that very night in the Senate, who preciſely determined the buſineſs in conformity to what the Father had conſulted.

Now let that ſacred Seſſion, the mirrour of Chriſtian Piety, and politick Prudence, by the teſtimony of two hundred renowned Fathers; and againſt the ſhameleſs and impudent ſlander which came out of the Houſe of one of the Eccleſiaſticks, by the Judge, whether the Father not long before his death had loſt his underſtanding, and his ſpeech or no? And from this calumny ſo malignant and ſhameleſs, let

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the world give a judgment of many others. The very ſame [illegible] he admitted viſits, as he had done other days before, and the ſame after 12 of the Clock the moſt excellent Signor *Giovanni Baſadona* [illegible] particularly to viſit him: The Father ſpoke to him, put off his Hat, and thanked him for his viſit, and after his departure heard one read to him a great while with quiet attention. And when the Evening grew dark, thither came *Signor Marco*, with whom he complyed in the ſame manner that he had uſed to do.

Night being come, and want of ſpirits increaſing upon him, he cauſed another reading of the Paſſion written by Saint *John*: He ſpake of his own miſery, and of the truſt and confidence which he had in the blood of Chriſt. He repeated very often theſe words, *Quem propoſuit Deus mediatorem per fidem in ſanguine ſuo.* In which he ſeemed to receive an extreme conſolation. He repeated (though with much faintneſs) divers places of Saint *Paul.* He proteſted, that of his part he had nothing to preſent God with, but miſeries and ſins, yet nevertheleſs he deſired to be drowned in the Abyſs of the Divine Mercy, with ſo much ſubmiſſion on one ſide, and yet ſo much chearfulneſs on the other ſide, that he drew tears from all that were preſent.

About the 24 hours he was viſited by Phyſicians that had been with him not long before. And becauſe the famous *Thebaldi* had not viſited him much before that time, the Father making ſome pauſe, becauſe he was unwilling to ſpend out his ſpirits, beckoned to *Fulgentio*, to give him ſome account of his ſickneſs. In which relation, having told him of the accident on *Munday*, under the term of a total defailance, the Father lift up his head, and interrupting ſaid, Defailance of mind? No, I ſay of ſtrength: For as for my Mind, it hath always kept its own conſtancy. And the Phyſician being willing to ſay ſomething, did it with thoſe terms of prudence which they commonly uſe when they go from ſick men, and would not leave him without ſome ſpark of hope, whereunto the Father *Fulgentio* (that underſtood the internals of the Father by a long practiſe, how little he regarded living and dying) oppoſed him, and ſaid; Sir, The Father is none of thoſe to whom you ſhall need to ſpeak in a mask, or by Ceremonies; and therefore I pray you tell him freely; that he hath endured his ſickneſs with a great deal of patience, which he ſaid he was a witneſs of more than any other; whereunto the Father making a ſign of aſſent, and ſeeming a little to ſmile; the Phyſician told him, that his pulſe gave warning of a flying life, and that it would fail him that night, and within a few hours; To which the Father with gladſom cheer, and a face tending to joy, made anſwer, *Sia lodato Iddio, mi piace cioch' a lui piace*, Bleſſed be God, whatſoever pleaſeth him pleaſeth me; with his help we ſhall well perform this laſt action. And thereupon the Phyſician willing to put him in mind of ſome Cordials; the Father interrupting ſaid, Let us now forgo theſe fooleries, and I deſire you would reſolve me of two doubts, The firſt, That I am aſſured and have a full perſwaſion, that whatſoever you preſent to me is very good, with ſuch aſſurance I take it into my hand, and when it comes near my mouth (as if my brains were changed in an inſtant) it renders it ſelf to me horrid and abominable. The ſecond, and having ſpoken that word, his breath failed him, and he could not expreſs the reſt; ſo the Phyſician finding by his vein, that his vital ſpirit began to wander away, appointed that at eight a Clock they ſhould give him a Cordial, and in the mean time ſome rare Moſchate, which he would ſend him from home; at the receiving

ceiving whereof (there being then paſt ſix hours of night) he ſaid, *Queſta veſta mi pare coſa violenta*, this ſeems to me to be a moſt violent thing.

I will tell you only one ſlight particular but to ſhew what the conſtancy of his mind was, and his abſolute underſtanding and quickneſs of ſenſes to the very laſt. The Father had in his Chamber diſpoſed things in ſuch order, that he could preſently lay his hand upon any thing that he ſought for, as Books, Writings, Inſtruments, and ſuch like, even to the very leaſt and ſmalleſt things. About ſix at night, the laſt of his life, he would cleanſe his tongue with an inſtrument that he had uſed to that purpoſe a great while, appointing *Fra. Marco* to go fetch it him out of ſuch a place. He went to ſeek it with a Candle in his hand, and returned telling him it was not there, and he could not find it. The Father bad him go ſeek better; for it was a very ſmall thing: He returned and found it, wherewith he cleanſed his tongue, continuing with thoſe that were preſent with an ineſtimable tranquility, and without ſo much as a groan or ſhew of grief, with memorable words from time to time, repeating ſome devout paſſages of Scripture, and very often he would ſay, *Hor ſum audiamo ove Dio chiama*; Away, let us be gone whither God calls us. And the ſtanders by ſeeing his voice began to fail, and his pulſes beat to an end, entreated him to take a little reſt, at which he laught out; and ſo he paſt the time in whiſpering to himſelf, that he could not be well underſtood, except it were ſometimes a word of Scripture, and once he ſaid, *Audiamoa S. Marco che tardi*, Let us go to Saint *Mark*, it begins to be late, which is all that during his ſickneſs was ſpoken without connexion and right ſenſe. In the mean time it ſtruck eight a Clock, he counted it, and calling *Fra. Coſſimo* his other Servant to him ſaid, now 'tis eight a Clock, diſpatch if you will give me that which the Phyſician ordained. But he was able to receive but a ſmall part of it. Afterwards finding himſelf ready to dye, he called *Fulgentio* to him, and commanded him to leave him with theſe memorable words, which were like to be always engraven in his heart. *Hor ſum non reſtate, &c. Now ſtay no longer to behold me in this ſtate, it will not be needfull, go to your reſt, and I will go to God from whence we came.* And ſo he was willing to be embrac'd and kiſt by him: And though *Fulgentio* knew well what it was to confirm his mind by the example of ſuch a conſtancy, yet he parted from him; not to leave him but to execute his command, and to obey him in another point which was to go to the Fathers, to ſhew him ſo much charity as to come and aſſiſt him in his paſſage with their Prayers.

So he called the Prior, and the other Fryars to come about his Bed, and make their uſual Prayers and recommendations of that ſoul into the hands of God, who although he could ſpeak no longer, yet with his eyes and ſigns gave aſſurance that he was in a fulneſs of underſtanding to the very laſt gaſp. His very laſt words (which were hardly underſtood by *Fra. Marco* that ſtood over him, yet often repeated) were theſe two, *Eſto perpetua.* I doubt not when in that trance he recommended his ſoul to God with ſuch fervent votes and prayers from his heart, but he remembred to recommend alſo, and to pray for the perpetuity of the moſt ſerene Republick, to which he had done his ſervice with ſo much faith and charity. And with thoſe words he loſt his ſpeech, and ſhortly after drew to an end, which was accompanied with two notable circumſtances. One was, that being unable to move his hands, yet of himſelf by a force rather of ſpirit (which was all in God)

God) than of his body, he formed them into a Croſs. The other, that fixing his eyes upon the Crucifix which was before him with a natural Deaths-head of a Calvary, he held it ſo a while, and then caſting them downward, and ſhutting them he breathed out his Soul into the hands of God.

Thus was the end of this great Perſonage, and it pleaſed Divine diſpoſition that it ſhould be ſo teſtified to the excellent Senate by a publick Writing, and under Oath, and ſubſcription, of all the Colledge of the reverend Fathers of the *Servi* that were preſent, againſt the fabulous falſhoods and impudent lyes that were after divulged, that he died howling and crying out with apparitions of black dogs and other things of that kind, as alſo that in his Cell and Chambers there were heard hideous noiſes. Things only viſible and audible in the far diſtant houſes of the Eccleſiaſticks, and heard to *Rome*, but never of thoſe that lived in the next Chambers, nor of any that were preſent.

Such inventions as theſe were alſo machinated againſt the memory of Duke *Leonardo Donato* a glorious *Hero*, and before this they were grown to ſuch an impudency to publiſh prodigious things in Print, which were ſaid to happen in that year of the Interdict againſt the Defenders of the Cauſe of *Venice*; and this may ſerve for an argument how far the Narrations of ſuch accidents may be believed, which are written of perſons ſo long after, and ſo far diſtant, that lived in abomination with the Court of *Rome*.

I confeſs that theſe Examples ſo freſh make me doubt extremely of the alterations and falſifications of ſo many Narratives made in time paſt, firſt kept ſecret, and after divulged when the only fautors of the Factions of the Eccleſiaſticks had the command of the Preſs, and who without difference have either commended or diſpraiſed ſo many great men, not for matter of truth, but only becauſe they were either favourable or contrary to their mundane intereſts.

But the Father dyed as you have heard with a fame to the world, of an incomparable man, and with them that knew him, and had to do with him, of ſo ſingular integrity, and ſanctity of life as are ſeldom ſeen, and with a commendation which became Proverbial, that if he had been in the favour of the Court, and ſerved their intereſts, he had been put in the Kalendar and number of Saints.

In *Rome* they were very glad to hear of his death with ſuch kind of diſcourſes, nor could his Holineſs contain himſelf from ſpeaking of it, as the handy-work of God to take him out of the World, as if it had been a miracle for a man to dye at the age of 71. But he himſelf was not immortal, for he dyed himſelf the ſame year about the beginning of *July*. He lived in the world ſeventy one years, which was a decrepit age if you conſider his complexion, or his conſummate wiſdom and perfection of Vertue, and his either deſires or hopes to live, being but too ſhort a time if you conſider the ſervice that the Publick received from him, or the common deſire that was afterward of him, becauſe it concerned the moſt excellent Republick, that his ſervice ſhould have been as durable as it was faithful. A pattern of ſo rare Vertues was worthy of a longer old age, or rather of a perpertual youth, if humanity could have born it in this life. But to him for his own ſake, death which could not be unexpected was not untimely, yet at leaſt to us and for our ſakes 'twas bitter, and if he lived long enough for himſelf, yet lived he too little for the Publick, for which he only lived. Upon this occaſion his Cell was ſeen and viſited by very many, who obſerving that

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religious poverty without any ornament were very well ſatisfied, and the principal Senators ſaid *it was a Paradiſe where a good Angel dwelt.* And the moſt excellent *Leonardo Moro*, who is one of the perfections of all Vertues, and particularly of Religion and Chriſtian Piety, could not contain himſelf from ſaying, *Is this the Father whom the Prelates of holy Church have ſo much defamed, is he then a wicked man, and are they the imitators of Chriſt and his Apoſtles?* His Funerals were conſpicuous both for the publick Munificence, and for a numerous concourſe of great perſons of every ſort, but for coſt it exceeded not his private condition ſave only in a Publick Grief. And it was obſerved that his face was well coloured and ſmiling, and as they ſaid more venerable and beautiful when he was dead than when he lived. And after nine Months that the Coffin was opened again wherein he was laid, they found him both entire, and with his face freſh coloured.

Father *Fulgentio* was the firſt that went about to honour his memory by ſome works, but the Convent would not ſuffer him, who reſolved to make it a Publick Act. But the moſt excellent Senate decided the difference by a Publick Decree, that at the Publick Charge there ſhould be made a Memorial and Inſcription, which may be ſo much the more illuſtrious and durable, becauſe as yet there is nothing done in it. And likewiſe the fame and infamy of thoſe is like to be eternal who keep an implacable hatred againſt the dead with a malignity of finding blemiſhes in ſo precious a Gem, or clouds in ſo reſplendent a Jewel, which in ſuch an excellent Creature either never were, or elſe ſo little that they were inviſible, except it were to the eyes of conſummate malignity. And according to the wiſe man, the raſh imprudence of thoſe men ſhall be had in deriſion, who being raiſed into fortune, preſume to be the Patrons even of fame, and to extinguiſh it that it ſhould not paſs to Poſterity.

And as for the glory of this great *Hero's* ſo excellent a Creature, (as it happens to ſome Captains of great valour) his triumph encreaſt more being denyed than granted. As the impediment was known to ariſe from theſe wicked Tyrants *Tiberius Nero*, and others, ſo it may happen to Father *Paul.* And if a ſhield ſhould be made for him with his Effigies, the ſame event would befall it, as was ſaid of the Images of *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, that in a Funeral pomp they were more conſpicuous and prefulgent, becauſe by the violence of the Tyranny they were not ſeen among the others. And, if there remain any ſenſe of theſe humane conſolations, to thoſe that are in God, that great ſoul of Father *Paul* ſhall receive content, that the perverſity of others hath favoured his intentions, which were deſpiſing of all other conſolations of the living. Father *Paul* ſhall live eternally in God who is the only goodneſs deſirable, but yet he ſhall live in the memory of men by his heroick virtues, againſt which Monuments, neither time which conſumes Marbles and Metals, ſhall prevail, much leſs that fooliſh poetick errour of them that believe, that the fame of men can live in a ſtone, which is ſubject to the injuries of the moſt wretched ſort of people.

And becauſe the time that's paſt is the beſt inſtructor of that which is to come, I muſt not forget, that among others that were preſent at that pious, exemplary, and happy death of the good Father, there was one ſent thither, who went in obedience to ſome body that foreſaw more than others, *Maeſtro Agoſtino Meſani* of *Venice*, ſurnamed the Poet, who being alſo tyed up by the truth upon his Oath, and having ſubſcribed to that Narrative above mentioned (which was pre-

ſented to the moſt excellent Senate) this man favoured and defended by Father *Paul* upon many occaſions, who was the rather moved to compaſſionate him for his inconſiſtent brain. This man being brought in by a Kinſman of his, that was ſaid to ſerve as a ſpye, or (as I have it more probable) by his own raſhneſs and fooliſh hopes, into the Houſe of the Signor *Nuntio*, was alſo ſaid to have made relations there which were only worthy of himſelf, who never knew obligation to tell truth, nor to keep himſelf within terms of Modeſty. But that he ſhould be examined again, and his Narration regiſtred, it was not very like, although the Fryar himſelf bragged of it.

True it is that from thence he returned to his Convent, being full of conceits, which by his natural fooliſhneſs (becauſe he was a Fool, and notoriouſly known to be ſo, but yet of an ill tongue and very miſchievous) not being able to conceal, or rather ſaying publickly, that he ſhould ſhortly be above either a General or a Provincial. But this laſted but a while, becauſe thoſe that were about the Nuncio underſtood too well the carriage of ſuch people, and what ſervice could be expected from ſuch as he was. It may be alſo that they were informed of his cuſtoms and qualities to be ſuch, as cannot with honeſty be related. But let it ſerve to caſt a Veil over him, by ſaying that he is *Muliebriter infamis, & vita probroſus*, and with Superiors he had been priviledged only by his folly. That in more than fifteen years he had neither made confeſſion, nor recited office, although he had ſometimes celebrated Maſs, and when the Superiors went about to reform it in him, he preſently turned Apoſtata, as he had done at other times before.

Let not this note be thought impertinent, becauſe this mans relations another time may appear under the name of a Theologiſt, or Maſter of Divinity, as others in the like kind, with and without names, have cauſed to be committed from *Rome* to the Vicar General Apoſtolical (*Maeſtro Filippo Ferrari de Alexandria*) to make certain heinous inquiſitions againſt others. But they have had the ordinary event of thoſe that move Informations upon ſuch ſubjects, and the very Letters themſelves of the General have been ſeen by me to the like purpoſe, where it hath appeared that all that had been written and affirmed were falſe.

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HISTORY

OF THE

COUNCIL

OF

TRENT

CONTAINING

EIGHT BOOKS:

In which (beſide the ordinary Acts of the Council) are declared many notable Occurrences, which happened in Chriſtendom, during the ſpace of Forty Years and more.

And particularly

The Practiſes of the Court of *Rome*, to hinder the Reformation of their Errors, and to maintain their Greatneſs.

Written in *Italian* by *Pietro Soave Polano*, and faithfully tranſlated into Engliſh by *NATHANAEL BRENT*.

LONDON,
Printed by *John Macock*, for *Samuel Mearne*, *John Martyn*, and *Henry Herringman*.
MDCLXXVI.

1500
Pope *Alexander* VI.
Emperour *Maximil.* I.
Henry VII. King of England.
Lewis XII. FrenchKing.

THE HISTORY OF THE Council of Trent.

BOOK I.

MY purpoſe is to write the Hiſtory of the *Council of Trent* For though many famous Hiſtorians of our Age have made mention in their Writings of ſome particular accidents that happened therein, and *John Sleidan*, a moſt diligent Author, hath related, with exquiſite induſtry, the cauſes that went before, notwithſtanding all theſe things put together would not ſuffice for an intire narration. The purpoſe of the Author.

1. For my ſelf, ſo ſoon as I had underſtanding of the affairs of the World, I became exceeding curious to know the whole proceedings thereof: and after I had diligently read whatſoever I found written, and the publick inſtructions, whether Printed or divulged by Pen, I betook my ſelf, without ſparing either pains or care, to ſearch in the remainder of the writings of the Prelates, and others who were preſent in the Council, the Records which they left behind them, and the Suffrages or opinions delivered in publick, preſerved by the Authors themſelves, or by others, and the Letters of advice written from that City; whereby I have had the favour to ſee even a whole regiſter of Notes and Letters of thoſe perſons, who had a great part in thoſe negotiations. Having therefore collected ſo many things as may miniſter unto me ſufficient matter for a narration of the progreſs, I am reſolved to ſet it down in order. The means he uſed for collection of his matter.

2. I will relate the cauſes and managings of an Eccleſiaſtical Convocation, by ſome, for divers ends, and by divers means procured and haſtened, by ſome hindered and deferred for the ſpace of 22. years, and for 18. years more, ſometimes aſſembled, ſometimes diſſolved, always celebrated with divers intentions, and which hath gotten a form and concluſion contrary altogether to the deſign of them that procured it, and to the fear of thoſe, that with all diligence diſturbed it; a clear inſtruction for us to refer our ſelves to God, and not to truſt in the wiſdom of man.

3. For this Council deſired and procured by godly men, to reunite the

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Church which began to be divided, hath ſo eſtabliſhed the Schiſm, and made the parties ſo obſtinate, that the diſcords are become irreconcileable: and being managed by Princes for reformation of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, hath cauſed the greateſt deformation that ever was ſince Chriſtianity did begin: and hoped for by the Biſhops to regain the Epiſcopal authority, uſurped for the moſt part by the Pope, hath made them loſe it altogether, bringing them into greater ſervitude: on the contrary, feared and avoided by the See of *Rome*, as a potent means, to moderate the exorbitant power, mounted from ſmall beginnings by divers degrees unto an unlimited exceſs, it hath ſo eſtabliſhed and confirmed the ſame, over that part which remaineth ſubject unto it, that it was never ſo great nor ſo ſoundly rooted.

The concluſion of this Council was contrary to the opinion of all men.

4. It will not be inconvenient therefore to call it the Iliad of our age; in the explanation whereof I will exactly follow the truth, not being poſſeſſed with any paſſion that may make me erre. And he that ſhall obſerve that I ſpeak more copiouſly of ſome times, and more ſparingly of others, let him remember that all fields are not equally fruitful, nor all grains deſerve to be kept: and that, of thoſe which the Reaper would preſerve, ſome ear eſcapeth the hand, or the edge of the Sickle; that being the condition of every harveſt, that ſome part remaineth to be gleaned after.

The original cauſe and progreſs of Synods.

5. But firſt I muſt call to mind, that it hath been a moſt ancient cuſtom in the Church of Chriſt to compoſe the differences of Religion, and to reform the corrupted diſcipline, by the convocation of Synods. So the firſt which began in the life-time of many of the holy Apoſtles, whether the converted Gentiles were bound to obſerve *Moſes* law, was compoſed by a meeting in *Jeruſalem* of four Apoſtles, and of all the faithful which were in that City: by which example in the occurrences which incidently ſprung up in every Province for the ſpace of 200. years and more afterwards, the Biſhops and chiefeſt of the Churches aſſembled themſelves together to qualifie and end them, that being the only remedy to reunite diviſions, and to accord contrary opinions.

6. But after that it pleaſed God to give peace unto his Church, by exciting *Conſtantine* to favour religion, as it was more eaſie for many Churches to communicate and treat together, ſo alſo the diviſions became more common. And whereas before, the differences went not out of a City, or, at the moſt, out of a Province, now by reaſon of the liberty of meeting together, they extended themſelves over the whole Empire. Wherefore alſo it was neceſſary that the Councils (which were the uſual remedy) ſhould be aſſembled from places more diſtant. Whereupon a Council of the whole Empire, being congregated in thoſe times by that Prince, it had the name of the holy and great Synod; and a little after was called the general and Oecumenical Council, though not aſſembled from all parts of the Church, a great part whereof extended it ſelf beyond the bounds of the *Roman* Empire; but becauſe the uſe of that age was to call the Emperour Lord of the whole habitable Earth, howbeit the tenth part thereof was not ſubject unto him. By which example the like Councils were called by *Conſtantine* his ſucceſſors in other occurring differences of Religion. And though the Empire was divided into the Eaſtern and Weſtern, notwithſtanding the affairs thereof being managed under a common name, the Convocation of Synods throughout the whole continued ſtill.

7. But after that the Eaſt was ſo divided from the Weſt, that there remained no more communion in the Soveraignty, and after that the

Eaſt

East was for the most part possessed by the *Saracens*, and the West parted amongst many Princes, the name of an Universal and œcumenical Council was no more derived from the *Roman* Empire, but amongst the *Grecians*, from the assembly of the five Patriarchs, and in these Countries of ours, from the unity and communion of those Kingdoms and States which obeyed the Pope in causes Ecclesiastical. And the assembling of these hath been continued, not to appease the dissentions about Religion principally, as before, but either to make War in the Holy-land; or to compose Schisms and divisions of the Church of *Rome*, or else for controversies between the Bishops and Christian Princes. 1500 *Pius* III. *Julius* II. *Maximil.* X. *Henry* VII. *Lewis* XII. A new derivation of the name of generall Councils.

8. In the beginning of the 16. century of years after the Nativity of our Saviour Christ, there appeared no urgent cause to celebrate a Council, neither was there any likely to happen for a long space. For the complaints of many Churches against the greatness of the Court seemed absolutely to be appeased, and all the Countries of the Western Christians were in the communion and obedience of the Church of *Rome*. Only in a small part, that is, in that tract where the *Alpes* are joyned with the *Pyrenees*, there were some remainders of the old *Waldenses* or *Albigenses*. In whom notwithstanding there was so great simplicity and ignorance in learning, that they were not fit to communicate their doctrine unto others; besides their neighbours conceived so sinister an opinion of their impiety and obscenity, that there was no danger that the contagion should spread any further. 1500 *Waldenses* in the *Alpes*

9. In some *Cantons* also of *Bohemia* there were some few who maintained the same doctrine, even remnants of those whom the *Bohemians* call *Picards*; whose increase could not be feared for the same reason. *Picards* in *Bohemia*.

10. In the same Kingdom of *Bohemia* there were some followers of *John Hus*, which were called *Calistini*, or *Subutraque*, who, except that particular, that in the holy Communion they ministred the Cup unto the people, in other things differed not much from the doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. But these also were not esteemed considerable, aswel for their small number, as because they wanted learning; neither did it appear that they desired to communicate their doctrine, nor that others were curious to understand it. *Calistini* in *Bohemia*.

11. There was yet some danger of Schism. For *Julius* the second, having addicted himself more to the Arts of War, than to the Priestly Ministry, and governed the Popedom with excessive imperiousness towards the Princes and Cardinals, had constrained some of them to separate themselves from him, and to call a Council. And the *French* King *Lewis* the twelfth, excommunicated by the same Pope, had withdrawn his obedience from him, and was joyned with the separated Cardinals; which beginning, did see, might produce some important conclusion. But *Julius* opportunely dying, and *Leo* being created in his stead, with his dexterity he reconciled, in a very short space, the Cardinals and the Kingdom of *France* both at once: so that a fire was quenched with admirable celerity and ease, which in likelihood might have burned the Church. Pope *Julius* the second was more a Souldier than a Clergy-man. *Lewis* the 12. excommunicated.

12. *Leo* the tenth, as one whose birth and education was noble, adorned the Papacy with many good parts which he brought into it; amongst which were his singular learning in humanity, goodness, and a marvellous sweet manner in treating of affairs, together with a pleasing behaviour, more than humane, joyned with incomparable liberality, and a great inclination to favour those that were learned, and endowed with any The description of Pope *Leo*.

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extraordinary quality. Which vertues were not found in that See of a long time before, neither equal, nor near unto his. And he would have been a Pope abſolutely compleat, if with theſe he had joyned ſome knowledge in things that concern Religion, and ſome more propenſion unto piety, of both which he ſeemed careleſs. And as he was moſt liberal and well ſeen in the Art of giving, ſo in that other of gaining he was not able enough of himſelf, but uſed the aſſiſtance of *Lorenzo Pucci*, Cardinal of *Santi Quatro*, a man exceeding ſufficient in that behalf.

13. *Leo* therefore finding himſelf in this ſtate, quiet, the Schiſm extinguiſhed abſolutely, without an adverſary, as one may ſay, (becauſe thoſe few *Waldenſes* and *Caliſtini* were not any way conſiderable) liberal in ſpending and rewarding aſwel his kindred, as Courtiers, and profeſſors of learning; other Fountains, from whence the Court of *Rome* was wont to draw riches unto it ſelf out of other Nations, being dried up, he thought fit to ſerve himſelf of that of Indulgences.

When the Art of gaining money by Indulgences began.

14. This manner of gaining money was put in practiſe after the year 1100. For Pope *Urbane* the ſecond having granted a plenary Indulgence and remiſſion of all ſins to whoſoever made war in the Holy-Land to regain and ſet at liberty the Sepulchre of Chriſt, out of the hands of the *Mahumetans*, was imitated by his Succeſſors for many hundreds of years; ſome of which (as always new inventions are enlarged) granted it to thoſe that maintained a Souldier, in caſe they could not, or would not go to war themſelves in perſon. And after in progreſs of time, the ſame Indulgences and Pardons were given for the taking of Arms againſt thoſe that obeyed not the Church of *Rome*, although they were Chriſtians: and for the moſt part infinite exactions were made under thoſe pretences; all which, or the greater part, were applied to other uſes.

Leo granted a plenary Indulgence.

15. *Leo* being counſelled, by the Cardinal of *Santi Quatro*, to follow theſe examples, ſent an Indulgence and Pardon for ſins throughout all Chriſtendom, granting it to whoſoever would give money, and extending of it even unto the dead; for whom when the diſburſment was made, his will was that they ſhould be freed from the pains of Purgatory; giving alſo power to eat Eggs and Whitemeats on faſting daies, to chooſe themſelves a Confeſſor, and other ſuch like abilities. And although the execution of this enterpriſe of *Leo* had ſome particular in it that was neither pious nor honeſt, as hereafter ſhall appear (which did give ſcandal, and cauſed innovation) notwithſtanding many of the grants formerly made by the preceding Popes had cauſes more unjuſt, and were exerciſed with more avarice and extortion. But occaſions ariſe many times which are able to produce notable effects, and yet come to nothing, for want of thoſe that know how to uſe them. And, which is more, it is neceſſary, for the effecting of any thing, that the time come in which it may pleaſe God to correct the errours of men. All theſe things met together in the time of *Leo*, of whom we ſpeak.

1517

16. For having publiſhed an univerſal grant of Indulgence, in the year 1517. he diſtributed part of the harveſt; before it was reaped or well ſowed, giving unto divers perſons the revenues of divers Provinces, and reſerving ſome alſo for his own *Exchequer*. In particular, the Indulgences of *Saxony*, and of that arm of *Germany*, which reacheth from thence to the Sea, he gave to his Siſter *Magdalen*, wife unto *Franceſchetto Cibo*, Baſtard Son of *Innocentius* the eighth: By reaſon of which marriage, this *Leo* was created Cardinal at the age of fourteen years, which was the firſt beginning of Eccleſiaſtical greatneſs in the houſe of the *Medici*. And *Leo* uſed this liberality, not ſo much through brotherly love,

The Popes Siſter hath a great part of the benefit of Indulgences.

Leo was created Cardinal at the age of fourteen.

love, as for recompenſe of the charges which the Family of *Cibo* were at, when he retired himſelf to *Genua*, not daring to abide in *Rome* ſo long as *Alexander* the 6. had linked himſelf with the *Florentines*, who being enemies to the houſe of the *Medici*, had chaſed it out of *Florence*. The Siſter (that the Pope his gift might be profitable unto her) committed the care of preaching the Indulgences, and exacting the money, unto Biſhop *Aremboldus*, who in the aſſumption of the Epiſcopal dignity, deveſted not himſelf of any of the qualities of a perfect *Genua* Merchant. This man gave power to publiſh the Indulgences to whoſoever promiſed to raiſe moſt profit by them, without any regard of the quality of the perſons, even ſo ſordidly, that no man of any tolerable condition could contract with him; but he found Miniſters like unto himſelf, who aimed at nothing but the gain of money.

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Aremboldus was the agent of the Popes Siſter.

17. It was a cuſtom in *Saxony*, that whenſoever Indulgences were ſent by Popes, the Friers of the Order of the *Heremites* were imployed to publiſh them. The Pardon-mongers, Miniſters of *Aremboldus*, would not go to theſe, becauſe, being accuſtomed to manage the like merchandizes, they might uſe ſome device to draw ſome ſecret profit to themſelves, and from whom likewiſe, as practiſed in this Office, they expected not any extraordinary thing, which might bring them more than uſual advantage; but they went to the *Dominican* Friers. Theſe men, in publiſhing the Indulgences, deſiring to ampliſie the value of them, more than others had done before, ſpake many ſtrange things, which gave cauſe of ſcandal. Whereunto was added the bad life of the Pardoners, who, in Taverns, and elſewhere, in games, and other things not fit to be named, ſpent that which the people ſpared from their neceſſary expences, to purchaſe the Indulgences.

The *Heremit* Friers were publiſhers of Indulgences in *Saxony* by cuſtom.

The *Dominicans* were imployed by the miniſters of *Aremboldus*.

18. By theſe means *Martin Luther*, an *Heremite*, being ſtirred up, began to ſpeak againſt the Pardoners, firſt reprehending theſe new exceſſive abuſes only; after being provoked by them, he ſet himſelf to ſtudy this matter, being deſirous to ſee the Foundations and the Roots of the Doctrine of Indulgences. Which when he had examined, paſſing from the new to the old abuſes, and from the Building to the Foundations, he publiſhed 95. Concluſions in this matter, which were propoſed to be diſputed on in *Wittenberg*, where they being ſeen and read, they were not oppoſed in any vocal conference becauſe no man appeared againſt him: but *John Thecel*, a *Dominican* Frier, propoſed others contrary unto theſe, in *Frankfort* of *Brandeburg*.

Martin Luther ſpeaketh againſt the Indulgences.

95. Concluſions of *Luther*.

John Thecel a *Dominican* propoſed Concluſions contrary to thoſe of *Luther*.

19. Theſe two Files of Concluſions were, as one may ſay, a joyning of iſſue. Wherefore *Martin Luther* went on to write in defence of his, and *John Ecchius* to oppoſe them; and theſe Concluſions, together with other writings, being gone to *Rome*, *Silveſter Prierius*, a *Dominican* Frier, wrote againſt *Luther*. Which conteſtation enforced both the one and the other party to ſwarve from this matter, and paſs to other things of greater importance. For the doctrine of Indulgences having not been well examined in former ages, which did never conſider how they might be defended and maintained, or how impugned, the eſſence and cauſes of them were not well underſtood. Some thought they were nothing but an abſolution or freeing, made by authority of the Prelate, from penance which the Church in the moſt ancient times impoſed, by way of diſcipline, upon the penitent, (which impoſition was aſſumed in ſucceeding ages by the Biſhop only, after delegated to the penitentiary Prieſt, and in concluſion left wholly to the will of the Confeſſor) and that they delivered us not from paying the debt due to the

John Ecchius oppoſeth *Luther* Concluſions.

Silveſter Prierius wrote againſt *Luther*.

The doctrine of Indulgences was never well underſtood until this time.

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the Juſtice of God. Others thinking that this brought more hurt unto Chriſtians than benefit, who being delivered from Canonical puniſhments, became negligent to ſatisfy the divine Juſtice with voluntary penance, began to be of opinion, that they ſet us free from both the one and the other: but theſe were divided. Some thought that they ſet us free, though nothing were given in recompence for them. Others abhorring that opinion, ſaid, that, by reaſon of the mutual participation in charity of the members of holy Church, the penance of one might be communicated unto another, and free him by this compenſation. But becauſe it ſeemed that this was more proper to men of an holy and auſtere life, than to the authority of Prelates, there aroſe a third opinion, which made them in part an abſolution, becauſe authority was neceſſary for them, and in part a compenſation. But in regard the Prelates lived not in ſuch ſort, as that they could ſpare much of their merits for others, there was made a treaſury in the Church full of the merits of all thoſe who had more of them than would ſerve their own turns; the diſpenſation whereof is committed to the Pope, who, when he giveth Indulgences, recompenceth the debt of the ſinner, by aſſigning ſo much in value out of the Treaſury. Neither was there an end of the difficulties: For it was oppoſed that the merits of Saints being finite and limited, this treaſure might be diminiſhed. Wherefore deſiring to make it indeficient, they added the merits of Chriſt, which are infinite: Whence aroſe a doubt what need there might be of the little drops of the merits of others, when there was an infinite Ocean of the merits of Chriſt: Which gave cauſe to ſome to make the treaſure to be only of the merits of our Saviour.

The treaſure of the Church.

20. Theſe things, ſo uncertain at that time, and which had no other foundation than the Bull of *Clement* 6. made for the Jubilee of the year 1350. ſeemed not ſufficient to oppugne the doctrine of *Martin Luther*, to reſolve his reaſons, and to convince him. Wherefore *Theecel*, *Ecchius*, and *Prierius*, ſeeing themſelves not ſtrong enough in points proper for this matter, betook themſelves to common places, and laid for their ground-work the Popes authority, and conſent of the Schoolmen; concluding that the Pope, not being able to err in matters of faith, and having approved the doctrine of the Schoolmen, and himſelf publiſhing the Indulgences to all the faithful, it was neceſſary to believe them as an Article of Faith. This gave occaſion to *Martin* to paſs from Indulgences to the authority of the Pope; which being predicated by others to be the higheſt in the Church, was by him made inferiour to a General Council lawfully called, whereof he ſaid there was need in that inſtant and urgent neceſſity: and the heat of diſputation continuing, the more the Papal authority was advanced by others, the more it was by him abaſed. Notwithſtanding, he contained himſelf within the bounds of ſpeaking modeſtly of the perſon of *Leo*, ſometimes referring himſelf to his judgment. And, for the ſame reaſon, the Doctrine of remiſſion of ſins, of Penance, and of Purgatory was ſet on foot, the *Romaniſts* ſerving themſelves of all theſe common places for proof of Indulgences.

The adverſaries of *Luther* prove the doctrine of Indulgences by common reaſons only.

Luther begineth to ſpeak againſt the Popes authority, and other doctrines of the Roman Church.

21. Frier *James Hogoſtrat*, a *Dominican* Inquiſitor, wrote againſt *Martin Luther* more to the purpoſe than them all; who, ſetting theſe reaſons aſide, exhorted the Pope to convince *Martin* with chains, fire, and flames.

James Hogoſtrat his perſwaſion to the Pope.

1518 22. Nevertheleſs, the controverſie grew ſtill more bitter, and *Martin* always went forwards to ſome new propoſition, as occaſion was offered.

Wherefore

Wherefore Pope *Leo* cauſed him to be cited to *Rome* by *Hierom* Biſhop of *Ascoli*, Auditor of the Chamber in *Auguſt*, 1518. and wrote a Brief to *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony*, exhorting him not to protect him. He wrote alſo to *Thomas de Vio*, Cardinal *Cajetan*, his Legat in the Diet of *Ausburg*, that he ſhould uſe all diligence to commit him to Priſon, and to ſend him to *Rome*. Divers means were uſed to the Pope, that he would be contented to order that his cauſe might be examined in *Germany*; who yielded to refer it to his Legat, unto whom the judicature thereof was committed with inſtruction, that if he could diſcover any hope of repentance in *Martin*, he ſhould receive him into favour, promiſing him pardon of all his errours paſt, together with honours and rewards, referring the whole to his wiſdom; but in caſe he found him incorrigible, he ſhould deſire *Maximilian* the Emperour, and the other Princes of *Germany*, that he might be puniſhed.

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Means uſed by the Pope to bring *Luther* to *Rome*.

Luthers cauſe referred to Card. *Cajetan* the Popes Legar.

23. *Martin* went to the Legat to *Ausburg*, under the ſafe-conduct of *Maximilian*; where, after a convenient conference upon the controverſed doctrine; the Cardinal having diſcovered that by terms of School-divinity, in the profeſſion whereof himſelf was moſt excellent, *Martin* could not be convinced, that he always ſerved himſelf of the holy Scripture, which is uſed but a little by the School-men, he declared that he would diſpute no more with, but exhorted him to a retraction, or, at leaſt, to ſubmit his Books and doctrine to the judgment of the Pope, ſhewing him the danger he was in if he perſiſted, and promiſing him favours and benefits from his Holineſs. *Martin* not anſwering to the contrary, he thought it not fit to wring from him a negative, by preſſing him too much, but rather to give ſpace, that the threats and promiſes might take impreſſion, and therefore gave him leave to depart for that time. He cauſed alſo Frier *John Stopiccius*, Vicar General of the Order of the *Heremites*, to treat with him in conformity hereof.

Luther cometh to the Legat with the Emperours ſafe-conduct.

Luther had leave to depart.

24. *Martin* being returned once more, the Cardinal had much conference with him concerning the heads of his doctrine, rather hearing what he ſaid, than diſputing, to gain himſelf credit by the propoſition of accommodating the buſineſs. Whereunto when he deſcended, exhorting him not to let ſlip ſo ſecure an occaſion, and ſo profitable, *Luther* anſwered him, with his accuſtomed vehemency, that no compoſition could be made to the prejudice of the truth; that he had offended no man, nor had need of the favour of any; that he feared no threats, and that, if any thing were unduly attempted againſt him, he would appeal to a Council. The Cardinal (who had heard that *Martin* was ſecured by ſome *Grandees*, that they might hold a Bridle in the Popes mouth) ſuſpecting that he was perſwaded to ſpeak in that ſort, diſdained at it, and deſcended to bitter reprehenſions, and baſe terms, and concluded that Princes have long hands, and ſo bid him be gone. *Martin* being parted from the Legats preſence, remembring *John Hus* his caſe, went from *Ausburg* without ſaying any more. From whence when he was a good way diſtant, thinking better of his own caſe, he wrote a Letter to the Cardinal, confeſſing he had been too ſharp, laying the blame upon the importunity of the Pardoners and of thoſe that wrote againſt him, promiſing more modeſty hereafter, to ſatisfie the Pope, and not to ſpeak any more of Indulgences, with condition that his adverſaries ſhould do the like. Yet neither they nor he could be kept ſilent, but one provoked the other; whereby the controverſie grew more ſharp.

At his return he was more vehement than before.

Luthers letter.

The Cardinal is blamed in *Rome* for uſing *Luther* with baſe terms.

25. Wherefore the Court in *Rome* ſpake diſgraceſully of the Cardinal, attributing

1518 attributing all the miſchief to the ſeverity and baſe terms uſed againſt *Luther*; they blamed him for not having promiſed him great riches, a Biſhoprick, and even the red Hat of a Cardinal. And *Leo*, fearing ſome great innovation in *Germany*, not ſo much againſt Indulgences, as againſt his own authority, made a Bull under the date of the 9. of *November* 1518. wherein he ſet forth the validity of Indulgences, and that himſelf as ſucceſſor of *Peter*, and Vicar of *Chriſt*, had power to grant them, both for the living and for the dead; and that this was the doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, which is mother and miſtreſs of all Chriſtians, which ought to be received of whoſoever would be in the communion of the Church. He ſent this Bull to Cardinal *Cajetan*, who, being at *Lintz* in upper *Auſtria*, publiſhed it, and cauſed many authentical Copies to be made thereof, ſending them to all the Biſhops of *Germany*, with commandment to publiſh them, and ſeverely, and under great penalties to enjoyn all men not to have any other faith.

Leo X
Maximil. I.
Henry VIII.
Francis I.

The Bull of *Leo* for the doctrine of Indulgences.

26. By this Bull *Martin* ſaw clearly, that from *Rome*, and from the Pope, he could look for nothing but condemnation; and as before he had for the moſt part ſpoken reſervedly of the perſon and judgment of the Pope, ſo after the publication of this Bull he reſolved to reject it. Wherefore he ſet forth an Appeal; wherein having firſt ſaid, that he would not oppoſe himſelf to the authority of the Pope when he taught the truth, he added, that he was not exempt from the common conditions of being ſubject to err and to ſin; alleadging the example of St. *Peter*, ſharply reprehended by St. *Paul*. But he ſaid, it was an eaſie thing for the Pope, having ſo great riches and retinue, to oppreſs whoſoever was not of his opinion, without reſpect of any; unto whom none other help remained, but to fly unto a Council, by the benefit of appeal; becauſe all reaſon perſwadeth, that a Council ought to be preferred before him. This Appeal went throughout all *Germany*, and was read by many, and eſteemed reaſonable. Wherefore *Leo* his Bull extinguiſhed not the fire that was kindled in thoſe parts.

The Popes Bull made *Luther* appeal to a Council.

27. But it having given courage to the Court in *Rome*, as if the flame had been quenced, Fryar *Samſon* of *Milan*, of the order of S. *Francis*, was ſent to preach the ſame Indulgences amongſt the *Suiſſes*; who having publiſhed them in many places, and collected the ſum of 120000. crowns, came finally to *Zuric*, where *Ulricus Zuinglius*, a Canon in that Church, was Profeſſor; who oppoſing himſelf to the doctrine of this Fryar the Pardoner, there grew great diſputation between them, paſſing alſo from one matter to another, as it happened in *Germany*. Whereby it came to paſs that *Zuinglius* was hearkened unto by many, and gained credit, and was imboldened to ſpeak not only againſt the abuſe of Indulgences, but againſt the Indulgences themſelves, and even againſt the authority of the Pope, who granted them.

The occaſion why *Zuinglius* began to oppoſe the Pope.

28. *Martin Luther*, perceiving that his doctrine was eſteemed, and that it paſſed alſo into other Countries, became more couragious, and ſet himſelf to examine other Articles, and, in the matter of Confeſſion, and of the Communion, he forſook the opinion of the Schoolmen, and of the Church of *Rome*, approving rather the Communion of the Cup uſed in *Bohemia*, and ſetting down for the principal part of repentance, not the diligent confeſſion made to the Prieſt, but rather the purpoſe of amendment of Life for the time to come. He paſſed alſo unto Vows, and touched the abuſes of the Monaſtical Order; and theſe his writings, going on their journey, arrived in *Lovaine* and *Collen*; where, being

Luther paſſeth to other points.

His Books were condemned in *Lovain* and *Collen*.

ſeen

ſeen and examined by the Divines of thoſe Univerſities, they were condemned by them. Neither did this trouble *Martin* one jot, but rather cauſed him to go on, and to declare and fortifie his doctrine the more it was oppoſed. 1518 *Leo* X. *Charles* V.

29. With theſe contentions rather than reſolute diſcuſſions paſſed the year 1519, when many Advertiſements coming to *Rome*, of the ſtirs in *Germany* and *Switzerland*, augmented with many amplifications and additions, as the manner of fame is, eſpecially when matters are related from places far diſtant, *Leo* was noted for negligence, that in ſo great dangers had not uſed powerful remedies. The Fryars particularly blamed him, that being addicted to magnificence, to hunting, to deliciouſneſs, and to muſick, (with which he was delighted beyond meaſure) he paſſed over things of the greateſt importance. They ſaid that in point of Faith the leaſt thing ought not to be neglected, nor the proviſion againſt it one jot to be deferred, which, as it is moſt eaſie before the miſchief take root, ſo it cometh too late when it is waxed old. That *Arius* was but a ſmall ſpark, which might eaſily have been put out, and yet it ſet the whole world on fire. That *John Hus* and *Hierome* of *Praghe* would then have done as much, if in the beginning they had not been ſuppreſſed by the Council of *Conſtance*. On the contrary ſide, *Leo* repented himſelf of whatſoever he had done in theſe occurrences, and moſt of all of the Brief of Indulgences ſent into *Germany*, thinking it would have been better to let the Fryars diſpute amongſt themſelves, and to keep himſelf neutral, and reverenced by both parties, than by declaring himſelf for one to conſtrain the other to alienate themſelves from him; that this contention was not ſo great, as that it was neceſſary to hold it in any reputation, and that, ſo long as it was lightly eſteemed of, few would think of it, and if the Popes name had not been uſed in it until then, would have ended his courſe, and ſo vaniſhed. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I. 1519. The Pope was blamed. *Leo*, though reprehended for negligence thought he had done too much.

30. Notwithſtanding for the many inſtances of the Prelates of *Germany*, of the Univerſities, who, being intereſſed by the ſentence of condemnation, betook themſelves to the Popes authority for their protection, and eſpecially for the continual importunities of the Fryars of *Rome*, he reſolved to yield to the common opinion. And he made an Aſſembly of Cardinals, Prelates, Divines, and Canoniſts, unto which he wholly remitted the buſineſs. By this it was moſt eaſily concluded, that the Pope ſhould denounce Fire and Sword againſt ſo great an impiety. But yet the Canoniſts differed from the Divines, theſe being of opinion that he ought preſently to deſcend to this denunciation, and thoſe ſaying that a citation ought to go before. The Divines alledged that the doctrine was evidently ſeen to be impious, that the Books were divulged, and the Sermons of *Luther* notorious. The others ſaid, that Notoriouſneſs did not take away the defence, which is allowed by the Law of God and Nature, alledging the uſual places: *Adam where art thou? Where is thy Brother Abel?* and in the accident of the five Cities, *I will go down and ſee.* They added that the citation of the Auditor the year before, by virtue whereof the judicature was referred to *Cajetan* in *Ausburg*, and remained unperfect, if nothing elſe were, ſhewed it to be neceſſary. After many diſputes in which the Divines attributed the deciſion unto themſelves alone, becauſe the queſtion was in point of Faith, and the Lawyers appropriated unto themſelves as much as concerned the form of judgment; a compoſition between them was propoſed, diſtinguiſhing the buſineſs A diſpute between the Divines and Canoniſts.

1519 *Leo* X. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

into three parts, the Doctrine, the Books, and the Perſon. For the Doctrine, the Canoniſts yielded that it ſhould be condemned without citation: for the perſon, they perſiſted to maintain that the citation was neceſſary. Yet not being able to overcome others who ſtanded upon their own Opinions with greater acrimony, and covered themſelves with the Buckler of Religion, they found a middle way, that a Precept ſhould be ſent to *Martin* with a convenient term, that ſo it ſhould be reſolved into a Citation. Concerning the Books there was more to do. The divines did think they ought to be condemned abſolutely together with the Doctrine, and the Canoniſts that they ſhould be joyned with the Perſon, and comprehended under the term. It not being poſſible to make an accord herein, they did both the one and the other. For firſt they were condemned for the time preſent, and afterwards a term allotted to burn them. And with this reſolu-

1520. tion a *Bull* was framed under the date of the 15 of *June* 1520; Which being, as it were, a beginning and foundation of the Council of *Trent*, whereof we are to ſpeak, it is neceſſary to ſet down here a brief Epitomy thereof.

The Popes Bull. 31. In which the Pope, directing the beginning of his words to Chriſt, who hath left *Peter* and his Succeſſors for Vicars of his Church, exciteth him to aſſiſt it in theſe neceſſities. From Chriſt he turneth to S. *Peter*, and prayeth him, by the charge which he received of our Saviour, to be careful of the diſtreſſes of the Church of *Rome*, conſecrated with his blood. And paſſing to S. *Paul*, deſireth the like aſſiſtance from him; adding, that, although he hath deemed Hereſies to be neceſſary for tryal of the good, yet it is convenient to extinguiſh them in the beginning. Finally, turning himſelf to all the Saints of Heaven, and to the Church univerſal, he prayeth them to intercede with God, that the Church may be purged from ſo great contagion. Then he proceedeth to ſhew how it came to his knowledge, and how he hath ſeen with his eyes, that many Errors were renewed, which were condemned long before, of *Grecians*, *Bohemians*, and others, falſe, ſcandalous, apt to offend godly ears, and to deceive ſimple minds, ſowed in *Germany*, always beloved both by him, and by his Predeceſſors, who, after the tranſlation of the *Greek* Empire, have ever taken their Protectors from that Nation, and that many pious Decrees againſt Hereticks have been made by thoſe Princes, which the Popes alſo have confirmed. Therefore that he, not willing to tolerate the like Errors any longer, but rather to make proviſion againſt them, would recite

The Pope condemneth 42 Articles of *Luthers* Doctrine. ſome of them: and here he repeateth 42 Articles, which are in the points of original ſin, Penance and Remiſſion of ſins, of the Communion, of Indulgences, of Excommunication, of the Power of the Pope, of the Authority of Councils, of good Works, of Free-will, of Purgatory, and of Poverty, all which he ſaith are reſpectively peſtiferous, pernicious, ſcandalous, offenſive to pious ears, contrary to charity, contrary to the reverence which is due to the Church of *Rome*, contrary to obedience, which is the ſinew of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline: wherefore being willing to proceed to ſentence, he, with the Cardinals, generals of the Regular Orders, with other Divines and Doctors, both of the one and the other Law, hath made diligent examination of them. Therefore he condemneth and rejecteth them, reſpectively, as heretical, ſcandalous, falſe, offenſive to pious ears, deceitful to godly minds, and contrary to the Catholick truth: He prohibiteth upon pain of Excommunication, and infinite puniſhments, that no man ſhould

dare

dare to keep them, defend them, preach them, or favour them. And because the ſame aſſertions are found in the Books of *Martin*, therefore he condemneth them, commanding under the ſame pains, that none may read or keep them, but that they ought to be burned, as well thoſe which do contain the foreſaid Propoſitions, as all the reſt. Concerning the perſon of *Martin* himſelf, he ſaith, he hath many times admoniſhed, cited, and called him, with promiſe of ſafe conduct and proviſion for his Journey; that if he had come, he would not have found ſo many Errours in the Court as he ſaid, and that himſelf the Pope would have taught him, that the Popes his Predeceſſors have never erred in their Conſtitutions. But becauſe he hath endured the Cenſures for the ſpace of a whole year, and hath dared to appeal unto a future Council, a thing prohibited by *Pius*, and *Julius* the ſecond, under the puniſhments due to Hereticks, he could proceed to condemnation without any more ado; notwithſtanding, forgetting theſe injuries, he admoniſheth the ſaid *Martin*, and his Protectors, to change their Opinions, ceaſe to preach, and in the term of 60 days, upon the ſame pains, to revoke all the aforeſaid Errors, and burn the Books; which in caſe they do not, he declareth them notorious and obſtinate Hereticks. After he commandeth all under the ſame pains, that they keep not any Book of the ſame *Martin*, though it contain not the like Errours. Then ordaineth that all men ought to ſhun as well him as his Favourers; yea, commandeth every one to apprehend them, and bring them perſonally before him, or at leaſt chaſe them out of their Lands and Countries: he interdicteth all places whither they ſhall go: commandeth that they be every where made known, and that his Bull ought to be read in every place, excommunicating whoſoever ſhall hinder the publication thereof: he determineth that the Exemplifications ought to be believed, and ordereth that his Bull be publiſhed in *Rome*, *Brandeburg*, *Miſna*, and *Manſperg*.

1520
Leo X.
Charles V.
Henry VIII.
Francis I.

Luthers Books are condemned to the fire.

The Pope giveth an admonition to *Luther* and his followers.

32. *Martin Luther* receiving news of the condemnation of his Doctrine and Books, ſet forth a Writing, repeating the Appeal made to the Council, and making replication thereof for the ſame cauſes. Furthermore, for that the Pope had proceeded againſt a man not called, nor convinced, nor the controverſie of the Doctrine heard, preferring his own Opinions to the Word of God, and leaving no place for the Council, he offereth to demonſtrate all theſe things, praying the Emperour and all Magiſtrates to accept this his Appeal, for defence of the Authority of the Council, thinking that this Decree of the Pope bindeth not any, till the cauſe be lawfully diſcuſſed in a Synod.

The Popes admonition cauſeth *Luther* to make a ſolemn Appeal.

33. But men of underſtanding ſeeing the Bull of *Leo*, marvelled at it for many cauſes. Firſt, concerning the form, that the Pope ſhould proceed to a Declaration with clauſes of the Palace in a matter which ought to be handled with the words of the holy Scripture; and eſpecially uſing periods ſo intricate, and ſo long and prolix, that it was ſcarcely poſſible to draw any ſence from them, as if he had been to give ſentence in a feodatary cauſe. And it was particularly noted that one clauſe which ſaith, *Inhibentes omnibus ne præfatos errores aſſerere præſumant*, is ſo drawn out in length, with ſo many inlargements and reſtrictions, that between *Inhibentes* and *Præſumant*, there are placed more than four hundred words.

The Bull of *Leo* cenſured.

34. Others, paſſing on a little further, conſidered that, to have propoſed and condemned as heretical, ſcandalous, falſe, offenſive to pious ears, and deceitful to ſimple minds, 42 Propoſitions, without declaring

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which of them were heretical, which ſcandalous, which falſe, but only with a word (reſpectively) attributing to every one of them an uncertain quality, cauſed a greater doubt than was before; which was not to define the cauſe, but to make it more controverſed, and to ſhew more plainly, that another Authority and Wiſdom was neceſſary to determine it.

35. Some alſo were filled with admiration, for that it was ſaid, that amongſt the 41 Propoſitions there were Errours of the *Grecians* condemned long ago. Others thought it a ſtrange thing, that ſo many Propoſitions in divers points of Faith, ſhould be decided in *Rome* by the advice of the Courtiers only without participating them to other Biſhops, Academies, and learned perſons of *Europe*.

The Popes Bull and the Decretals burned in *Wittenberg*.

36. But the Univerſities of *Lovain* and *Collen*, being pleaſed, that there was a colour given to their Sentence by the Popes Edict, publickly burned the Books of *Luther*. Which gave cauſe that he alſo in *Wittenberg*, (all that School being aſſembled) judicially and publickly made to be burned, not only the Bull of *Leo*, but together alſo the Popes Decretals; and after gave an account to the World of that action in a long *Manifeſt*, publiſhed in writing, noting the Papacy of tyranny in the Church, perverſeneſs of Chriſtian Doctrine, and uſurpation of the power of lawful Magiſtrates.

A Council was thought to be neceſſary for two cauſes.

37. But aſwel for *Luthers* Appeal, as for theſe and other conſiderations, every one became of opinion that a lawful Council was neceſſary; by which, not only the Controverſies might be decided, but the abuſes alſo, long ſince brought into the Church, might be redreſſed; and always the neceſſity hereof appeared the more, by how much the more the Contentions increaſed, Writings being ſet forth continually both by the one part and the other. For *Martin* failed not to confirm his Doctrine by divers Writings, and, accordingly as he ſtudied, he diſcovered more light, ever paſſing ſome ſtep further forward, and finding Articles, of which in the beginning he had not thought: Which he ſaid he did for the zeal of the Houſe of God. But he was conſtrained alſo by neceſſity. For the Romaniſts having laboured effectually in *Collen* with the Elector of *Saxony*, by the mediation of *Hierom Aleander*, that he would deliver *Martin* Priſoner to the Pope, or by ſome other means procure his death, he ſaw that he was obliged to ſhew unto that Prince, and to the people of *Saxony*, and every one elſe, that he had reaſon on his ſide, that neither he, nor any other Potentate, might yield to the earneſt intreaties of the Romaniſts, made againſt his life.

1521 *Luther* called to the Diet.

38. The year 1520. being thus paſſed, the Diet of *Worms*, of the year 1521. was celebrated in *Germany*; to which *Luther* was called to render an account of his Doctrine, and had given unto him a ſafe conduct by the Emperour *Charles*, elected two years before. He was counſelled not to go thither, ſeeing that the ſentence of his condemnation made by *Leo* was publiſhed before, and hanged up; whereby he might aſſure himſelf to bring back nothing but a confirmation of his doom, if peradventure no worſe thing hapned unto him. Notwithſtanding himſelf thought the contrary, againſt the opinion of all his Friends, and ſaid, that, though he were ſure to have to do againſt as many Devils as there were Tiles in the roofs of the Houſes of that City, he would go thither.

Interrogated.

39. And in that place, the ſeventeenth of *April*, he was demanded, by the Emperour and the whole Aſſembly of the Princes, if he were Author

Author of the Books which went abroad under his name, the Titles whereof were recited, and the Copies, placed in the midſt of the Room where they ſate, were ſhewed unto him; and whether he would defend whatſoever was contained in them, or retract ſomething? His anſwer was, that, concerning the Books, he acknowledged them to be his; but to reſolve whether to maintain the things contained in them or not, was a matter of great moment, and therefore required ſome time of deliberation. There was granted him time that day, to give his anſwer the next: Which being come, *Martin*, brought into the Aſſembly, made a long Oration. Firſt, he excuſed his ſimplicity, if bred after a private and ſimple manner, he had not uſed terms according to the dignity of that place, and given to every one convenient Titles; then he confirmed that he acknowledged the Books for his own. And concerning the defence of them, he ſaid they were not all of one ſort, but ſome contained Doctrine of Faith and Piety, others reprehended the Doctrine of the Romaniſts, and a third kind was of thoſe which were written contentiouſly, againſt the Defenders of the contrary Doctrine. For the firſt, he ſaid he were no Chriſtian or honeſt man if he ſhould retract them; the rather, becauſe though all were condemned, yet all were not judged naught by the ſame Bull of *Leo*. For the ſecond, that it was too manifeſt, that all the Countrys of Chriſtendom were oppreſſed, and groaned under the bondage. And therefore to retract the things already ſpoken, would be nothing elſe but to confirm that tyranny. In the Books of the third kind, he confeſſed he was more bitter and vehement than he ought, excuſing himſelf that he made not profeſſion of ſanctity, nor would maintain his own manners, but his Doctrine only; whereof he was ready to give an account to any man whatſoever, promiſing not to be obſtinate, but to caſt his Books into the fire himſelf, in caſe any errour were ſhewed him with the Scripture in hand. He turned himſelf to the Emperour, and the Princes, ſaying, it was a bleſſing of God when the true Doctrine came to be made manifeſt, as to reject it, was to draw upon us a cauſe of extreme calamities.

1521
Leo X.
Charles V.
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Francis I.

Anſwereth.

40. His Oration being ended, he was by order required by the Emperour to give a plain and ſimple anſwer, whether or no he would maintain his Writings. Whereunto he anſwered, that he could not revoke any thing that he had written or taught, if he were not convinced by the words of the Scripture, or by evident reaſons.

Luther refuſeth to retract any thing.

41. The Emperour hearing theſe things, reſolved, following the ſteps of his Predeceſſors, to maintain the Church of *Rome*, and to uſe all means to quench that fire. Howbeit he would not violate the Faith given, but proclaim a baniſhment againſt *Martin* after he was ſafely returned to his Houſe. Some of the Aſſembly, approving that which was done at *Conſtance*, ſaid that the Faith ought not to be kept. But *Lewis* Count Elector Palatine oppoſed himſelf, as unto a thing which would brand the *German* name with a mark of perpetual ignominy, expreſſing with diſdain, that it was intolerable, that for the ſervice of Prieſts, *Germany* ſhould draw upon it ſelf the infamy of not keeping the Publick Faith. Some there were alſo that ſaid that there was no need to proceed ſo faſt to condemnation, becauſe it was a matter of great moment, and which might produce great conſequences.

A noble reſolution of the Prince Elector Palatine.

42. The days following there was a Treaty in preſence of ſome of the Princes, and in particular, of the Archbiſhop of *Triers*, and of *Joachimus* Elector of *Brandenburg*, and many things were ſpoken by

Martin

1521 *Leo* X *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

Martin in defence of that Doctrine, and by others againſt it, being deſirous to induce him to refer every thing to the judgment of the Emperour, and of the Aſſembly, and of the Diet, without any condition whatſoever. But he anſwering that the Prophet forbad to put our confidence in men, yea even in Princes, to whoſe judgment nothing ought leſs to be committed than the Word of God, it was at laſt propoſed, that he would ſubmit all to the judgment of the future Council; whereunto he agreed, with condition, that firſt the Articles, which he intended to refer, might be drawn out of his Books, and that ſentence might not be given of them but according to the Scriptures. Laſt of all being demanded what remedies he thought might be uſed in this cauſe? he anſwered, Thoſe only which were propoſed to the Jews by *Gamaliel*; that is, that if the enterpriſe were of man it would vaniſh; but if it came from God, it was impoſſible to hinder it: and, that this might give ſatisfaction to the Pope, becauſe all men ought to reſt ſecure (as himſelf did) that if his deſign came not from God, it would periſh in a ſhort time. From which things it being impoſſible to remove him, and ſtanding firm in his reſolution, not to accept any judgment but under the rule of the Scripture, he had leave given him to depart, and a term of 21 days aſſigned him to return to his home, with condition that he ſhould neither preach nor write any thing in his Journey. For which after he had given thanks, he departed the 26. of *April*.

Luther referreth himſelf to a general Council.

The Emperours Edict againſt *Luther*.

43. Afterwards *Charles* the Emperour publiſhed an Edict in the ſame Diet at *Wormes*, the 8. of *April*. In which, having firſt declared, that it belonged to the duty of the Emperour to advance Religion, and to extinguiſh Hereſies, which began to ſpring up, he proceeded on to ſhew that Fryar *Martin Luther* endeavoured to ſtain *Germany* with that contagion; ſo that if he were not hindered, all that Nation would fall into an horrible ruine, that Pope *Leo* had fatherly admoniſhed him, and, after that, the Aſſembly of Cardinals, and other excellent men, had condemned his Writings, and decreed him an Heretick, if within a certain term he revoked not his errours, and had ſent by *Jerom Aleander*, his Nuncio, a Copy of that Bull of condemnation to him the Emperour, as Protector of the Church, deſiring him it might be put in execution in the Empire, his Kingdoms, Dominions, and Provinces; that notwithſtanding this, *Martin* amended not himſelf, yea multiplyed his Books daily, full, not only of new Hereſies, but even of thoſe which have been long ſince condemned by holy Councils, and not only in the Latine tongue, but in the German alſo, naming in particular many of his errours; he concluded that there was no Writing of his where there was not to be found ſome contagion or deadly ſting, ſo that it might be ſaid, that every word was a poiſon; that theſe things being conſidered by him the Emperour, and his Counſellours of all Nations ſubject unto him, treading in the ſteps of the *Roman* Emperours his Predeceſſors, having conferred, in that Diet of *Wormes*, with the Electors, and men of other States of the Empire, by their counſel and aſſent, (though it was not fit to hear a man condemned by the Pope, obſtinate in his perverſneſs, and a notorious Heretick, notwithſtanding, to take away all occaſion of cavil, many ſaying it was neceſſary to hear the man before the Popes Decree were executed) he reſolved to ſend to fetch him by one of his Heralds, not to know and judge the things that concern Faith, which belongeth to the Pope alone, but to bring him into the right way with good perſwaſions.

Then

Then he ſheweth how *Martin* was brought into the publick Aſſembly, and whereof he was interrogated, and what he anſwered, as it hath been declared before, and how he had leave given him and departed. 1521 *Leo* X. *Charles* V *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

44. Afterwards he goeth on, concluding that therefore for the honour of God, and reverence of the Pope, and for the duty of the Imperial dignity, by the counſel and aſſent of the Princes, Electors, and States, executing the ſentence and condemnation of the Pope, he declareth that he holdeth *Martin Luther* for a notorious Heretick, and determineth that he ought to be ſo held of all men, prohibiting every one to receive or defend him in any ſort, commanding both Princes and States, under all the penalties, to apprehend and take him after the term of twenty days, and alſo to proſecute all his Complices, Adherents, and Favourers, ſpoiling them of all their goods moveable and immoveable. He commandeth alſo that no man ſhould read or keep his Books, notwithſtanding that ſome thing be good in them, giving order as well to Princes, as others that adminiſter Juſtice, that they burn and deſtroy them. And becauſe Books extracted out of his Works are compoſed and printed in ſome places, and Pictures and Images ſpread abroad to the diſgrace of many, yea, even of the Pope himſelf, he commandeth that none ſhould print, paint or keep any of them, but that they be taken and burned by the Magiſtrates, and the Printers, Buyers and Sellers puniſhed, adding a general Law, that no Writing may be printed where any point of Faith is handled, though the leaſt of all, without conſent of the Ordinary.

45. In this ſelf ſame time alſo the Univerſity of *Paris*, drawing divers Concluſions from the Books of *Luther*, condemned them, partly as renewed out of the doctrine of *Wigleffe* and *Huſſe*, and partly as newly delivered by him againſt the Catholick Doctrine. But all theſe oppoſitions effected nothing elſe, but that, *Luther* anſwering, Books were multiplied both of the one ſide and the other, and the contentions waxed more ſharp, and the curioſity of many was ſtirred up, who, willing to inform themſelves of the ſtate of the Controverſie, came to note the errours reprehended, and ſo withdrew their devotion from the Pope. The Univerſity of *Paris* condemned the Writings of *Luther*.

46. Amongſt the moſt famous Contradictors, which the Doctrine of *Luther* found, was *Henry* 8. King of *England*, who not being born the Kings eldeſt Son, had been deſtinated by his Father, to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and therefore in his youth was made to ſtudy: But the eldeſt being dead, and after him the Father alſo, he ſucceeded in the Kingdom; and eſteeming it a great honour to employ himſelf in ſo famous a Controverſie of Learning, he wrote a Book of the ſeven Sacraments, defending alſo the Popedom, and oppugning the Doctrine of *Luther*; a thing ſo grateful to the Pope, that having received the Kings Book, he honoured him with the uſual Title of *Defender of the Faith*. But *Martin* ſuffered not himſelf to be ſcared with that moſt illuſtrious glittering name of a King, but anſwered his Majeſty with as much acrimony, vehemency, and as ſmall reſpect, as he had anſwered the petty Doctors. This Kingly Title being entred into the Controverſie, made men more curious, and, as it happeneth in combats, that the lookers on are always ready to favour the weaker, and to extol his actions, though they be but mean, ſo here it ſtirred up a general inclination towards *Luther*. *Henry* the 8. King of *England* writeth againſt *Luther*. Gaineth the Title of *Defender of the Faith*.

47. So ſoon as the Emperours Decree of baniſhment was publiſhed throughout,

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throughout, the ſame month *Hugo* Biſhop of *Conſtance*, in whoſe Dioceſs is the City of *Zuric*, wrote to the Colledge of the Canons of that place, of which number *Zuinglius* was one; and another Letter to the Senate of the ſame City. In thoſe Letters he put them in mind of the dammage which the Churches, and Commonwealths alſo endured by innovation of Doctrine, with much detriment to ſpiritual welfare, and confuſion of publick quiet and tranquillity. He exhorted them to beware of new Doctours, ſhewing that they are moved only by their own ambition, and inſtigation of the Devil. He ſent therewithal the Decree of *Leo*, and the baniſhment publiſhed by the Emperour, exhorting them to receive and obey both the one and the other, and particularly noted the Perſon and Doctrine of *Zuinglius* and his Adherents; which conſtrained him to give an account of whatſoever he had taught his Collegues, and to ſatisfie the Senate. He wrote alſo to the Biſhop, inſiſting principally upon this, that concubinary Prieſts were not any more to be tolerated, from whom ſprang infamy to the Clergy, and bad example to the people, and generally corruption of manners in all; a thing which could not be taken away, but by bringing in of marriage, according to the Apoſtles Doctrine. He wrote alſo to all the Cantons of the *Suiſſes* in his own defence, making particular mention of an Edict made by the Magiſtrates, their Predeceſſors, that every Prieſt ſhould be bound to have his proper Concubine, that he might not enſnare the chaſtity of honeſt women; adding, that though it ſeemed a ridiculous Decree, yet it was neceſſarily to be made, nor could be changed, unleſs that as much as was conſtituted in favour of keeping Concubines, were at that preſent converted unto lawful matrimony.

The B. of *Conſtance* wrote to *Zuric* againſt *Zuinglius*.

48. The ſtirring of the Biſhop induced the Dominicans to preach againſt the Doctrine of *Zuinglius*, and him to defend himſelf. Wherefore he wrote and publiſhed 67 Concluſions, which contained his Doctrine, and touched the abuſes of the Clergy, and of the Prelates. Whereupon much confuſion and diſſention ariſing, the Senate of *Zuric* began to conſult how to appeaſe the Tumults, and called together all the Preachers and Doctors of their Juriſdiction. They invited alſo the Biſhop of *Conſtance* to ſend ſome man of wiſdom and learning, to aſſiſt at that Conference, to the end they might paciſie the Troubles, and order ſome thing which might be for the glory of God. The Biſhop ſent his Vicar, *James Faber*, who afterward was Biſhop of *Vienna*; and the day appointed for the meeting being come, and a great multitude aſſembled together, *Zuinglius* reproduced his Concluſions, offered to defend them, and to anſwer to whoſoever would contradict them. After many things were ſpoken by divers Dominican Fryars, and other Doctors againſt *Zuinglius*, and by him anſwered, *Faber* ſaid, that that time and place were not fit to treat of ſuch a matter, and that the diſcuſſing of ſuch Propoſitions belonged to the Council, which would be called very ſoon: for he ſaid, the Pope had ſo agreed with the Princes, and greater Magiſtrates, and Prelates of Chriſtendom. Which gave ſubject to *Zuinglius* to fortifie himſelf, ſaying, that theſe promiſes were made to feed the people with vain hopes, and in the mean ſpace to lull them aſleep in ignorance; that the things which were certain and clear in the holy Scripture, and in the uſe of the Primitive Church, might very well be handled at that time, though they expected a more exact declaration from the Council, of the points that were doubtful; and always urging him to ſay what he could, againſt

The Dominicans preach againſt *Zuinglius*, whereby he is ſtirred up the more.

Faber ſent by the Biſhop of *Conſtance* to aſſiſt in compoſing the controverſies.

his

his Concluſions, *Faber* told him that he would not treat with him in words, but would anſwer his Concluſions in writing. Finally, the Aſſembly ended with a Decree of the Senate, that the Goſpel ſhould be preached according to the Doctrine of the Old and New Teſtament, not according to any humane Decree or Conſtitution. 1521 *Leo* X. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

49. It being therefore perceived, that the labours of the Doctors and Prelates of the Church of *Rome*, and the Popes Decree, who proceeded to an abſolute condemnation, and the Emperours *Bando*, ſo ſevere, not only could not extinguiſh the new Doctrine, but that notwithſtanding it made every day a greater progreſs, every one began to think that theſe Medicines were not proper for ſuch a Malady, and that in concluſion it was neceſſary to come to ſuch a kind of remedy, which, being uſed in times paſt in the like occaſions, ſeemed had appeaſed all troubles, which was the celebration of a Council. Wherefore this was deſired by all ſorts of men, as a wholeſome and the only remedy. Who will not anſwer in words, but in writing. The Decree of the Senate of *Zuric*. A general Council was thought to be neceſſary.

50. It came to be conſidered, that theſe novelties had not had any other beginning but from the abuſes which time brought in, and from the negligence of the Paſtors; and therefore that it was impoſſible to remedy the confuſions ſprung up, but by remedying the abuſes which cauſed them; and that there was no other way to provide againſt them, with concord and uniformity, but by an univerſal Congregation. And this was the diſcourſe of godly and well diſpoſed men. Notwithſtanding there wanted not divers ſorts of perſons. who thought the Council would be profitable for their ends, and deſired it ſhould be regulated with ſuch Conditions, that it could not be but in their favour, and not contrary to their intereſts. Firſt, thoſe that had imbraced *Luthers* Opinions deſired the Council with condition that therein all might be decided and governed by the Scripture, all the Pope his Conſtitutions and School-learning being excluded: For ſo they aſſured themſelves, not only to defend their own Doctrine, but alſo that only theirs ſhould be approved. But a Council that ſhould proceed, as the uſe was 800 years before, they would not, and would be underſtood that they referred not themſelves to that cenſure. And *Martin* was uſed to ſay, that in *Wormes* he was too faint-hearted, and that he was ſo well aſſured of his Doctrine, that, it being divine, he would not ſubmit it ſo much as to the judgment of Angels; yea, that with it he was to judge all, both men and Angels. The Princes and other Governours of the Countries regarded not much what the Council might determine concerning Doctrines, but deſired it might be ſuch a one as might reduce the Prieſts and Fryars to their beginning, hoping that, by that means the regalities, and temporal juriſdictions would return unto them; which, in ſuch abundance and plenty, were paſſed into the Eccleſiaſtical Order. And therefore they ſaid, that it was in vain to call a Council, where the Biſhops and other Prelates only ſhould have a deliberative voice; becauſe they ought to be reformed, and it was neceſſary that others ſhould have the charge thereof, who could not be deceived by their proper intereſts, nor conſtrained to reſolve againſt the common good of Chriſtendom. The meaner ſort, though they had not much knowledge of the Affairs of the world, deſired that the Eccleſiaſtical Authority might be moderated, and the poor people not burdened with ſo many Exactions, under pretenee of Tithes, Alms, and Indulgences, nor oppreſſed by the Biſhops Officials, under colour of corrections, and ſentences. The Court of *Rome*, the moſt principal Divers ſorts of perſons deſire the Council for divers ends.

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part, desired the Council that it might restore obedience to the Pope, which was taken from him, and approved such a one as might be governed according to the forms used in the last Ages. But that it should have power to reform the Papacy, and to take away those introductions, from which the Court received so many emoluments, and by which a great part of the Gold of Christendom was glued together in *Rome*, this pleased them not. *Leo* the Pope being, as it were, in a strait between both the parties, knew not what to desire. He saw that every day his obedience was diminished, and that whole Countries separated themselves from him, and desired a Council for remedy. But when he considered that it would be worse than the malady, carrying with it in consequence a Reformation, he abhorred it. He considered with himself how to call a Council in *Rome*, or some other place of the Churches dominion; as his Predecessor and himself had celebrated with singular fruit, the Council of *Lateran* a few years before, having by that means appeased the Schism, reduced the Kingdom of *France*, which was separated, and, which was of no less importance, abolished the Pragmatical sanction, doubly contrary to the Monarchy of *Rome*; as well in regard it was an example to take from him the collation of Benefices, a great foundation of the Pontifical greatness, as also because it was a preservation of the memory of the Council of *Basil*, and by consequence of the subjection of the Pope to a general Synod. But afterwards he saw not how a Council of that sort could give remedy to the disease, which was not in the Princes and great Prelates, with whom familiarity and interests prevailed, but in the People, with whom it was necessary to use reality, and to make a true mutation. The case standing thus, in the end of the year 1521. Pope *Leo* departed this life.

Pope *Leo* knoweth not what to resolve about the Council.

What benefit the *Lateran* Council brought to the Papacy.

The death of Pope *Leo*.

51. And in the beginning of the next year the ninth of *January* *Adrian* was created. Which assumption to the Popedom being made of a man who was never seen in *Rome*, unknown to the Cardinals and the Court, and remained in *Spain* (besides the world holding an opinion that he would not approve the manners of the *Romans*, nor the free life of the Courtiers) all mens thoughts were turned to consider of it; so that *Luthers* innovations were no more thought of. Some doubted that he was too much inclined to a Reformation; others that he would call the Cardinals unto him, and so transport the Papacy out of *Italy*, as had happened at other times. But they were soon delivered from this great fear. For the new Pope, the next day after he had received advice of his Election (which was the 22. of the same month in the City of *Victoria* in *Biscay*) not expecting the Legats sent unto him from the Colledge of Cardinals, to signifie it unto him, and to have his consent, assembled those few Prelates which he could get, consented to the Election, and having taken the Habit and Arms, declared himself Pope, and went presently to *Barcellona*; where he wrote to the Colledge of Cardinals the cause why he had taken upon him the name and charge of the Pope, without expecting the Legats, committing also unto them the publication of it throughout all *Italy*. He was inforced to tarry at *Barcellona* a convenient time, to pass the Gulf of *Lions*, which was very dangerous; yet he deferred no longer than needs must to embark for *Italy*; and arrived there in the end of *August* 1522.

Adrian is created Pope, and much feared.

1522

52. *Adrian* found all *Italy* in commotion, by reason of the War between the Emperour and the *French* King, and the Apostolical See over head and ears in a particular War with the Dukes of *Ferrara* and *Urbin*, *Arimini*

The troubled state of *Italy* at the arrival of *Adrian*.

Arimini newly taken by the *Malateſti*, the Cardinals divided, and not truſting one another, the Iſle of *Rhodes* aſſieged by the *Turks*, the Lands of the Church exhauſted, and in extreme confuſion, during the Anarchy of eight months. Notwithſtanding he applied himſelf principally to compoſe the diſcords in Religion in *Germany*. And being nouriſhed and brought up from his childhood in the ſtudies of School-Divinity, he held thoſe opinions to be ſo clear and evident, that he was perſwaded that no reaſonable man could think the contrary. Wherefore he gave no other title to the Doctrine of *Luther*, but unſavoury, fooliſh, and unreaſonable, and thought that none, but ſome few fools, could believe it, and that thoſe that followed *Martin* were men, who, in their conſcience, undoubtedly maintained the opinions of the Church of *Rome*, and feigned the contrary, being provoked by the burthens laid upon them. His opinion therefore was, that it muſt needs be an eaſie thing to extinguiſh that Doctrine, which had none other foundation than matter of profit, and thought that, by giving ſome ſmall ſatisfaction, the body would eaſily be healed, which rather made ſhew to be ſick, than that it was ſo indeed. And becauſe he was born in *Utrecht*, a City of Low *Germany*, he hoped that all that Nation would willingly hearken to his propoſes, and engage themſelves to maintain his authority, as being an *Alman*, and ſo ſincere in all his Treaties, that he uſed neither Arts nor ſecret ends. And being perſwaded that it importe d much to uſe celerity, he reſolved to make his firſt propoſition in the Diet, which was prepared at *Noremberg*: which to the end it might be gratefully heard, and his promiſes eſteemed real, he thought it neceſſary to give a taſt, by beginning a Reformation before he treated with them, removing the abuſes which cauſed the diſſention. To this end he called to *Rome*, *John Peter Caraffa*, Archbiſhop of *Chieti*, and *Marcellus Cazele* of *Gaeta*, men eſteemed for their honeſty and virtues, and very skilful in whatſoever belonged to Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, that by the counſel of them, and of the Cardinals which he truſted, he might find ſome remedy againſt the corruptions which were of greateſt moment. In this number the prodigality uſed in giving Indulgences firſt preſented it ſelf unto him; becauſe it gave way to the reputation which the new Preachers in *Germany* had gained.

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Adrian was very learned in School Divinity.

The Epithets he gave to the Doctrine of *Luther*.

Adrian born in *Utrecht*.

He reſolveth to make a Reformation before he maketh his firſt Propoſition in the Diet of *Noremberg*.

53. The Pope, being a Divine who had written in this matter long before *Luther* thought to handle it, meant to eſtabliſh by an Apoſtolical Decree, and as Pope, that Doctrine which, being a private man, he had taught and written; That is, that an Indulgence being granted to one that ſhall do ſuch a godly work, the work may be performed by ſome in ſuch perfection, that he may obtain the Indulgence; but if it want ſomething of that exactneſs, the worker obtaineth not all the Indulgence, but only ſo much as anſwereth in proportion to the imperfect work. The Pope thought that by this means he ſhould not only provide againſt all ſcandal hereafter, but remedy alſo thoſe that were paſt; becauſe it being poſſible to qualifie with ſo good circumſtances every little work, that it may deſerve any great reward, *Luthers* objection was anſwered, how by the offering of a penny ſo great a treaſure could be gained; and ſeeing that by the defect of the work, he that gaineth not all, obtaineth notwithſtanding a proportionable part, the faithful drew not themſelves back from ſeeking Indulgences.

54. But Fryar *Thomas* of *Gaeta*, Cardinal of S. *Siſtus*, a perfect Divine, diſſwaded it, telling him, that this was to publiſh that truth,

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which, for the ſafety of ſouls, it was better to keep ſecret amongſt learned men, and that it was rather diſputable than decided. Therefore, that himſelf alſo, who ſtedfaſtly believed it in his conſcience, notwithſtanding had ſo carried it in his Writings, that none but the moſt learned men could draw it from his words: which Doctrine being divulged and authorized, there would be danger, that even learned men would conclude, that the Popes grant profited nothing, but that all ought to be attributed to the quality of the work, which would abſolutely diminiſh mens hot deſires to purchaſe Indulgences, and the eſteem of the Popes Authority. The Cardinal added that, after he had exactly ſtudied this ſubject, by the command of *Leo*, at the time when theſe contentions began in *Germany*, and written a full Tract thereof, being Legat in *Auſburg*, the next year he had occaſion to examine and treat of it more diligently, ſpeaking with many, and diſcuſſing the difficulties and motives which troubled thoſe Countries: and in two Conferences which he had with *Luther* in that City, he diſputed that matter at large, which having well digeſted, he doubted not but that he might ſay with aſſeveration, and without danger of errour, that there was no other way to give remedy to the ſcandals paſt, preſent, and to come, than by bringing back thoſe things to their firſt beginning. That it is a clear caſe, that, howſoever the Pope may free the faithful from any puniſhment, by the means of Indulgences, yet to him that readeth the Decretals it plainly appeareth, that an Indulgence is an abſolution from penance impoſed in confeſſion only. Wherefore cauſing the diſuſed penitentiary Canons to be obſerved again, and impoſing convenient penance, every one would evidently ſee the neceſſity and utility of Indulgences, and would earneſtly ſeek them, to free themſelves from that great burthen of penance; and the golden Age of the Primitive Church would return again, in which the Prelates had abſolute command over the faithful, only becauſe they were held in continual exerciſe with penance; whereas now, being become wanton, they would ſhake off from them the yoke of obedience. The people of *Germany*, who buried in idleneſs, give ear to *Martin* for preaching Chriſtian liberty, if they were curbed with penances, would think no more of this innovation, and the Apoſtolical See might favour therein whoſoever would be thankful to it in that behalf,

Card. *Cajetan* diſſwadeth the Pope from making a Decree concerning Indulgences.

55. This opinion pleaſed the Pope, as grounded upon authority, any whereunto he ſaw not what oppoſition could be made. He cauſed it to be propoſed in the Penitentiary Court, to find a means and form how to put it in practice, firſt in *Rome*, and then in all Chriſtendom. For this cauſe divers Aſſemblies were made by the Deputies for the Reformation, together with the Penitentiaries, to treat of the manner how to uſe it. But ſo many difficulties did croſs it, that in concluſion *Lorenzo Puccio*, *a Florentine*, Cardinal of *Santi Quatro*, who was Datary to Pope *Leo*, and (as hath been ſaid) a diligent Miniſter to find out money, and was now chief Penitentiary, related to the Pope, with a general aſſent, that the propoſition was thought impoſſible, and that, when proof thereof ſhould be made, inſtead of curing the preſent diſeaſes, far greater would be ſtirred up. That the Canonical puniſhments were grown into diſuſe, becauſe they could no longer be ſupported for want of the ancient zeal. Wherefore for him that would bring them back, it was neceſſary he ſhould make the ſame zeal and charity in the Church to return again. That this preſent Age was not like unto thoſe that were paſt, in which all the Conſtitutions of the

Who was willing to embrace his opinion.

But was diſſwaded by *Lorenzo Puccio*.

Church

Church were received, without thinking any more of them; whereas now every one will be a judge, and examine the reaſons: Which, if it happen in things that bring with them no burden at all, or very little, how much more muſt it be expected in a thing that would be moſt heavy? It was true, that the remedy was fitted for the diſeaſe, but that it was too ſtrong for the body that was ſick, and inſtead of curing would kill it, and that in place of regaining *Germany*, *Italy* would firſt be loſt, and that eſtranged much more. The Cardinal added, methinks I hear one ſay, as S. *Peter* did, *Why do they tempt God, laying upon the Diſciples ſhoulders that, which neither we nor our Fathers have been able to bear.* That his Holineſs ſhould remember that famous place of the Gloſs, alledged by him in his fourth Book upon the Sentences, that, concerning the value of Indulgences, the complaint is both old and doubtful; That he ſhould conſider the four Opinions, all Catholick, and yet ſo different as that Gloſs doth recite. Whereby it is manifeſt, that this matter in theſe times requireth ſilence rather than any further diſcuſſion. 1522 *Adrian* VI. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I. Four very different opinions about Indulgences, and all Catholick.

56. Theſe reaſons ſank deep into *Adrians* mind, and made him not know what to do, and he was perplexed ſo much the more, becauſe he found no leſs difficulty in other things, which, in his ſecret purpoſe, he meaned to reform. In the matter of diſpenſations for marriage, the taking away of many prohibitions againſt contracting matrimony between certain perſons, which ſeemed ſuperfluous, and hard to be obſerved (whereunto he was much inclined, and it would have been a great eaſe to the people) was blamed by many, as a thing that weakned the ſinews of diſcipline, and the continuing of them made the *Lutherans* ſay, that they were only to get money. To reſtrain the diſpenſations to certain qualities of perſons, was to give new matter to the pretendants to alledge that in ſpiritual things, and in whatſoever belonged to the Miniſtry of *Chriſt*, there was no difference of perſons. To take away pecuniary expences for theſe things, that could not be, but by rebuying the Offices which *Leo* ſold, the Buyers whereof were Gainers by this. Which alſo hindred the aboliſhing of *Regreſſes*, *Acceſſes*, and *Coadjutories*, and other devices uſed in the collation of Benefices, which had the appearance (if not rather the eſſence) of Simony. To rebuy the Offices was impoſſible, in regard of the great charges which muſt be made, and always continued. And that which moſt troubled his mind was, that when he was reſolved to take away any abuſe, there wanted not ſome, who took upon him to maintain with colourable ſhew, that the thing was good or neceſſary. With theſe doubts the Pope was grieved until *November*, deſirous to make ſome notable proviſion, to give the world a taſte of his mind, who was reſolute to remedy all the abuſes, before he began to treat in *Germany*.

57. At length *Franciſcus Soderinus* Cardinal of *Preneſte*, called Cardinal of *Volterra*, in whom he put moſt confidence (though afterward he was ſo far in his diſfavour that he caſt him into Priſon) made him come to a reſolution. This Cardinal, moſt converſant in managing Civil Affairs, and employed in the Papacies of *Alexander*, *Julius*, and *Leo*, which were full of divers and important accidents, in all his diſcourſes with the Pope caſt out words which might inſtruct him. He commended his goodneſs, his ingenuity, and his mind inclined to the Reformation of the Church, and the rooting out of Hereſies, adding, notwithſtanding, that he could not have praiſe by his good intention only, The counſel of *Franciſcus Soderinus*.

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only, not able to do good by it ſelf, unleſs he joined thereunto an exact choice of fit means, and an execution managed with the greateſt circumſpection. But when he ſaw him conſtrained by the ſtraitneſs of time to reſolve, he told him there was no hope to confound and root out the Lutherans by correcting the manners of the Court, but rather that it would be a means to augment their credit much more. For the people, who always judge by the events, when they ſhall be aſſured, by the following amendment, that the Popes Government was juſtly reprehended, will perſwade themſelves likewiſe, that the other innovations propoſed have good foundation, and the arch-hereticks, ſeeing they have overcome in one part, will not ceaſe to reprehend the reſt. That in all humane Affairs it falleth out, that to receive ſatisfaction in ſome requeſts, giveth pretence to prepare more, and to think they are due. That reading the ſtories paſt, of the times when Hereſies have been raiſed againſt the authority of the Church of *Rome*, it will appear, that all took pretence from the corrupted manners of the Court. Nevertheleſs, never any Pope thought fit to reform them, but after admonitions and inſtructions uſed, to induce the Princes to protect the Church. That, whatſoever hath ſucceeded well heretofore, ought always to be obſerved and kept. That nothing did more ruine a Government, than to change the manner of ruling it. That to open new ways not uſed, was to expoſe himſelf to great dangers, and that it was moſt ſecure to tread in the ſteps of the holy Popes, who always have brought their enterpriſes to a proſperous end. That no man hath ever extinguiſhed Hereſies by Reformations, but by Cruſadoes, and by exciting Princes and People to root them out. That he ſhould remember that *Innocentius* the third, did by ſuch means happily oppreſs the *Albigenſes* of *Languedoc*, and the next Popes extinguiſhed in other places, and by no other means, the *Waldenſes*, *Picards*, poor people of *Lions*, *Arnaldiſts*, *Speroniſts*, and *Patavines*, ſo that now there remaineth no more of them but the name only. That there would not want Princes in *Germany*, who, in caſe the Pope would give them leave to ſeize themſelves of the States of *Luthers* Favourers, would greedily embrace the condition; and that he might cauſe many people to follow them, by granting Indulgences and Pardons to whoſoever would aſſiſt them. The Cardinal put him alſo in mind, that he ought not to think of the *German* ſtirs in Religion, as if there were no more immenent danger to the Apoſtolical See; becauſe the War of *Italy*, a thing of greater peril, hanged over their heads, whereunto he ought principally to apply his mind: in managing whereof, if he wanted money, which is the ſinew of War, he might receive ſome notorious affront, and that no Reformation could be made, that would not notably diminiſh the Rents of the Church; which having four fountains, the one temporal, the Rents of the Eccleſiaſtical State, the other three ſpiritual, Indulgences, Diſpenſations, and Collations of Benefices, none of them could be ſtopped, but that one quarter of the Revenues would be cut off.

Adrian bewaileth the condition of Popes.

58. The Pope relating theſe diſcourſes to *William Encourt*, whom afterward he created Cardinal, and *Theodoric Hezius*, his familiar and truſty friends, ſaid the condition of Popes was miſerable, ſeeing it was plain that they could not do good, though they deſired and endeavoured to do it, and concluded that, before the journey which he was to make into *Germany*, it was not poſſible to effect any one point of Reformation, and that it was neceſſary they ſhould be contented to believe his

his promiſes, which he was reſolved to maintain, though it were to deveſt himſelf of all temporal dominion, and to be reduced to the life of the Apoſtles. Nevertheleſs he gave ſtraight Commiſſion to both, of which one was Datary, and the other Secretary, that they ſhould be ſparing to grant Indulgences, Diſpenſations, Regreſſes, and Coadjutories, until means were found to give a rule for them by a Law and perpetual Conſtitution. Theſe things, having read them largely related in a Diary of the Biſhop of *Fabriano*, where he noted all the remarkable things which he had ſeen and heard, I was willing briefly to repeat here, becauſe they may ſerve much to the underſtanding of thoſe things which ſhall be ſpoken of hereafter. 1522 *Adrian* VI. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

59. In the firſt Conſiſtory of *November*, by conſent of the Cardinals, he appointed *Franciſco Chiericato*, whom he knew in *Spain*, Biſhop of *Fabriano* (whom I named but a little before) for his Nuncio to the Diet of *Noremberg*, which was aſſembled in abſence of the Emperour, who, ſome few months before, was inforced to paſs into *Spain*, to appeaſe the Tumults and Seditions begun in thoſe Kingdoms. The Nuncio arrived at *Noremberg* at the end of the year, and preſented the Popes Letters to the Electors, Princes, and Orators of Cities, written generally to them all, under the date of the five and twentieth of *November*; in which he firſt complained, that *Martin Luther* having been condemned by the Sentence of *Leo*, and the ſentence executed in *Wormes* by the Emperours Decree, publiſhed throughout all *Germany*, he perſevered notwithſtanding in the ſame Errours, continually publiſhing Books full of Hereſies, and that he was favoured not only by the meaner ſort, but even by the Nobles alſo; Adding that, though the Apoſtle foretold that Hereſies were neceſſary for exerciſe of the godly, yet that neceſſity was tolerable in times convenient, not in thoſe, in which Chriſtianity being oppreſſed by the *Turkiſh* Arms, all induſtry ſhould be uſed to purge the diſeaſe within; that the dammage and danger, which it bringeth by it ſelf alone, hindereth his endeavours againſt ſo great an Enemy. Then he exhorteth the Princes and People not to make ſhew of giving any conſent to ſo great an abomination, by tolerating it any longer. He ſhewed them that it was a moſt ſhameful thing to ſuffer themſelves to be led out of the way of their Anceſtors, by a poor ſimple Fryar, as if only *Luther* were of underſtanding, and wiſe. He advertiſeth them that, if *Luthers* followers have denied obedience to the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, much more will they eſteem baſely of the Secular; and if they have uſurped the Goods of the Church, much leſs will they abſtain from thoſe of the Laity; and having dared to lay their hands upon the Prieſts of God, they will not ſpare the Houſes, Wives, and Children of them. He exhorteth them, if they cannot reduce *Martin* and his followers into the right way by fair means, to proceed to ſharp and fiery remedies, to cut the dead members from the body, as anciently was done unto *Dathan* and *Abiram*, to *Ananias* and *Saphira*, to *Jovinian* and *Vigilantius*; and finally as their Predeceſſors did againſt *John Huſſe*, and *Hierome* of *Praghe*, in the Council of *Conſtance*, whoſe example, in caſe they cannot otherwiſe do, they ought to imitate. In concluſion he referreth himſelf as well in this particular, as in other Affairs, to the relation of *Franceſco Chiericato* his Nuncio. He wrote Letters alſo almoſt to all the Princes, with the very ſame conceits; and to the Elector of *Saxony* he wrote in particular, that he ſhould conſider what blemiſh it would be to his poſterity, to have favoured a frantick man, who put confuſion into the world

The Biſhop of *Fabriano* is ſent Nuncio to the Diet of *Noremberg*.

The Popes Letter to the Diet againſt *Luther*.

The Popes Letter to the Duke of *Saxony*.

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world with impious and fooliſh inventions, turning upſide down the Doctrine eſtabliſhed by the blood of the Martyrs, labours of the holy Doctors, and Arms of the moſt valiant Princes; that he ſhould walk in the paths of his Anceſtors, not ſuffering his eyes to be dazled by the fury of a petty companion, to follow Errours condemned by ſo many Councils.

The Nuncio perſwadeth the Princes by ſeven reaſons to oppoſe *Luther*.

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60. The Nuncio preſented to the Diet, not only the Popes Brief, but his own inſtructions alſo, by which he was enjoined to exhort the Princes, with ſeven reaſons, to oppoſe themſelves againſt that peſtilent Doctrine of *Luther*. The firſt, becauſe the Worſhip of God, and charity towards their Neighbour moved them thereunto. Secondly, the infamy of their Nation. Thirdly, their own honour, ſhewing themſelves not to degenerate from their Predeceſſors, who were preſent at the condemnation of *John Huſſe* in *Conſtance*, and of the other Hereticks, leading ſome of them to the fire, even with their own hands, and that they would not fail of their own promiſe and conſtancy, the greater part of them having approved the Emperors Edict againſt *Luther*. Fourthly, that the injury ſhould move them, which *Luther* hath done to their Progenitors, publiſhing another Faith than that which they believed, and concluded by conſequence that they are all in Hell. Fifthly, they ought to be moved, by the mark which the Lutherans aim at, which is to weaken the ſecular power, after they have annihilated the Eccleſiaſtical, by a falſe pretence that it is uſurped againſt the Goſpel; although they craftily make ſhew to preſerve the Secular, only to deceive them. Sixthly, that they ſhould conſider the diſſentions and confuſions raiſed in *Germany* by that Sect. And finally he deſireth them to obſerve that *Luther* treadeth in the ſame way that *Mahomet* did long ago, permitting carnal inclinations to be ſatiated, though he ſeem to do it with more modeſty, that he may the more powerfully deceive them. And if any ſhould ſay that he was condemned in abſence and without defence, and therefore that it were fit to hear him, the anſwer was, that it was a juſt thing to hear him in that which concerneth the fact, that is, if he have preached, written, or not; but that in matter of Faith, and of the Sacraments it was not convenient: becauſe that ought not to be queſtioned, which hath been once confirmed by general Councils, and by the whole Church. Then

The Pope confeſſeth the abuſes of the Clergy, not exempting the Apoſtick See.

the Pope giveth him Commiſſion to acknowledge ingenuouſly, that this concluſion was cauſed by the ſins of men, eſpecially of the Prieſts and Prelates; confeſſing that ſome years ſince ſome abominations have been committed even in that holy See, many abuſes in ſpiritual things, many tranſgreſſions of the Commandments, and laſtly, all things turned to the worſt, ſo that it may be ſaid, that the infirmity is paſſed from the head to the members, from the Popes to the inferiour Prelates, inſomuch, that there hath been none which hath done good, no not one. For the amendment of which evil, himſelf is reſolved to imploy all his wits, and uſe all dilligence that the Court of *Rome*, from whence peradventure all this miſchief proceeded, ſhould be reformed firſt of all. Which he will the rather do, becauſe he ſeeth that all the world doth earneſtly deſire it. Notwithſtanding that no man ought to marvel, if he ſhall ſee that all the abuſes be not ſuddenly amended. For the diſeaſe being inveterated and multiplied, it is neceſſary to proceed ſlowly in the cure, and to begin from things of greateſt weight, to avoid the confounding of all, by deſiring to do all together. He gave him commiſſion alſo to promiſe in his name the obſervation

vation of the Concordates, that he would inform himſelf of the cauſes called into the *Rota*, to remand them to the parties according unto juſtice. And laſtly that he ſhould ſollicite the Princes and States in his name, to anſwer the Letters, and to inform him of the means, by which he might moſt commodiouſly reſiſt the Lutherans. Beſides, the preſentation of the Popes Brief, and the information, the Nuncio propoſed that it was obſerved that almoſt every where in *Germany*, religious men forſook the Cloiſters, and returned to the World, and that the Prieſts married themſelves, to the great contempt and diſgrace of Religion; and the greater part of them committed many exceſſes and enormities. Wherefore it was neceſſary that ſome order were taken that theſe ſacrilegious Marriages might be diſſolved, the Authors ſeverally puniſhed, and the Apoſtates reduced under the power of their Superiours. 1522 *Adrian* VI. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

61. The Diet anſwered the Nuncio in writing, that with reverence they had read the Popes Brief, and the inſtructions concerning *Luthers* Sect, and that they gave thanks to God for his Holineſs aſſumption to the Popedom, wiſhing him all happineſs from above. And (when they had ſpoken what came into their minds about the concord between Chriſtian Princes, and the War againſt the Turks) concerning the demand to execute the Sentence given againſt *Luther*, and the Edict of *Wormes*, they anſwered, that they were moſt ready to employ all their power to root out Hereſies, but that they had omitted to execute the Sentence and Edict, for moſt weighty and urgent cauſes, in regard that the greater part of the people was perſwaded by *Luthers* Books that the Court of *Rome* had brought many grievances upon *Germany*; ſo that if any thing had been done for execution of the Sentence, the multitude would have entred into ſuſpicion that it was done to uphold and maintain the abuſes and impiety, and popular tumults would have been raiſed with danger of Civil Wars. Wherefore they ſaid, that in ſuch difficulties, more fitting remedies were neceſſary; eſpecially himſelf the Nuncio having confeſſed in the Popes name that theſe evils proceeded from the ſins of men, and promiſed a Reformation of the Court of *Rome*: the abuſes whereof, if they were not amended, and the grievances removed, and ſome Articles reformed, it was impoſſible to make peace between the Eccleſiaſticks and Seculars, and to extirpate the preſent tumults. And becauſe *Germany* had conſented to the payment of Annates, upon condition they ſhould be ſpent in the War againſt the Turks, they being paid ſo many years, and never converted to that uſe, they deſired the Pope, that from henceforth the Court of *Rome* might not be troubled to exact them, but that they might be left to the Exchequer of the Empire for the expences of that War. And whereas his Holineſs demanded counſel of the means, by the which he might oppoſe himſelf to ſo great inconveniences, they anſwered, that, if the treaty were not of *Luther* only, but of rooting out altogether many errours and vices, which by long cuſtom, and for divers reſpects, have taken deep root, by ſome ignorantly, by others maliciouſly defended, they deemed no remedy more commodious, effectual, and opportune, than if his Holineſs, by the Emperours conſent, would call a godly, free, and Chriſtian Council, ſo ſoon as it were poſſible, in ſome convenient place in *Germany*; that is, in *Argentine*, in *Mentz*, *Collen*, or *Metz*, not deferring the convocation thereof above a year; granting power to every one, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Secular, to ſpeak and give counſel for the glory of God, and ſalvation of Souls,

The Anſwer of the Diet.

The Council is demanded in the Diet to be held in ſome place of *Germany*.

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any Oath or Obligation to the contrary notwithſtanding. Which, they thinking that his Holineſs ought ſpeedily to execute, and being deſirous to make, for the interim, the beſt proviſion they were able, they were reſolved to treat with the Elector of *Saxony*, that the Lutherans ſhould neither write nor print any more, and that the Preachers throughout all *Germany* ſhould be ſilent in thoſe things that might cauſe popular tumult, and ſhould preach the holy Goſpel ſincerely and purely, according to the Doctrine approved by the Church, not moving diſputations; but reſerving all controverſies the determination of the Council. That the Biſhops ſhould depute godly and learned men to be ſuperintendents over the Preachers, to inform and correct them; yet ſo, as that no ſuſpicion might be given that it was done to hinder the truth of the Goſpel; that hereafter no new thing ſhould be printed before it were ſeen and allowed, by honeſt and learned men. Hoping by this means to provide againſt the tumults, if his Holineſs will take order againſt the grievance, and ordain a free and Chriſtian Council; not doubting but that the tumults will ſo be quieted, and the greater part reduced to tranquility. For undoubtedly all honeſt men would expect the determination of the Council, when they ſaw that it was to be celebrated quickly. Concerning married Prieſts and religious men, who returned to the world, they thought it ſufficient if the Ordinaries did impoſe upon them Canonical puniſhments, becauſe the Civil Laws had made no proviſion againſt them: But in caſe they commit any wickedneſs, that the Prince, or Magiſtrate, in whoſe Territory they ſhall offend, ought to give them their due chaſtiſement.

The reply of the Nuncio to the anſwer of the Diet.

62. The *Nuncio* was not ſatisfied with this anſwer, and reſolved to reply. And firſt for the cauſe why the Popes ſentence, and the Emperours Edict againſt *Luther* were not executed, he ſaid, that the reaſon alledged did not ſatisfie, which was, that they refrained to do it, to avoid ſcandals. For it was not convenient to tolerate an evil, that good may come thereby, and that they ought to eſteem more the ſalvation of ſouls, than worldly tranquility. He added, that *Luthers* followers ought not to be excuſed by the ſcandals and grievances of the Court of *Rome*. For in caſe they were true, yet ought they not to forſake the Catholick unity, but rather ſupport whatſoever was amiſs with all patience. Whereupon he entreated them to execute the Sentence and Edict before the Diet ended. And if *Germany* were any way burthened by the Court of *Rome*, The Apoſtolical See would be ready to eaſe it. And if there were any differences between the Eccleſiaſticks, and Secular Princes, the Pope was willing to compoſe and extinguiſh them. Concerning the Annates, then he ſaid nothing, for that his Holineſs would anſwer them in time convenient. But to their demand of a Council, he replyed, that his hope was, that it would not diſpleaſe his Holineſs, if they had demanded it in more fitting terms, and therefore beſought them to take away all thoſe words that might give him any *umbrage*. As thoſe, that the Council might be called by the Emperors conſent; and thoſe other, that the Council might be celebrated rather in one City than another. For if they were not taken away, it ſeemed they would bind his Holineſs hands, a thing which could not produce any good effect. For the Preachers, he entreated them that the Popes Decree might be obſerved, that thenceforward none might preach before his Doctrine were examined by the Biſhop. For the Printers and divulgers of Books, he replyed, that the anſwer no way

pleaſed

pleaſed him; that they ought to execute the Sentence of the Pope and Emperour, to burn the Books, and puniſh the divulgers, earneſtly advertiſing them that all conſiſted in this. And concerning Books to be printed hereafter, that the late *Lateran* Council ought to be obſerved. But, for the married Prieſts, the anſwer would not have diſpleaſed him, had it not had a ſting in the tail, while it was ſaid, that if they ſhall do any wicked thing, they ſhall be puniſhed by the Princes or Magiſtrates. For this would be againſt the liberty of the Church, and the Sickle would be put into another mans Field, and thoſe men would be cenſured by the world, who are reſerved unto Chriſt. For Princes ſhould not preſume to believe that they were devolved to their juriſdiction by their apoſtaſie, nor that they could be puniſhed by them, for their other offences, in regard, the character remaining in them, and the order, they are ever under the power of the Church; neither can Princes do more than delate them to their Biſhops and Superiours, that they may chaſtiſe them. In the end he deſired them to conſider more maturely upon the foreſaid things, and to give a better anſwer, more plain, more ſound, and better conſulted of.

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63. The reply of the Nuncio was not well taken in the Diet, and it was commonly ſpoken amongſt thoſe Princes, that he had a meaſure of good and evil, only by relation unto the profit of the Court, and not to the neceſſities of *Germany*; and that the converſation of the Catholick amity, ought rather to incite to do the good that is eaſie, to be executed, than to ſupport the evil which is hard to be endured. And yet the Nuncio deſired, that *Germany* would ſupport with all patience the oppreſſions laid upon it by the Court of *Rome*, which was not willing to bend it ſelf, though never ſo little to do good, or rather to deſiſt, from evil, but with promiſes only. They ſaid, his Holineſs had too quick a ſenſe, if he would be offended by ſo modeſt and ſo neceſſary a demand of a Council. And after long diſcuſſion it was reſolved by common conſent, not to give any other anſwer, but to expect what the Pope would reſolve upon that which they had given already.

Was not well taken by the Princes.

The Diet reſolveth to give no other anſwer.

64. Afterwards the Secular Princes made a long complaint apart, of that which they pretended againſt the Court of *Rome*; and the whole Eccleſiaſtical order; reducing it to an hundred heads, which therefore they called *Centum gravamina*. Theſe they ſent unto the Pope, (becauſe the Nuncio, unto whom they were imparted, went away before they were enlarged) with proteſtation that they neither would nor could endure them any longer, and that they were conſtrained by neceſſity, and the iniquity of them, to ſeek with all induſtry to free themſelves from them, and by the moſt commodious ways they could.

The hundred grievances of the Princes of *Germany*.

65. It would be long to expreſs the whole contents. But in ſum, they complained of the payment for Diſpenſations and Abſolutions; of the money which was drawn from them by Indulgences; of the Suits in Law which were drawn to *Rome*; of the reſervation of Benefices, and the abuſes of Commendaes, and Annates; of the exemption of the Eccleſiaſticks in offences; of Excomunications and unlawful interdicts; of Lay cauſes drawn before the Eccleſiaſtical Judge by divers pretences; of the great expences in conſecrating Churches and Church-yards; of pecuniary penance; of expences to have the Sacraments and the Burial. All which were reduced to three principal heads; to enthral the people, to rob them of their money, and to appropriate unto themſelves the juriſdiction of the Secular Magiſtrate.

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66. The ſixth of *March* the *Receſs* was made with the Precepts contained in the anſwer to the Nuncio; and a little after every thing was printed, as well the Popes Brief, as alſo the Inſtructions of the Nuncio, the Anſwers, and Replies, with the hundred Grievances: and they were divulged through *Germany*, and paſſed from thence to other places, and even unto *Rome* alſo. Where the open confeſſion of the Pope, that all the miſchief proceeded from the Court of *Rome*, and from the Eccleſiaſtical Order, did not pleaſe; and generally it was not grateful to the Prelates. For it ſeemed to be too ignominious, and might make them more odious to the world, and cauſe the people to deſpiſe them; yea, that it would make the *Lutherans* more bold and ſaucy. And it grieved them moſt of all, to ſee a gate opened, where neceſſarily the moderation of their profits, which they ſo much abhorred, would be brought in, or themſelves convinced of incorrigibility. And thoſe that excuſed the Pope moſt, did attribute it to his ſmall knowledge of the Arts by which the Pontifical greatneſs, and the authority of the Court is maintained, which are founded upon reputation. They commended the judgment and wiſdom of Pope *Leo*, who knew how to attribute the bad opinion which *Germany* conceived of the manners of the Court, to the want of knowing it. And therefore he ſaid in the Bull againſt *Martin Luther*, that if he, after he was cited, had come to *Rome*, he would not have found ſo many abuſes in the Court, as was believed.

The Receſs of the Diet.
The Popes confeſſion of the abuſes of the Clergy was diſtaſtful in *Rome*.
Reputation is the chiefeſt ground of the Pontifical greatneſs.

67. But in *Germany* thoſe that were ill affected to the Court of *Rome*, expounded that ingenuous confeſſion in the worſer ſenſe, ſaying, it was an uſual Art to confeſs the evil, and to promiſe the amendment thereof, without any thought to effect any thing, to lull aſleep thoſe that are not wary, to enjoy the benefit of time, and, in the mean ſpace by treating with Princes, to juſtifie themſelves, in ſuch ſort, that they may the better make the people ſubject unto them, and take from them all power to oppoſe themſelves againſt their wills, and to ſpeak of their defect. And becauſe the Pope ſaid, that in giving the remedy, it was neceſſary not to ſtrive to provide againſt all at once, for fear of cauſing great miſchief, but to do things ſtep by ſtep, they laughed at it; adding, that it was well ſaid, ſtep by ſtep, but ſo that there were a whole age between one and another. But, in regard of *Adrians* good life before his aſſumption to the Papacy, as well after he was Biſhop and Cardinal, as before, and the good intention which was ſhewed in all his actions, holy men expounded all in a good ſenſe, thinking verily that he confeſſed the errors with ingenuity, and that he would redreſs them ſooner than he promiſed; neither did the event make them judge the contrary. For the Court being not worthy of ſuch a Pope, it pleaſed God to call him, almoſt as ſoon as he had received the relation of his Nuncio from *Noremberg*. For the 13. of *September* he ended the courſe of his years.

The Popes confeſſion was ill expounded in *Germany*.
Pope *Adrian* dieth.

68. But when the Decree of the *Receſs* of *Noremberg* was publiſhed in *Germany*, with the Precepts concerning Sermons and Prints, the greater part eſteemed not thereof; but thoſe that were intereſted, aſwell followers of the Church of *Rome*, as *Lutherans*, expounded all in their own favour. For it being ſaid that the things which might ſtir up popular tumults, ſhould not be ſpoken of, the Catholicks underſtood it, that the things brought in by *Luthers* Doctrine, and the reproof of the abuſes of the Eccleſiaſtical Order ſhould not be ſpoken of; and the *Lutherans* ſaid, that the meaning of the Diet was, that the abuſes,

The Decree of the Receſs of *Noremberg* was expounded in contrary ſenſes according to mens contrary intereſts.

abuſes, which ſtirred up the people againſt the Preachers, when they heard as well bad things as good repreſented unto them, ſhould not be defended. And that part of the Decree, which commanded to preach the Goſpel according to the Doctrine of Writers approved by the Church, the Catholicks underſtood, according to the Doctrine of the School-men, and the laſt poſtillers of the Scriptures. But the *Lutherans* ſaid, it was to be underſtood of the holy Fathers, *Hilary*, *Ambroſe*, *Auſtin*, *Jerom*, and the like; expounding alſo, that, by virtue of the Edict of the *Receſs*, it was lawful for them to continue in teaching their Doctrine until the Council: and the Catholicks underſtood that the meaning of the Diet was, that they ſhould continue in the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. Whereby it appeared, that the Edict, inſtead of quenching the fire of Controverſies, enflamed it the more; and in the minds of godly men there remained a deſire of a free Council, unto which it ſeemed, that both the parties would ſubmit themſelves; hoping that by this they ſhould be delivered from ſo great miſchief.

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69. After the death of *Adrian*, *Julio de Medicis*, couſin to Pope *Leo*, was created Succeſſor, and called *Clement*, the ſeventh; who ſuddenly applyed himſelf to the Affairs of *Germany*. And, being skilful in the knowledge of Negotiations, he ſaw clearly that Pope *Adrian*, contrary to the ſtile of wiſe Popes, was too facil, as in confeſſing the defects of the Court, ſo in promiſing the Reformation; and too abject in asking counſel of the *Germans* how proviſion might be made againſt the contentions of that Kingdom. For thereby he drew upon his back the demand of a Council, which was of great importance, eſpecially with condition to celebrate it in *Germany*, and had given too much courage to the Princes, that they dared not only to ſend, but to print alſo the hundred grievances; a writing ignominious to the Eccleſiaſticks of *Germany*, but more to the Court of *Rome*. Having conſidered all things well, he reſolved that it was neceſſary to give ſome ſatisfaction to the *Dutch-men*; yet ſo, that his authority might not be endangered, nor the commodities of the Court taken away. He conſidered that howſoever ſome of the 100 Grievances concerned the Court, yet the greater part touched the Biſhops, Officials, Curates, and other Prieſts of *Germany*. Therefore he hoped that if the foreſaid perſons were reformed, the *Germans* would eaſily be induced to be ſilent for the preſent, in that which concerned *Rome*: and that with that Reformation he ſhould have diverted the treaty of the Council. Therefore he thought it convenient ſuddenly to diſpatch a Legate, a man of wiſdom and authority, to the Diet, which was to be celebrated three months after in *Noremberg*; with inſtruction to walk in the ſame way; and above all, to diſſemble the knowledge of *Adrians* Propoſitions, and of the anſwers given unto him, that he might not receive any prejudice in his Treaty, and might proceed, as if the matter were to begin.

Julio de Medici, couſin to *Leo* the tenth, was created Pope, and called *Clement* the ſeventh. *Anno* 1524.

70. The Legat was *Lorenzo Campeggio*, Cardinal of St. *Anaſtaſia*; who being come to the Diet, after he had treated of divers things, with divers particular men, to ſet his Negotiation in order, he ſpake alſo in publick, where he ſaid, that he wondred that ſo many Princes, and ſo wiſe, could endure that Religion, Rites, and Ceremonies, in which, they, their Fathers and Anceſtors deceaſed, were born and bred, ſhould be extinguiſhed and aboliſhed, not conſidering that ſuch innovation tended to the rebellion of the people againſt the Magiſtrates.

Card. *Campeggio* is Legat to the Diet of *Noremberg*.

That

1524 That the Pope not aiming at any intereſt of his own, but having a fa-
Clement VII. therly compaſſion of *Germany*, fallen into ſpiritual and temporal in-
Charles V. mities, and ſubject to very great imminent dangers, had ſent him to
Henry VIII. find a means to cure the diſeaſe. That it was not in the intention of his
Francis I. Holineſs to preſcribe any thing unto them, much leſs that any thing
ſhould be preſcribed unto himſelf, but only to conſult of the fit reme-
dies; concluding that, if the diligence of his Holineſs were refuſed, it
would not afterwards be reaſonable to lay any fault upon him.

The anſwer of the Diet. 71. He was anſwered by the Princes (for the Emperour was in *Spain*, as was ſaid before) after they had thanked the Pope for his good will, that they knew well the danger which hanged over their heads by reaſon of the change of the Doctrine of Religion; that therefore, in the Diet the year before, they had ſhewed unto the Nuncio of Pope *Adrian*, a means and way to compoſe the differences, and had given him alſo in writing whatſoever they deſired or ſought from *Rome*; which writing they believed that *Adrian* had received, becauſe the Nuncio promiſed to deliver it, as alſo they thought that the grievances, which *Germany* received from the Clergy, were known unto all, being publiſhed in Print, and that they expected, even until that inſtant, that their juſt deſires ſhould be heard, and continuing expecting ſtill. Wherefore, if he had any order or inſtruction from the Pope, they prayed him to declare it, that they might conſult of the whole together with him.

The Legats reply. 72. To this the Legate replyed, according to his Commiſſion, that he knew not that any inſtruction had been brought to the Pope or Cardinals, concerning the means and way of compoſing the differences in Religion. But he well aſſured them of the Popes very good meaning from whom he had moſt abſolute power, to do whatſoever might ſerve for that end; but that it concerned them to ſhew the way, who knew the condition of the perſons, and the cuſtoms of the Country. That it was very well known that *Cæſar* in the Diet of *Wormes*, had publiſhed, by their conſent, an Edict againſt the *Lutherans*, whereunto ſome had given obedience, and ſome not; of which diverſity and variety he knew not the reaſon: but it ſeemed good unto him, that firſt of all they ought to deliberate of the means, how to put it in execution. That, although he had not as yet underſtood that the 100 Grievances had been publiſhed to be preſented to the Pope, notwithſtanding he knew that three Copies had been brought to ſome private men in *Rome*, that himſelf had ſeen one of them, and that they were ſeen by the Pope and Cardinals, who could not perſwade themſelves that they were collected by any of the Princes, but thought they were ſet out by ſome malignant perſon in ſpight to the Court of *Rome*; that although he had neither order nor inſtruction from the Pope in that matter, yet they ought not to think that he had not authority to treat thereof, as occaſion ſerved. He ſaid, that in thoſe demands, there were many that derogated from the power of the Pope, and ſavoured of Hereſie: that of thoſe he could not treat, but offered to be informed, and to ſpeak of thoſe which were not againſt the Pope, and had ground of equity; that if any thing remained, to be treated of with his Holineſs, they might propoſe it, but in more moderate terms. That he could not chuſe but find fault that they were printed and publiſhed, becauſe it ſeemed too much; yet that he was certain, that the Pope, being Univerſal Paſtor, would do any thing for the love of *Germany*: but if the voice of the Paſtor were not heard, the Pope himſelf muſt take it patiently, and refer every thing to God.

73. The

73. The Diet, though they did not think it probable, that the Cardinal and Pope knew not the Treaties with *Adrian*, and judged, that in the Legates anſwers there might be cunning, yet deſiring that good deliberation might be taken for the quiet of their Country, they deputed ſome Princes to negotiate with the Cardinal, who could get nothing from him, but that he would have a good Reformation made of the Clergy of *Germany*; but for the abuſes of the Court of *Rome*, it was not poſſible to make him yield to any thing. For when they began to diſcourſe of them, either he ſaid that it was Hereſie to reprehend them, or that he referred it to the Pope, and that it was neceſſary to treat with him thereof. 1524. *Clement* VII *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I. Is ſuſpected by the Diet.

74. The Cardinal made a Reformation of *Germany*, the which (touching only the inferiour Clergy, and being judged that it would not only cheriſh the evil, as light remedies always do, but that it would ſerve to inlarge the Dominion of the Court, and greater Prelates, to the prejudice of temporal authority, and would make an entrance to greater extorſions of money) was not received, it being eſteemed but a maſk to delude *Germany*, and to reduce it under greater tyranny, though the Legate uſed all effectual diligence that it might be accepted. Wherefore he would not conſent to any of the Propoſitions, made by the Deputies of the Diet. By this it being plain, that it was impoſſible to conclude any thing with him, they publiſhed the Receſs the eighteenth of *April*, with a Decree, that by the Pope, with conſent of the Emperour, a free Council, in ſome convenient place in *Germany*, ſhould be intimated, ſo ſoon as was poſſible; and that the States of the Empire ſhould aſſemble themſelves at *Spira* the eleventh of *November*, to determine what courſe ſhould be taken until the Council were begun. That every Prince ſhould call together, in his own State, men, godly and learned, to collect the things that ought to be diſputed on in the Council. That the Magiſtrates ſhould have care that the Goſpel ſhould be preached according to the Doctrine of the approved Writers of the Church, and all Pictures and contumelious Books againſt the Court of *Rome* ſhould be prohibited. And his Reformation was not accepted. The Decree of the Diet.

75. The Legat having anſwered to every point of the Decree, and ſhewed that it was not the office of Seculars, to deliberate of any thing concerning Faith and Doctrine, or preaching thereof, he promiſed that he would give the Pope an account concerning the Council only. With which the Legat was not pleaſed.

76. The Princes being gone from the Diet, the Legat endeavoured to bring together thoſe that moſt favoured the Affairs of *Rome*, to cauſe the Reformation (which the Diet would not receive) to be publiſhed; and there did meet him in *Ratisbon*, *Ferdinand* the Emperours Brother, the Cardinal Archbiſhop of *Salzburg*, two Dukes of *Bavaria*, two Biſhops, of *Trent* and *Ratisbon*, and the Agents of nine Biſhops. Where firſt they made a Decree under the date of the ſixth of *July*; That it having been ordered in the Aſſembly at *Noremberg*, that the Edict of *Wormes* againſt *Luther* ſhould be put in execution, as far as was poſſible, therefore they at the inſtance of the Legat, Cardinal *Campeggio*, did command that it ſhould be obſerved in all their Dominions and States. That the innovators ſhould be puniſhed, according to the form of the Edict. That nothing ſhould be changed in the celebration of the Maſs and Sacraments. That the Apoſtates, Monks and Nuns, and married Prieſts, and thoſe that received the Euchariſt without confeſſion, or did eat forbidden meats, ſhould be puniſhed. He laboureth to cauſe his reformation to be received.

And

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And that all their ſubjects that were in the Univerſity of *Wittenberg* ſhould depart from thence, within three months, and return home, or go to ſome other place. The day following, being the ſeventh, the Cardinal publiſhed his Conſtitutions of the Reformation, which were approved by all the forenamed Princes, and it was commanded that they ſhould be publiſhed, received, and obſerved, throughout all their State and Dominions.

And effecteth it.

77. In the proheme of the Conſtitutions the Cardinal ſaid, that to reform the life and manners of the Clergy being a thing of great moment for the rooting out of the Lutheran Hereſie, he had ordained theſe Decrees by the Counſel of the Princes, and Prelates aſſembled with him, which he commanded to be obſerved throughout all *Germany*, by the Archbiſhops, Biſhops, and other Prelates, Prieſts, and Regulars, and publiſhed in all the Cities and Churches. They contained ſeven and thirty heads, concerning the Apparel and Converſation of the Clergy, adminiſtring *gratis* the Sacraments, and other Eccleſiaſtical Functions, Banquets, Fabricks of the Churches, thoſe that were to take Orders, celebration of holy-days, faſtings, againſt Prieſts that were married, againſt thoſe that confeſſed not, nor communicated, againſt Blaſphemers, Sorcerers, Soothſayers, and other things like theſe. In concluſion, the celebration of Dioceſan Councils every year was commanded for the obſervation of theſe Statutes, giving the Biſhops power to invocate the Secular arm againſt the tranſgreſſors.

The reformation contained 37 heads.

78. The Edict of the Reformation being divulged, the Princes and Biſhops, who in the Diet had not conſented to the Cardinals demand, were offended, as well with him, as with all thoſe that aſſembled in *Ratisbon*, it ſeeming unto them, that they were wronged by the Legat, for making a general Order for all *Germany*, in a meeting of ſome few only; and ſo much the rather, becauſe it was done after it was demonſtrated unto him, that no good could come thereby. They thought themſelves injured alſo by thoſe few Princes and Biſhops, who alone had taken upon them to oblige all *Germany*, contrary to the opinion of the reſt. It was oppoſed alſo againſt that Reformation, that, leaving the things of importance, as if there had been no diſorder in them, they made proviſion in things of the ſmalleſt weight. For *Germany* ſuffered but little inconvenience by the abuſes of the inferiour Clergy, but great by the uſurpation of the Biſhops and Prelates, and greateſt of all by thoſe of the Court of *Rome*. And yet there was no mention made of them, as if they were now in better order than in the Primitive Church. Then concerning the inferiour Clergy, the principal abuſes were not treated of, but thoſe that were of leaſt conſequence, which was, as it were, to approve them; and thoſe alſo that were reprehended, were left without their true remedies, being only noted without applying the medicine, neceſſary to cure the malady.

Divers Princes and Biſhops were offended with the acceptance of this reformation.

79. But the Legat, and the forenamed Princes that met him, cared but little for what was ſaid in *Germany*, and leſs for what would follow the publication of the Edict. For their end was only to ſatisfie the Pope, and the Popes end was only to ſhew, that he had made proviſion that there ſhould be no need of a Council. For *Clement*, a man skilful in State-affairs, even in *Adrians* time, always maintained that it was pernicious counſel, in the occurrences of thoſe times, to uſe the means of Councils; and was wont to ſay, that a Council was always good when any thing elſe was treated of but the Popes authority, but that being called into queſtion, that nothing was more dangerous.

Clement did ever think a Council dangerous when the Popes authority was in queſtion.

For

For as in former times, the Popes ſtrength conſiſted in having recourſe to Councils, ſo now the ſecurity of the Popedom conſiſteth in declining and avoiding them; and the rather becauſe *Leo* having condemned the Doctrine of *Luther*, the ſame matter could not be handled or examined in a Council, without doubting of the authority of the Apoſtolical See. 1525 *Clement* VII. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

80. The Emperor having received the Decree of *Noremberg*, was much moved at it; thinking that to treat and give ſo reſolute an anſwer to a ſtranger Prince, without his knowledge in ſo important a matter, was but ſmall reputation to his Imperial Majeſty. Neither did the rigour of the Decree pleaſe him, foreſeeing the Popes diſpleaſure, whom he deſired to keep loving and well affected towards him, in regard of the War which his Captains then made with the *French-men*. Wherefore he wrote back to the Princes in *Germany*, complaining that, himſelf having condemned all the Books of *Luther*, the Diet reſtrained themſelves only to thoſe that were contumelious. But he reprehended them more ſeverely, that they had decreed the celebration of a Council in *Germany*, and deſired the Legate to treat thereof with the Pope, as if this did not more belong to the Pope and himſelf, than unto them; who, if they thought that a Council would be ſo commodious for *Germany*, they ought to have recourſe unto him, to obtain it of the Pope; howſoever he knowing alſo that this would be profitable for that Country, was reſolute it ſhould be celebrated, yet in time and place, when and where himſelf could be perſonally preſent. But touching a new aſſembly at *Spira*, which they had ordained, to order their matters of Religion until the time of the Council, he ſaid that by no means he would yield unto it: yea, he commanded they ſhould be careful to obey the Edict of *Wormes*, and that they handled no point of Religion, until a Council were called by the Popes order and his. The Emperours Letters, more Imperious than *Germany* was uſed to receive from his Predeceſſors, moved very dangerous humours in the minds of many Princes, which floating up and down, might eaſily have come to a troubleſom concluſion.

The Emperor was diſtaſted with the Decree of *Noremberg*.

He writeth to the Princes.

And commandeth the execution of the Edict of *Wormes*.

81. But the moving was ſoon ſtopped, and the year following 1525. had no negotiation in this matter. For the Bores in *Germany* rebelled againſt the Princes, and Magiſtrates, and every one was buſied with the War of the Anabaptiſts, and in *Italy* in the beginning of the year ſucceeded the Battel of *Pavia*, and the impriſonment of *Francis* the *French* King. Which ſo lifted up the Emperours mind, that he thought he had all the world in his power: But afterwards the Leagues of many Princes againſt him, which were treated of, and the negotiation of the Kings liberty, gave him buſineſs enough. The Pope alſo, becauſe *Italy* was without defence, in the power of the Emperours Miniſters, thought of his own caſe, and how he might be joyned with others, who were able to defend him againſt the Emperour, from whom his mind was alienated, ſeeing he was become ſo potent, that the Popedom remained at his diſcretion. 1525.

Francis the *French* King is taken Priſoner in the Battel at *Pavia*.

The Pope ſuſpecteth the greatneſs of the Emperor.

82. In the year 1526. they returned to the ſame Treaty in *Germany* and *Italy*. In *Germany*, all the States of the Empire being aſſembled at the Diet in *Spira* in the end of *June*, it was conſulted of, by ſpecial order from the Emperour, how Chriſtian Religion, and the ancient Cuſtoms of the Church might be preſerved, and the tranſgreſſors puniſhed. The opinions being ſo various, that it was impoſſible to conclude any thing, thoſe that repreſented the Emperours perſon, cauſed 1526.

The Diet of *Spira*.

1526 *Clement* VII. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

the Imperial Letters to be read: where *Charles* ſaid, that he was reſolved to paſs into *Italy*, and to *Rome*, for the Crown, and to treat with the Pope for the calling of a Council. Wherefore he commanded that nothing ſhould be ordained in the Diet contrary to the Laws, Ceremonies, and ancient Cuſtoms of the Church; but that the form of the Edict of *Wormes* ſhould be obſerved, and that they ſhould patiently bear that ſmall delay, until he had negotiated with the Pope the celebration of a Council, which ſhould ſhortly be. For by-treating of matters of Religion in a Diet, rather hurt ariſeth than good.

The Emperor promiſeth to procure a Council.

83. The Cities, for the moſt part, anſwered, that their deſire was to gratifie and obey the Emperour, but that they ſaw not the means how to do that which he commanded in his Letters, becauſe the Controverſies were increaſed, and did increaſe ſtill, particularly concerning the Ceremonies and Rites: and if for the time paſt the Edict of *Wormes* could not be obſerved, for fear of Sedition, the difficulty was then greater, as was declared to the Popes Legate. And if the Emperour were preſent, and informed of the ſtate of the buſineſs, he would be of the ſame opinion. Concerning the promiſe of his Majeſty, for the celebration of a Council, every one ſaid, he might have effected it when he wrote the Letters, becauſe he was then in amity with the Pope; but afterwards there being diſtaſts between them, and the Pope having taken Arms againſt him, it appeared not how, things ſtanding thus, a Council could be called. For theſe reſpects ſome propoſed that the Emperour ſhould be intreated to grant a National Council in *Germany*, to give remedy to the dangers that were imminent. Which if it pleaſed him not, at leaſt (the better to withſtand the moſt grievous Seditions) that he would be contented to defer the Execution of the Edict of *Wormes* until a general Council. But the Biſhops who had no other aim but the preſervation of their own authority, ſaid that no Treaty ought to be made in the cauſe of Religion, during the diſcords between the Emperour and the Pope, but that all ſhould be deferred until a better time.

Why the Edict of *Wormes* could not be executed.

A National Council in *Germany* is deſired.

The Princes did not agree in the Diet of *Spira*.

84. The opinions were ſo diverſe, and ſuch diſcord, between the Eccleſiaſticks, and thoſe that were inclined to *Luthers* Doctrine, was ſtirred up, that there appeared manifeſt danger of Civil War, and many of the Princes put themſelves in order to depart. But *Ferdinand*, And the other Miniſters of the Emperour, ſeeing clearly what danger would ariſe, if the Diet were diſſolved with ſuch diſſention of minds, and the Princes departed without any Decree (becauſe they would have proceeded diverſly, with danger to have divided *Germany*, without hope of reconciliation) they endeavoured to pacifie the chiefeſt, both of the one, and the other ſide; and in the end they came to a reſolution, to make a Decree: which though it concluded not in ſubſtance according to the Emperours mind, yet it ſhewed ſome appearance of agreement between the States, and obedience towards his Majeſty. The contents of it was; that it being neceſſary, for giving of order and form to the Affairs of Religion, and for the maintaining of liberty, to celebrate a lawful Council in *Germany*, or an univerſal of all Chriſtendom, which may begin within the compaſs of a year, Ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to the Emperour, to pray him, that he would caſt his eye upon the miſerable and tumultuous ſtate of the Empire, and to return into *Germany*, ſo ſoon as might be, to provide for it. That in the mean ſpace, while the one or the other Council, neceſſary for the buſineſs of Religion and of the Edict of *Wormes*, be obtained, all the

The Decree of the Diet of *Spira*.

the Princes and States ought to govern themſelves in their Provinces and Juriſdictions, that they may give a good account of their actions to God and the Emperour. 1526 *Clement* VII. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

85. But in *Italy*, *Clement* having paſſed the year before in grief of mind and fears, thinking that ſometimes he ſaw *Charles* armed in *Rome*, to poſſeſs himſelf of the Eccleſiaſtical State, and to regain the poſſeſſion of the *Roman* Empire, uſurped by the Arts of his Predeceſſors; ſometimes ſet in a Council to moderate the Popes authority in the Church, without which, he well ſaw it was impoſſible to diminiſh the Temporal; and, above all, having conceived a bad preſage, that all the Miniſters ſent into *France*, to treat with the Queen Mother, and the State, were periſhed in the journey, at laſt, in the end of *March* this year, he took breath a little, underſtanding that the King was ſet at liberty, and returned into *France*. He ſent preſently to congratulate with him, and to make a confederation againſt the Emperour. The which being ratified in *Cugnac* the two and twentieth of *May* between him, that King, and the Princes of *Italy*, under the name of the moſt holy League, and having abſolved the King from the Oath taken in *Spain*, for the obſervation of the things agreed upon, now delivered from fear, a paſſion which had much power over him, thinking he was in liberty; and being much provoked that, not only in *Rome* and *Naples*, Ordinances were publiſhed to the prejudice of the Court of *Rome*, but, which more grieved him, that in thoſe days a *Spaniſh* Notary dared to appear publickly in the *Rota*, and command two *Neapolitans* in *Cæſars* name to deſiſt from litigating in that Court, he reſolved to declare his mind, that he might encourage the Confederates; and the three and twentieth of *June*, he wrote unto *Charles* a very long Brief, in manner of an invective; where having repeated the benefits which he had done him, as well being Cardinal, as after his aſſumption to the Popedom, and the great Offers which he had refuſed from other Princes, to ſtand firm in his friendſhip, ſeeing he was ill requited, and that there was no correſpondence, neither in good will, nor obſervation of promiſes, but on the contrary, much matter of ſuſpicion was given him, and many offences committed by exciting new Wars in *Italy*, and elſewhere (all which he repeated in particular) laying the blame of all the miſchiefs upon the Emperour, ſhewing that the Papal dignity was offended in all; and paſſing to another kind of offences done unto him, by publiſhing Laws in *Spain*, and Pragmaticks in *Naples*, againſt the liberty of the Church, and the dignity of the Apoſtolical See, he concluded in the end, not according to the uſe of the Popes, by denouncing ſpiritual puniſhments, but proteſting unto him, that if he will not leave to do wrong, ceaſing to poſſeſs *Italy*, and to trouble other parts of Chriſtendom, he will not be wanting to the juſtice and liberty of his Country, wherein ſtandeth the protection of that holy See, but will move his juſt and holy Arms againſt him, not to offend him, but to defend the publick ſafety, and his own proper dignity.

The Pope was diſtracted with fear of the Emperor, and of the Council.

He maketh a confederation with the *French* King ſet at liberty.

Written a ſevere brief to *Charles*.

86. This diſpatch being ſent into *Spain*, the next day he wrote and diſpatched another Brief to the Emperour, without making mention of the firſt. Where he ſaid in ſubſtance, that, for the maintaining of the liberty of *Italy*, and the providing againſt the dangers of the See of *Rome*, he had been conſtrained to come to theſe deliberations, which could not be omitted without failing to perform the duty of a good Pope, and a juſt Prince. Wherein if his Majeſty will afford the remedy,

And afterwards another more moderate than the former.

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medy, which is eaſie, profitable, and glorious for him to do, he ſhall thereby deliver Chriſtendom from a great fear; whereof his Nuncio, reſiding with him, ſhall give him an account more at large. He prayed him, for Gods ſake, to hear him, and to provide for the publick welfare, and to contain within the terms of juſtice, the unbridled and injurious deſires of his Miniſters, that others may reſt ſecure of their goods and lives. Under theſe laſt words the Pope comprehended principally *Pompeius*, Cardinal *Colonna*, *Veſpaſianus*, and *Aſcanius*, with others of that Family, who followed the Imperial part, and were aſſiſted by the Vice-Roy of *Naples*: from whom he daily received divers oppoſitions to his endeavours. And, which made greater impreſſion in his mind, he feared alſo that they might bring the Papacy into ſtraights. For the forenamed Cardinal, a man bold and proud, contented not himſelf to ſpeak of him publickly, as of one aſſumed to the Papacy by unlawful means, magnifying what the Houſe of *Colonna* had done againſt other Popes, intruders (as he named them) and unlawfully choſen, but he added, that it was fatal to that Family to hate the tyrannical Popes, and to them to be reprehended by the virtue of it: and threatned him with a Council, and treated with all the Emperous Miniſters, to perſwade the Emperour to call it. Whereby the Pope being provoked to anger, the better to prevent him, publiſhed a ſevere Monitory againſt that Cardinal, citing him to *Rome*, under the greateſt penalties and cenſures; in which alſo he touched manifeſtly the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, and obliquely the Emperour. But the War was not proſperouſly begun in *Lombardie*, the Army of the *French* King not appearing as yet; and the Chriſtian Army was diſcomfited at the ſame time in *Hungary*, King *Lewis* dead, the number of thoſe who followed *Luthers* Doctrine did ſtill increaſe, and all men required a Council, which might make an univerſal Peace amongſt Chriſtians, and give an end to ſo great diſorders.

The Pope ſendeth a Monitory againſt Card. *Colonna*.

And having changed his mind, maketh a long diſcourſe in Conſiſtory.

87. The Pope for theſe cauſes, having firſt compoſed the differences with thoſe of the Houſe of *Colonna*, and aboliſhed the Monitory ſent out againſt the Cardinal, called a Conſiſtory the thirteenth of *September*; in which he commiſerated, in a long diſcourſe, the calamities of Chriſtendom, bewailed the death of the King of *Hungary*, and attributed all misfortune to the anger of God, ſtirred up by ſin, confeſſing that all began from the deformation of the Clergy. He ſhewed how it was neceſſary, for the appeaſing of it, to begin (for ſo he ſaid) from the Houſe of God, wherein he would give example in his own perſon. He excuſed the raiſing of Arms, and the Proceſs againſt thoſe of the Houſe of *Colonna*, exhorted the Cardinals to amend their manners, ſaid he would go in perſon to all the Princes, to negotiate an univerſal Peace, reſolute rather to dye, than to leave this enterpriſe, until he had brought it to effect, yet aſſuredly truſting in God to ſee the concluſion thereof. The which being obtained, he reſolved to call a general Council, to extinguiſh the diviſion in the Church, and to take away the Hereſies. He exhorted the Cardinals, every one to think of, and propoſe unto him all thoſe means, which they thought might ſerve for theſe two ends, that is, to plant peace, and root out hereſie. The Popes diſcourſe was publiſhed throughout *Rome* and *Italy*, and Copies thereof were ſent abroad by many; and though it was much helped by the commendation of his Followers, yet few believed it to be ſincere.

The Popes diſcourſe was thought not to be ſincere.

88. But in *Spain* the two Letters being preſented by the Popes Nuncio,

Nuncio to the Emperour, the one a day after the other, there was much ſurmiſing raiſed in the Council of that Prince. Some of them believed that *Clement*, repenting himſelf of the bitterneſs of the firſt, had wrote the ſecond for a medicine: wherefore they adviſed that no notice ſhould be taken thereof. And this opinion was increaſed by a report given out by the Nuncio, that by the ſecond he had received order, that if the firſt were not delivered, it ſhould not be delivered at all, but ſent back again, and the ſecond only conſigned. The wiſer ſort ſaw well enough, that if the Pope had repented, he might have prevented the firſt Currier, by cauſing the ſecond to make more haſte: moreover, that it was not likely that ſo wiſe a Prince as he, would reſolve to write ſo bitterly without great conſultation. Therefore they thought it was a kind of cunning to make a proteſtation, and not to have an anſwer. And it was reſolved that the Emperour ſhould imitate him, anſwering to the firſt with terms fitting ſeverity, and a day after to the ſecond, according to the form thereof.

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Surmiſes in *Spain* concerning the two Briefs of the Pope.

The Emperour maketh two anſwers.

89. And ſo it was done, and an apologetical Letter was written by the Emperour the ſeventeenth of *September*, which in the original contained 22 ſheets of royal Paper, which *Mercurius Gattinara* preſented open to the *Nuncio*, and read it to him, and ſealed it in his preſence, and conſigned it, that he might cauſe it to be delivered to the Pope. In the beginning of the Letter the Emperor ſhewed that the form which the Pope held was diſproportionable to the duty of a true Paſtor, and not correſpondent to the filial obedience which he had performed towards the Apoſtolical See, and his Holineſs, who ſo praiſed his own actions, and ſo condemned his, with titles of ambition and avarice, that he was conſtrained to declare his innocency. And beginning the narration from what happened in the time of *Leo*, afterwards in the time of *Adrian*, and finally in his Papacy, he ſhewed that he had a good intention in all his actions, and was inforced to do as he had done, laying the fault upon the Pope. He repeated many benefits which he had done him, and on the contrary ſide many Treaties which the Pope had made againſt him in divers occaſions: and in concluſion he ſaid, that he deſired nothing more than the publick quiet, an univerſal peace, and the juſt liberty of *Italy*. Which things, if they were deſired by his Holineſs, he ought to lay down his weapons, putting *Peters* Sword into the ſheath. For this foundation being laid, it was eaſie to build peace thereupon, and to apply themſelves to correct the errours of the *Lutherans*, and other Hereticks; wherein he ſhould have found him an obedient Son. But if his Holineſs did otherwiſe, he proteſted before God and men, that he could not be blamed for none of theſe ſiniſter chances which ſhould happen to Chriſtian Religion; promiſing that if he will admit his juſtifications as true and lawful, he will not remember any injuries received. But if he ſhall continue to bear Arms againſt him, becauſe this will not be the office of a Father, but of a Party; nor of a Paſtor, but of an Aſſailer; it will not be convenient that he be judge in thoſe cauſes, and there being none other unto whom recourſe may be had againſt him, for his own juſtification, he will refer all to the knowledge and judgment of a general Council of all Chriſtendom; exhorting his Holineſs in the Lord to intimate it in a ſecure and fit place, limiting unto it a convenient term. For ſeeing the ſtate of the Church and of Religion to be altogether troubled, to provide for his own and the Common-wealths ſafety, he flieth to that ſacred and univerſal Council, and appealeth unto it againſt all the threats paſt, and grievances to come.

The firſt contained 22 ſheets of royal Paper.

90. The

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90. The anſwer to the ſecond was made the eighteenth; and in that he ſaid, that he was glad to ſee his Holineſs treat more lovingly, and to deſire peace more earneſtly in his ſecond Letters; which if it were as much in his power to eſtabliſh, as it is in the power of others to make War, he ſhould ſee what his mind was. Although he thinketh that his Holineſs ſpeaketh as thruſt forward by others, not of his voluntary mind, and hopeth in God that he will rather procure the publick good, than follow the affections of other men. Wherefore he prayeth him to behold the Calamities of Chriſtendom. For he calleth God to witneſs, that he will be always ready to let every one know, that he hath none other end than the glory of God, and the ſafety of his People; as he hath written more at large in the other Letters.

The Emperours anſwer to the ſecond Brief.

91. The Emperour, the ſixth of *October*, wrote alſo to the Colledge of Cardinals; that he was exceedingly grieved, that the Pope forgetting the Papal dignity, went about to diſturb the publick quiet, and when he thought he had given peace to the whole world, by making the accord with the *French* King, that Letters came to him from his Holineſs, ſuch as he never thought would have come from a common Father, and Vicar of *Chriſt*: which he believed alſo were not reſolved on without their counſel, becauſe he was perſwaded that the Pope treated not of things of ſo great a moment, without communicating all unto them. Therefore he was troubled very much, to ſee that from a Pope, and ſo religious Fathers, ſhould proceed Wars, threats, and pernicious counſels againſt an Emperour, Protectour of the Church, and ſo well deſerving, that to pleaſe them he ſtopped his ears in *Wormes* againſt the Prayers of all *Germany*, made unto him againſt the oppreſſions and grievances, which it received from the Court of *Rome*, making none account of the honeſt demands that a Council might be called, to withſtand the foreſaid oppreſſions, which would be as much as to withſtand the *Lutheran* Hereſie. That to ſerve the See of *Rome*, he had prohibited the meeting at *Spira*, which *Germany* had intimated, foreſeeing that it would have been a beginning to ſeparate it from the obedience of *Rome*, and hath diverted the thoughts of thoſe Princes by promiſing them a Council. Whereof having written, and given an account to the Pope, his Holineſs thanked him for having forbid the Aſſembly of *Spira*, but prayed him to defer to ſpeak of a Conncil until a more convenient time. And he, to pleaſe, made more account to give him ſatisfaction, than of the prayers of *Germany*, which were ſo neceſſary. And yet for all this the Pope now wrote Letters unto him, full of complaints and imputations, demanding things of him, which he could neither juſtly, nor ſecurely grant. Of which Letters he ſendeth them a Copy, being deſirous to ſignifie the whole unto them, that they might uphold Chriſtianity, now ready to fall, and employ themſelves to divert the Pope from ſo pernicious a deliberation; in which if he ſhall remain unmoveable, they may exhort him to call a Council; whereunto in caſe he will not condeſcend according to order of Law, he beſeecheth their moſt reverend Paternities, and the ſacred Colledge, that the Pope denying or deferring the Convocation, they would call it themſelves, obſerving the due order. Wherefore if they ſhall refuſe to grant him this juſt demand, or ſhall defer longer than is convenient, he will make proviſion for it himſelf by the Imperial authority, uſing the means that are juſt and fitting. This Letter was delivered in the Conſiſtory the twelfth of *December*, and together alſo with

The Emperour writeth to the Colledge of Cardinals.

And perſwadeth them to call a Council if the Pope refuſe.

with it a duplicate of the Letter, which was conſigned to the Nuncio in *Granada*, was preſented to the Pope. 1526

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92. All theſe letters were inſtantly printed in divers places of *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, and many Copies went up and down from hand to hand. Thoſe perſons, who though they obſerve the accidents of the world, yet have not much capacity, and uſe to live and govern themſelves by the examples of others, and eſpecially of the Grandees, and who by the demonſtrations which *Charles* made againſt the *Lutherans*, as well in *Wormes*, as in other places, in contemplation of the Papacy, believed that he favoured the Popes ſide for Religion and conſcience ſake, ſeeing his change, were much ſcandalized, eſpecially for that he ſaid, that he ſtopped his ears to the honeſt prayers of *Germany*, to do the Pope a pleaſure. And thoſe of the wiſer ſort were of opinion, that his Majeſty was not well adviſed to divulge ſo great a ſecret, and to give the world occaſion to believe, that the reverence ſhewed towards the Pope, was an Art of Government covered with the Cloak of Religion. And further they expected, that for theſe Letters the Pope would ſhew ſome deſire of revenge, the Emperour having touched two great ſecrets of the Popedom: the one in appealing from the Pope to a future Council, contrary to the Conſtitutions of *Pius* and *Julius* the ſeconds, the other, in having invited the Cardinals to call a Council, in caſe of a negative given, or a dilation interpoſed by the Pope. And it was neceſſary that this beginning ſhould draw great conſequences with it.

The Emperor is cenſured in *Germany*.

93. But as Seeds, though moſt fertile, caſt into the ground out of ſeaſon, fructifie not; ſo theſe great attempts happening in time not convenient, became vain. And ſo much happened in this occaſion. For while the Pope ſought revenge with his Arms, and with the Arms of ſo many Princes, that he might uſe ſpiritual remedies, after he had made ſome temporal foundation, thoſe of the Family of *Colonna*, either not truſting the Popes promiſes, or for ſome other cauſe, arming their Subjects, and others who followed that Faction, approached *Rome*, upon the ſide of the Suburbs, the twentieth of *September*: which amazed very much the Popes Family. And the Pope himſelf ſurpriſed upon the ſudden, and wholly confuſed, knowing not what reſolution to take, called for the ſolemn Pontifical Habits, ſaying, that ſo apparelled, to the imitation of *Boniface* the Eighth, ſitting in the Pontifical Chair, he would expect to ſee if they dared add to the firſt, a ſecond violation of the Apoſtolical dignity, in the perſon of the Pope himſelf. But he eaſily yielded to the Counſel of his Friends, to ſave himſelf in the Caſtle by the Gallery, and not give occaſion to be noted of folly.

The Family of *Colonna* aſſault *Rome* and take it.

The Pope ſaveth himſelf in the Caſtle.

94. The *Colonneſi* entred *Rome*, and ſacked the Popes Palace, and St. *Peters* Church. They ſpread themſelves alſo even unto the principal Houſes of the Borough. But the Inhabitants making reſiſtance, and the *Orſini*, a contrary Faction, coming in aid againſt them, they were conſtrained to retire themſelves into a ſecure quarter, which they had taken near hand, yet carrying with them the ſpoils of the *Vatican*, with the infinite diſpleaſure of the Pope; and the Army waxing bigger every day with ſuccours, that arrived from *Naples*, the Pope fearing ſome greater encounter, overcome by neceſſity, called into the Caſtle *Don Hugo de Moncado*, one of the Emperours Miniſters, concluded a Truce with him for four months, with condition that the *Colonneſi* and *Neapolitans* ſhould retire themſelves from *Rome*, and the Pope ſhould call back

The Palace and *S. Peters* Church are ſacked.

A Truce concluded.

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back his Souldiers from *Lombardy*: the which both parties performing, *Clement* cauſed his men to return to *Rome*, under pretence to obſerve the capitulations of the Truce; and being by them ſecured, he thundered out Excommunications againſt the *Colonneſi*, declaring them Hereticks, and Schiſmaticks, and excommunicating whoſoever afforded them aſſiſtance, counſel, or favour, or gave them entertainment, and deprived alſo the Cardinal of his red Hat. This Cardinal being in *Naples*, not eſteeming the Popes cenſures, publiſhed an appeal to the Council, propoſing not only the injuſtice and nullity of the Monitories, Cenſures, and Sentences; but alſo the neceſſities of the Church univerſal, which being manifeſtly ruinated, could not be eaſed any other way, than by calling of a lawful Council, which might reform it in the head and in the members. In concluſion he cited *Clement* to the Council, which the Emperour would aſſemble in *Spira*.

The Popes Bull againſt the *Colonneſi*.

The Cardinal appealeth to the Council.

95. Of this Appeal, or Citation, or Manifeſt, there were Copies hanged by night, by thoſe of the Faction of the Houſe of *Colunna*, upon the doors of the principal Churches in *Rome*, and in divers other places, and ſpread over *Italy*. This put *Clement* in a great paſſion, who mightily abhorred the very name of a Council; not ſo much fearing the moderating of the Popes authority, and of the profit of the Court, as for his own proper reſpects. For though *Leo* his Kinſman, when he made him Cardinal, cauſed proof to be made, that there was promiſe of marriage between his Mother and his Father *Julianus*, yet the untruth of the proofs was notorious: and though there be no law which prohibiteth Baſtards to aſcend to the Papacy, yet the vulgar opinion is, that the Papal dignity is not compatible with ſuch a quality. He doubted exceedingly, that unto ſuch a pretence, though vain, ſtrength might be given by his Enemies, being upheld by the power of the Emperour. But he was more afraid, becauſe, being conſcious by what arts he mounted to the Popedom, and how Cardinal *Colonna* had a way to prove it, conſidering the ſevere Bull of *Julius* the Second, which maketh a nullity in a Simoniacal Election, and forbiddeth that it ſhould be made good by any ſubſequent conſent, he greatly doubted that it would happen unto him as it did unto *Baltaſſar Coſſa*, called *John* the 23. But I have not been able to learn what was the negotiation of the Council of *Spira*, having not found any mention thereof, but in the foreſaid Manifeſt, and in *Paulus Jovius* in the life of the forenamed Cardinal. In the height of theſe tumults the year ended, with publick expectation, and fear where the tempeſt would fall.

The Pope feareth a Council in regard of his illegitimation and Simony.

No ſubſequent conſent can make good a Simoniacal election of the Pope.

1527. 96. For the next year 1527. the negotiations of a Council were buried in ſilence; according to the uſe of humane Affairs, that in the time of War, proviſion for Laws hath no place. Yet there ſucceeded notable accidents, neceſſary to be related, for the underſtanding of thoſe things which hapned afterwards, in the matter which we handle. For the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, pretending that the Pope, by proceeding againſt the *Colonneſi*, had broken the Truce, incited by the Cardinal, and others of that Family, put his Souldiers into their journey towards *Rome*: And on the other ſide alſo, *Charles* of *Borbone*, General of the Emperours Army in *Lombardy*, not having wherewith to pay his Souldiers, fearing they would mutiny, or at leaſt run away, being deſirous by all means to keep them together, ſent them towards the Eccleſiaſtical State; whereunto alſo he was mightily incited, by *George Franſperg*, a *German* Captain; who having conducted into *Italy* between thirteen and fourteen thouſand Souldiers of *Germany*, almoſt all *Lutherans*,

The Viceroy of *Naples* marcheth towards *Rome* pretending the breach of the Truce.

Charles of *Borbon* marcheth towards *Rome*, *George Franſperg* is General of 13000 Almans.

with no other pay, but of one Crown a piece of his own goods, and promiſe to lead them to *Rome*, he ſhewed the great opportunity they had to get ſpoils, and to make themſelves rich, in a City where all the Gold of *Europe* may be found. 1527 *Clement* VII. *Charles* V.

97. In the end of *January*, *Borbon* paſſed the *Po* with all his Troops, and directed his journey towards *Romania*: which march troubled *Clement* exceedingly, conſidering the quality of the men, and the continual threats of *Franſperg*, who cauſed a Halter to be carried near his Colours, ſaying, that with that he would hang the Pope, the better to encourage his men to ſtand united, and to ſupport the journey though they were not paid: All which things induced the Pope to give ear to *Cæſar Fieramoſca*, a *Neapolitan*, who came newly from *Spain*, and brought a long Letter from *Cæſar*, full of offers. And, aſſuring his Holineſs, that his Majeſty diſliked the invaſion of *Rome*, made by the *Colonneſi*, and that he was deſirous of peace, he induced him to hearken to the Truce, which ſhould be negotiated between him, and the Vice-Roy of *Naples*. And although in *March*, Captain *George Franſperg*, was taken with a fit of an Apoplexy, which cauſed his death, yet becauſe the Army was entred into the Eccleſiaſtical State, and ſtill marched forward, the Pope in the end of the month, reſolved to come to an accord, though he thought it would be to his great indignity, and would give ſuſpicion to his Confederates, and perhaps aliene them from defending him. Therefore the ſuſpenſion of Arms for eight months was eſtabliſhed, the Pope paying 60000 Crowns, abſolving thoſe of the Houſe of *Colonna* from the Cenſures, and reſtoring to the Cardinal his dignity; whereunto he condeſcended exceeding hardly. But howſoever the Truce was concluded with the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, the money diſburſed, and the *Colonneſi* reſtored, yet this was not accepted by the Duke of *Borbon*; who following on his journey, the fifth of *May* lodged near *Rome*, and aſſailed it the next day on the *Vatican* ſide. Where, though the Popes Souldiers, and the youth of *Rome*, eſpecially of the *Guelfiſh* Faction, oppoſed themſelves valiantly in the beginning, and *Bourbon* were ſlain by a Musket-ſhot, notwithſtanding the Army entred, and thoſe that defended the Town, fled into the Suburbs. The Pope, as in ſudden accidents, full of fear, ſaved himſelf, with ſome of the Cardinals, in the Caſtle: and although he was counſelled not to tarry, but to paſs immediately into *Rome*, and from thence to go to ſome ſecure place; yet, refuſing this good counſel, he reſolved to remain there. The City, now without a head, was full of confuſion, ſo that none uſed the remedy which then was fit, that is, to break down the Bridges, which go over the River *Tiber*, from the Suburbs to the City, and to defend themſelves; which if it had been done, the *Romans* would have had time, at the leaſt, to retire all men of account, and goods of value, into a ſecure place. But this not being done, the Souldiers paſſed into the City, ſpoiled not only the Houſes, but the Churches alſo of all their Ornaments, caſting on the ground, and treading under feet the Reliques, and other ſacred things which were not of value, putting the Cardinals and other Prelates in Priſon, making a mock of their perſons, by ſetting them on vile Beaſts in the Pontifical Habit. It is certain, that the Cardinals of *Siena*, *Minerva*, and *Ponceta* were well beaten, and carried moſt baſely in proceſſion, and that the *Spaniſh* and *German* Cardinals, though they were confident, becauſe the Army was compoſed of their Nations, were not better uſed than the reſt. The *Pope*, retired into the Caſtle of Saint

Henry VIII. *Francis* I.

He carrieth with him an halter to hang the Pope.

Franſperg dieth.

An accord is made.

Rome taken by the Army of *Borbon* after his death, and ſacked.

The Cardinals impriſoned & mocked, and ſome of them beaten.

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Angelo, was beſieged, and conſtrained to make an accord, at the ſame time yielding the Caſtle to the Emperours Captains, and conſigning his perſon Priſoner therein: where he was kept very cloſe. And being in exceeding great affliction for the things paſt, there was added one more, in his opinion, much greater, that the Cardinal of *Cortona*, who governed *Florence* in his name, having heard the news, retired himſelf from the City, and left it free. The which having ſuddenly chaſed out the *Medici*, and regained their liberty, reformed their Government, and the greater part of the Citizens ſhewed ſuch hatred towards the Pope, and his Family, that they defaced their Arms, even in their private places, and diſgraced, with many blows, the Images of *Leo* and *Clement*, which were in the Church of the *Nunciata*.

The Pope yieldeth the Caſtle and his perſon.

Florence becometh free again.

The images of *Leo* the 10. and of *Clement* the 7. are defaced.

98. But the Emperour having received advice of the ſacking of *Rome*, and of the impriſonment of the Pope, gave many ſigns of infinite grief, and made demonſtration thereof by cauſing the ſolemn Feaſts to ceaſe, which were made in *Validolid*, for the birth of his Son, the one and twentieth of the ſame month. By which appearances he would have given teſtimony to the world, of his Piety and Religion, if he had commanded at the ſame time that the perſon of the Pope ſhould be ſet at liberty. But the world that ſaw the Pope was Priſoner ſix months more, perceived what difference there was between truth and appearance.

The Emperor maketh a ſhew of grief for the Popes calamity.

99. They began immediately to treat of the Popes delivery. The Emperour would have had him conducted into *Spain*, deeming (as was true indeed) that it would have been a great reputation to him, if in two years there had been brought out of *Italy* into *Spain*, two ſo great Priſoners, a *French* King, and a Pope of *Rome*. But becauſe all *Spain*, and eſpecially the Prelates, deteſted to behold ſo great an ignominy of Chriſtianity, that he ſhould be brought Priſoner thither, who repreſented the perſon of *Chriſt*, he changed that opinion, conſidering alſo it was not good to ſtir up too much envy againſt himſelf, nor to provoke the King of *England*, whom he feared much, in caſe he ſhould have joined himſelf more nearly with the *French* King, than he was by the peace publiſhed in *Auguſt*; who had already ſent a potent Army into *Italy*, and atchieved divers Victories in *Lombardy*. Wherefore in the end of the year, the Emperour granted that the Pope ſhould be ſet free with this condition, that he ſhould not be againſt him in the affairs of *Millan* and *Naples*, and, for ſecurity thereof, ſhould give into his hands, *Oſtia*, *Civita Vecchia*, *Civita Caſtellana*, and the Cittadel of *Furli*, and for Hoſtages, his two Nephews, *Hippolitus* and *Alexander*, that he ſhould grant him a *Cruſado* in *Spain*, and a tenth of the Church Revenues in all his Kingdoms. The delivery being concluded, and having received power to depart out of the Caſtle the ninth of *December*, he durſt not expect ſo long, but went out the night before, with a ſmall Convoy, in the Habit of a Merchant, and retired himſelf immediately to *Monte Fiaſcone*, and after he had tarried there a little, from thence he paſſed to *Orvieto*.

And is diſſaded from cauſing him to be brought into *Spain*.

The Pope is ſet at liberty upon hard conditions.

100. While the Princes were all buſied in War, the Affairs of Religion altered in divers places; in ſome, by publick Decree of the Magiſtrates; in others, by popular ſedition. For *Berne*, making a ſolemn Aſſembly, both of their own Doctors, and of Strangers, and hearing a diſputation many days, received the Doctrine conformable to *Zurich*; and in *Baſil* all the Images were ruined and burnt, by a popular ſedition, and

The ſtate of Religion in the Cantons of the Suiſſes and other places.

and the Magiſtrate deprived, and others put in his place, and the new Religion eſtabliſhed. And on the other ſide, eight Cantons aſſembled themſelves together, and ratified within their Territories the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, and wrote a long Exhortation to thoſe of *Berne*, perſwading them not to change their Religion, which belonged not to one people, or one Country, but only to a Council of the whole world. But for all that, the example of *Berne* was followed at *Geneva*, *Conſtance*, and other places thereabout; and in *Argentina*, after a publick diſputation, the Maſs was prohibited by a publick Decree, until the Defenders of it could ſhew that it was a Worſhip acceptable to God, notwithſtanding the Chamber of *Spira* had made a great and a long Remonſtrance, that it was not lawful, not only for one City, but now for all the States of the Empire, to make innovation of Rites and Doctrine, it belonging only to a general or national Council.

1527

Clement VII. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

101. In *Italy* theſe two years there being neither Pope nor Court of *Rome*, and it ſeeming, that theſe calamities were an execution of Gods Judgment againſt the Government, many men began to reform, and in private houſes, in divers Cities, eſpecially in *Faenza*, a Town belonging to the Pope, there was preaching againſt the Church of *Rome*, and the number of thoſe, whom others called *Lutherans*, and themſelves Goſpellers, increaſed every day.

1528.

The reformed Religion increaſeth in *Italy*.

102. The year following 1528, the *French* Army was far advanced within this Kingdom of *Naples*, and had poſſeſſed it almoſt all; which conſtrained the Emperours Captains to conduct the Army out of *Rome*, much diminiſhed, partly by reaſon of thoſe, who, laden with ſpoils, meant to put them in a ſecure place; and partly becauſe of the Plague, which cauſed great mortality among them. The Confederates inſtantly deſired the Pope, that *Rome* being ſet at liberty by neceſſity, not by the deſire of the Emperour, having no more need to temporize with him, he would in that occaſion declare himſelf to be joyned with them, and proceed againſt him with ſpiritual Arms, and deprive him of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and of the Empire. But the Pope, as well for that he was wearied with troubles, as alſo, becauſe in caſe the Confederates had gained the better, they would have maintained the liberty of *Florence*, the Government whereof he more deſired to recover, than to be revenged of the injuries received from *Charles*, he made a firm reſolution not to be contrary, yea, to joyn himſelf with him upon the firſt occaſion, to regain *Florence*: the which he was aſſured that, if the *French* King and the *Venetians* had been Conquerors in *Italy*, they would have maintained in liberty. Yet keeping this within his breaſt for the preſent, he excuſed himſelf that, by reaſon of his poverty, and want of power, it would rather be a burthen than an eaſe to the Confederates, and that the deprivation of the Emperour would cauſe *Germany* to be ſuſpicious, that he would pretend to have authority to create the Emperour. And thinking that his Confederates perceived what he aimed at, as he was excellent in covering his deſigns, he made all demonſtration that he had laid aſide all thought of temporal things. He let the *Florentines* underſtand many months together, that he was moſt unwilling to meddle in their Government, only deſiring that he would acknowledge him as Pope, and not more than other Chriſtian Princes did: that they would not perſecute his Family in their private affairs; that they would be contented that their Arms ſhould ſtand within the buildings of his Predeceſſors. He ſpake of nothing

The French-men being entred into the Kingdom of *Naples*, cauſe the Spaniſh Army to forſake *Rome*.

The Pope refuſeth to joyn with the Confederates, for the more eaſier covery of *Florence*.

The pope maketh ſhew to have laid aſide all care of temporal things.

1528 *Clement* VII. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

thing but of reforming the Church, and reducing the *Lutherans*. That he was reſolved to paſs into *Germany* in perſon, and to give ſuch an example that all ſhould be converted. And theſe were the ſpeeches he uſed all this year: ſo that many believed for certain, that thoſe afflictions which God had laid upon him for his amendment, had procured their due fruit. But that which followed in the Years after made the godly believe, that they were as ſeed ſown upon a rock, or by the way ſide; and the wiſe, that they were a bait to bring the *Florentines* aſleep.

1529. The Treaties of the Council begin again.

103. The next year 1529, a Peace being negotiated between the Emperour, and the *French* King, and the heat of War abated, the Treaties of a Council began again. For *Francis Guignones*, Cardinal of *Santa Croce*, having brought out of *Spain*, from the Emperour to the Pope, the releaſe of *Oſtia*, *Civitta Vecchia*, and other Towns belonging to the Church, conſigned to the Emperours Miniſters for ſecurity of the Popes promiſes, together with large offers, *Clement* conſidering the Treaty of Peace which was negotiated with the *French* King, and how much his own intereſts required, that he ſhould be firmly joyned with *Charles*, he ſent unto him, unto *Barcellona*, *Jerolamo* Biſhop of *Vaſone*, Maſter of his houſe, to treat the Articles of accord between them: which were eaſily concluded, for that the Pope promiſed the inveſtiture of *Naples*, for the Tribute of a white Horſe only, the Patronage of the 24 Churches, paſſage for his men, and the Imperial Crown. On the other ſide, the Emperour promiſed to reſtore into *Florence* the Popes Nephew, the Son of *Lorenzo*, and to give him to Wife *Margarite* his Baſtard Daughter, and to aſſiſt him in the recovery of *Cervia*, *Ravenna*, *Modena*, and *Rheggio*, taken from him by the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Ferrara*. They agreed alſo to receive one another at the Coronation, with the accuſtomed Ceremonies. Only one point was long diſputed: For the Popes Miniſters propoſed, that *Charles* and *Ferdinand* ſhould be bound to conſtrain the *Lutherans*, by force of Arms, to return to the obedience of the Church of *Rome*; and thoſe that were for the Emperour required, that to reduce them the better, the Pope ſhould call a general Council. After long diſcuſſion of this point, not to cut off ſo many other important deſigns, on which they were agreed, it was reſolved to ſtand in this Article in general terms, and concluded, that, to reduce the *Lutherans* to the union of the Church, the Pope ſhould uſe ſpiritual means, and *Charles* and *Ferdinand* temporal; who alſo ſhould make War againſt them if they remained obſtinate: and in that caſe the Pope ſhould provide that the other Chriſtian Princes ſhould aſſiſt them.

The cautionary Towns are reſtored to the Pope.

A Peace is concluded between the Pope and the Emperour, with divers conditions.

A point much diſputed between the Pope and the Emperour.

Clement ſuddenly recovereth all his greatneſs.

104. In this ſort the Confederation was concluded, with much joy of *Clement*, and marvel of the World, how, having loſt all his ſtate and reputation, he ſhould return to the ſame greatneſs in ſo ſhort a time. In *Italy*, which ſaw an accident ſo full of variety, or rather contrariety, it was eſteemed a divine miracle, and by thoſe that loved the Court, it was aſcribed to a demonſtration of the favour of God towards the Church.

He ſendeth to the Diet of *Spira*.

105. But in *Germany* a Diet being intimated in *Spira*, which began the 15. of *March*, the Pope ſent thither *John Thomas* of *Mirandula*, to exhort them to the War againſt the *Turk*, promiſing to contribute himſelf alſo as much as his Forces, exhauſted by the calamities of the years paſt, would allow him to do, and to give aſſurance that he would uſe all induſtry to accord the differences between the Empe-

rour

rour and the *French* King; that all things being pacified, and all impediments taken away, he might apply himſelf, as ſoon as it was poſſible, to the calling and celebration of a Council, to re-eſtabliſh Religion in *Germany*. 1529 *Clement* VII. *Charles* V.

106. In the Diet they firſt treated of Religion: And the Catholicks thought to put diſſention between their Adverſaries, divided into two opinions, ſome following the Doctrine of *Luther*, and ſome of *Zuinglius*, if the Landgrave of *Haſſia*, a man wiſe and provident, had not withſtood the danger; ſhewing that the difference was not great, and giving hope that it might eaſily be accorded, and declaring the damage that would ariſe by the diviſion, and the advantage which their Adverſaries would have gained. After long diſputation in the Diet, to find out a form of compoſition, in the end a Decree was made, that, the Decree of the former Diet of *Spira*, being wreſted by the bad interpretations to defend all abſurdity of opinions, and therefore being now conſtrained to expound it, they ordained, That whoſoever had obſerved the Emperours Edict of *Wormes*, ſhould obſerve it ſtill, compelling alſo the people thereunto until the time of the Council, which the Emperour gave aſſured hope ſhould be called ſhortly: and he that had changed Doctrine, and could not be reduced without danger of ſedition, ſhould abide there, and innovate nothing more until the Council began: that the Maſs ſhould not be taken away, nor hindred in any place where the new Doctrine was received; that Anabaptiſm ſhould be puniſhed capitally, according to the Edict publiſhed by the Emperour, which they ratified; and that concerning the Sermons and Prints, the Decrees made in the two laſt Diets of *Noremberg* ſhould be obſerved; that is, that the Preachers be circumſpect, take heed of giving offenſive words, and give not occaſion to the people to riſe againſt the Magiſtrate, that they propoſe no new opinions which have no foundation in the holy Scripture, but preach the Goſpel according to the interpretation approved by the Church, without touching other things that be diſputable, expecting the determination of the Council, where all ſhall be lawfully decided. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I. The Landgrave of *Haſſia* preventeth the diviſion which the Roman Catholicks would have made amongſt the Reformatiſts. The Decree of the Diet of *Spira*.

107. The Elector of *Saxony*, and five Princes more, oppoſed themſelves to this Decree, ſaying, that they ought not to forſake the Decree made in the former Diet, by which every one might exerciſe his own Religion until the Council; which Decree being made by the common conſent of all, could not without the ſame conſent, be changed. That the original cauſe of the diſſentions was very clearly perceived in the Diet of *Noremberg*, and the ſame Pope, unto whom the demands were ſent, and the hundred Grievances expounded, confeſſed it; yet for all this, no amendment was ſeen. That, in all the conſultations it was ever concluded, that there was no way more convenient to remove the Controverſies than by a Council. In the mean ſpace, while this is expected, to receive their Decree, were to deny the pure and undefiled Word of God; and to allow the Maſs, were to renew the diſorders. They ſaid they commended that part, that is, to preach the Goſpel according to the interpretations approved by the Church, but that there remained a doubt which was the true Church. That to eſtabliſh a Decree ſo obſcure, was to lay open a way to many tumults and controverſies, and therefore would not by any means give conſent unto it. That they would give account to all men, and even unto *Cæſar* himſelf, of this their opinion. And that until the beginning of the Council, either general of all Chriſtendom, or National Is oppoſed.

1528. National of *Germany*, they will do nothing that may juſtly be reproved.

Clement VII. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

108. To this declaration fourteen principal Cities of *Germany* adhered, and from hence came the name of Proteſtants, by which they are called who follow the Doctrine renewed by *Luther*. For theſe Princes and Cities gave out their Proteſtation and Appeal, from that Decree unto *Cæſar*, and to a future general Council, or National of *Germany*, and to all Judges not ſuſpected.

How the name of Proteſtants began.

109. And becauſe mention is made of the difference in opinion between *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, in matter of the Sacrament, it is fit to ſhew here, how the renovation of Doctrine being begun in two places, by two perſons independent the one of the other, that is, by *Luther* in *Saxony*, and *Zuinglius* in *Zuric*, they conſented in all the heads of Doctrine, until the year 1525. and then in the explication of the myſtery of the moſt holy Sacrament of the Euchariſt, though they both agreed in ſaying that the Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt are in the Sacrament only in uſe, received with the heart and faith, yet *Luther* taught that the words of our Lord (*This is my Body*) ought to be received in a naked and plain ſenſe; and, on the contrary, *Zuinglius* taught that the words were figuratively, ſpiritually, and ſacramentally, and not carnally to be underſtood. And the contention alway's increaſed, and became every day more bitter, eſpecially on *Martins* ſide, who treated after a ſharp manner againſt the adverſe party. And this gave matter to the Catholicks in this Years Diet of *Spira*, to be able (as hath been ſaid) to put diſtruſt and diſtaſt between the parties. But the *Landgrave* of *Haſſia*, who, having diſcovered the cunning of the adverſaries, kept his ſide in peace, with hope to reconcile the contrary opinions, as well to maintain his promiſe, as to withſtand future dangers, procured a Conference, ſollicited the *Suiſſes* to ſend their men, and aſſigned *Marpurg* for the place of the diſputation, and all the month of *October* of the ſame year 1529. There came out of *Saxony*, *Luther* and his two Scholars; and out of *Suiſſerland*, *Zuinglius* and *Ecolampadius*. Only *Luther* and *Zuinglius* diſputed, and the diſputation continued many days; yet for all this it was impoſſible for them to agree; whether it were becauſe the Controverſie being paſſed on ſo far, it ſeemed that the honour of the Authors was in queſtion, or becauſe, as it happeneth in verbal contentions, the ſmallneſs of the difference, nouriſheth the obſtinacy of the parties: or becauſe as a little after *Martin* wrote to a Friend, ſeeing much tumult raiſed, he would not by *Zuinglius* his form of words, which the Romaniſts ſo much abhorred, make his Princes more odious, and expoſe them to greater danger. But be the cauſe what it will, one more univerſal is very true, that it pleaſed the Majeſty of God to uſe this difference of opinions, for divers effects, which followed after. It was neceſſary to end the Colloquy without concluſion, but that by the means of the *Landgrave* they agreed in this, that being of accord in all other points, they ought hereafter to abſtain from bitterneſs in this particular, praying God to ſhew ſome light of agreement. Which concluſion, though reſolved on with wiſdom, and, as they ſaid, with charity, being not followed by their Succeſſors, hindred very much the progreſs of the reformed Doctrine. For in cauſe of Religion, every ſub diviſion is a ſtrong weapon in the hand of the contrary part.

The difference in opinion between *Luther* and *Zuinglius*.

The Conference of *Marpurg*.

1529.

Luther and *Zuinglius* could not agree.

But the League between the Pope and Emperour being concluded, as hath been ſaid, and the order ſet down for the Coronation, the City

City of *Bolonia* was appointed for the place. For it ſeemed not convenient to the Pope that this ſolemnity ſhould be performed in *Rome*, in the preſence of thoſe who had ſacked it but two years before. This was acceptable alſo to *Charles*, becauſe it made the Ceremonies more ſhort: which he deſired, that he might paſs into *Germany* ſo ſoon as might be. Therefore the Pope, as the greater perſon, arrived firſt in *Bolonia*, and afterwards the Emperour the fifth of *November*, where he tarried four months, and remained in the ſame Palace with the Pope. Many things were treated of by theſe two Princes, partly for the univerſal quiet of Chriſtendom, and partly for the private intereſt of the one and the other. The principal were, the general Peace of *Italy*, and the extirpation of the Proteſtants in *Germany*. To ſpeak of the firſt, belongeth not to the ſubject that is handled: but concerning the Proteſtants, it was propoſed by one of the Emperours Counſellors, that, conſidering the nature of *Germans*, who are tenacious of liberty, it were better by fair means and ſweet repreſentations, and by diſſembling the knowledge of many things, to cauſe the Princes to return to the obedience of the Pope. For this protection being taken from the new Doctors, the reſidue would eaſily be remedied. And to do this, a Council was the true and proper remedy: as well becauſe it was deſired by them, as becauſe every one would bow at that majeſtical and venerable name.

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The Pope and Emperor met at *Bolonia* about the Coronation, but treated of divers other matters.

But the Pope, who feared nothing more than a Council, eſpecially if it were to be celebrated beyond the Mountains, free, and in the preſence of thoſe, who already had openly ſhaken off the yoke of obedience, ſaw very well what an eaſie thing it was for theſe to perſwade the others alſo. He conſidered further, that although the cauſe was common to him with all other Biſhops, whom the new opinions ſought to deprive of the wealth they poſſeſſed, yet there remained ſome matter of diſtaſt, between them and the Court of *Rome*. For they pretended that Collation of Benefices, with the Reſervations and Preventions, was uſurped from them, and a great part of their authority taken away, and drawn to *Rome*, by calling of Cauſes thither, by reſervations of Diſpenſations, and Abſolutions, and ſuch like Faculties, which formerly being common to all Biſhops, the Popes of *Rome* had appropriated to themſelves. Whereupon it was repreſented unto him, that the celebration of a Council would be a total diminution of the Popes authority. Therefore he turned all his thoughts to perſwade the Emperour, that a Council was not good, to pacifie the ſtirs of *Germany*, but pernicious for the Imperial authority in thoſe Provinces. He put him in mind of two ſorts of perſons, the multitude and the Princes and Grandees: that it was probable that the multitude was deceived, but to give it ſatisfaction in the demand of a Council, was not to give it more light, but to bring in popular licenſe. If it were granted unto them to make queſtion, or ſeek greater perſpicuity in Religion, they would immediately pretend alſo to give Laws for Government, and to reſtrain the authority of Princes by Decrees: and when they have obtained to examine and diſcuſs the Eccleſiaſtical authority, they will learn alſo to trouble the Temporal. He ſhewed him that it was more eaſie to oppoſe the firſt demands of a multitude, than after they had been gratified in part, to preſcribe them a meaſure. For the Princes and Grandees, he might aſſure himſelf that their end was not piety, but the making themſelves Lords of the Eccleſiaſtical goods, and being become abſolute, to acknowledge the Emperour nothing at all,

And the Pope did infinitely diſwade the Emperour from deſiring a Council.

or

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or very little; and that many of them kept themſelves unſpotted with that contagion, becauſe they have not, as yet, diſcovered the ſecret, which being made manifeſt, they will all addreſs themſelves to the ſame ſcope. That there was no doubt but that the Papacy would loſe much in the loſs of *Germany*: but the loſs of the Emperour, and of the Houſe of *Auſtria* would be far greater. Againſt which, if he would make proviſion, he had no other means, than ſeverely to employ his authority and power, while the greater part obeyed him: wherein expedition was neceſſary, before the number encreaſed, and the profit were diſcovered by all, which is reaped by following thoſe opinions. That unto expedition, ſo neceſſary, nothing is more contrary, than to treat of a Council. For though every one incline himſelf to it, and no impediment be interpoſed, yet it cannot be aſſembled but in length of years, nor the cauſes handled without prolixity: which thing only he would conſider. For it were infinite to ſpeak of impediments which would be raiſed for divers intereſts of perſons, who would oppoſe themſelves with divers pretences, at the leaſt putting in delays, that it may come to nothing. That there was a fame ſpread, that the Popes will have no Council, for fear their authority ſhould be reſtrained, a reaſon, which maketh no impreſſion at all in him, having his authority immediately from Chriſt, with promiſe, that the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it. And the experience of former times hath ſhewed, that the Papal authority hath never been diminiſhed in any Council, but according to the words of our Lord, the Fathers hath ever confeſſed it to be abſolute and unlimited, as it is indeed. And when the Popes in humility, or for ſome other reſpect, have forborn to uſe it intirely, the Fathers have made him to put it wholly in execution. And this is clearly to be ſeen by him that ſhall read the things that are paſt. For the Popes have always imployed this means againſt the new opinions of Hereticks, and in every other neceſſity, with increaſe of their authority. And ſetting aſide the promiſe of Chriſt, which is the true and only foundation, and conſidering the things but temporally, the Council conſiſteth of Biſhops; unto Biſhops the Papal greatneſs is profitable, becauſe they are by that protected againſt Prince and People. Kings and other Soveraigns alſo who have underſtood, and will underſtand well the rules of governing, will always favour the Apoſtolical authority, having no other means to repreſs and keep in order their Prelates, when they have the ſpirit to go beyond their degree. The Pope concluded, that in his mind he was ſo aſſured of the iſſue, that he could ſpeak thereof as a Prophet; and affirm, that, by calling a Council, greater diſorders would enſue in *Germany*. For thoſe that deſire it, pretend to continue until then in what they have begun, when their Opinions ſhall be condemned, and nothing elſe can ſucceed, they will take another cloak to detract from the Council: and in concluſion the Emperours authority in *Germany* will come to nothing, and in other places will be ſhaken; the Popes power will be diminiſhed in that Country, and in all the reſidue of the world, will be increaſed the more. And therefore the Emperour ſhould believe his opinion, the rather becauſe he was not moved by his proper intereſt but with a deſire to ſee *Germany* reunited to the Church, and himſelf obeyed. That nothing would take good effect, if he went not preſently into *Germany*, and immediately uſed his authority, intimating that the Sentence of *Leo*, and the Edict of *Wormes* ſhould be executed without any reply, not giving ear to any thing the Proteſtants could ſay, either demanding

The Pope perſwadeth the Emperor to execute the ſentence of *Leo* and the Edict of *Wormes*.

anding a Council, or more inſtruction, or alledging their Appeal or roteſtation, or any other excuſe, becauſe they are all but pretences of npiety. That he ſhould uſe force againſt the firſt incounter of diſo- l edience, which would be eaſie for him to do againſt a few, having all he Eccleſiaſtical Princes, and the greater part of the Seculars, who, to this end, would take Arms with him. That this and no other thing is congruous to this office of the Emperour, Advocate of the Church of *Rome*, and to the Oath taken in *Aquiſgran*, and which he ought to take in receiving the Crown from his hand. Laſtly, that it was a clear caſe, that the holding of a Council, or any other Treaty or Negotiation in this occaſion, would neceſſarily end with War. Therefore it was better to make tryal of compoſing theſe diſorders, by the ſtrength of authority, and with abſolute command, which would eaſily take good effect; and in caſe it ſhould not, rather to proceed to force of Arms, then let the reins looſe to popular licence, to the ambition of the Grandees and perverſneſs of the Arch-hereticks.

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Theſe reaſons unſeemly in the mouth of Fryar *Julius de Medici*, Cavalier of *Malta*, (for ſo the Pope was called before he was created Cardinal) much more of Pope *Clement* the ſeventh, did notwithſtanding prevail with *Charles*, being ſeconded by the perſwaſions of *Mercurius de Gattinara*, the Emperours Chancellour and Cardinal, (unto whom the Pope made many promiſes, and particularly that in the firſt promotion of Cardinals, which he then prepared to make, he would have regard to his kindred and dependants) and by the Emperours proper inclination to have more abſolute authority in *Germany*, than was granted to his Grandfather, or his Fathers Grandfather.

Who condeſcendeth thereunto.

In *Bolonia* all the ſolemn Acts and Ceremonies of the Coronation were performed, which was finiſhed the 14. day of *February*, and *Cæſar* being reſolved to go perſonally into *Germany*, to give an end to thoſe diſorders, he intimated an Imperial Diet for the 8. of *April*, and in *March* he began his journey.

1530. The Emperor is crowned in *Bolonia*.

The Emperour parted from *Bolonia* with this firm reſolution, to labour in the Diet, with authority and command, that the Princes ſeparated one from another, ſhould return to the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, and to prohibite Sermons and Books of the reformed Doctrine. And the Pope gave him for company the Cardinal *Campeggio*, as Legate, who ſhould follow him to the Diet. He ſent alſo *Peter Paul Vergerius*, Nuncio to King *Ferdinand*, with inſtruction to labour with him, that there ſhould be no diſputation in the Diet, nor conſultation concerning Religion, nor any reſolution taken to call a Council in *Germany* to that purpoſe; and to gain the favour of that Prince, (who, being the Emperours Brother, and having ſpent many years in *Germany*, he thought was able to do much) he ſhould grant him power to take a Contribution of the Clergy of *Germany*, for the War againſt the *Turks*, and to make uſe of the Gold and Silver appointed for Ornament of the Churches.

And reſolveth to employ his authority in matter of Religion.

Campeggio the Legate goeth with him.

And *Peter Paul Vergerius* to *Ferdinand*.

Almoſt all the Princes arrived at the Diet before *Cæſar*, who came thither the thirteenth of *June*, the Eve of *Corpus Chriſti* day, and went in proceſſion the day following; but was not able to obtain that the Proteſtants would content themſelves to be there. Which the Legate perceiving, with infinite diſpleaſure, for the prejudice done to the Pope by this contumacy, as he termed it, to go a ſtep further, and to cauſe the Proteſtants to aſſiſt at the Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, was a means that the Emperour eight

The Diet of *Ansburg*.

The Proteſtants refuſe to go in proceſſion.

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days after, being to begin the Aſſembly, gave order to the Elector of *Saxony* to carry the Sword before him, as he went thither, according to his office, and to ſtand at the Maſs. The Elector thought that by yielding he ſhould contradict his profeſſion, and by refuſing ſhould loſe his dignity, having found out, that in caſe of his denial, the Emperour would give the honour to another. But he was counſelled by his Divines, *Luthers* Scholars, that he might do it without offence to his conſcience, aſſiſting as at a civil, not as at a religious Ceremony: by the example of the Prophet *Elizeus*, who thought it not inconvenient that the Captain of the Troops of *Syria*, converted to the true Religion, ſhould bow himſelf in the Temple of the Idol, when the King bowed, who leaned on his arm. This counſel was not approved by others, becauſe by it one might conclude that every one might lawfully be preſent at all the Rites of another Religion, as at civil Ceremonies; for no man could want a cauſe of neceſſity or utility, which might induce thereunto. But others approving the counſel, and the purpoſe of the Elector, concluded, that if the new Doctors had formerly uſed this reaſon, and would uſe it hereafter, a gate had not been opened in many occaſions to divers inconveniences, becauſe it would be lawful to every one by that example, for preſervation of his dignity, or his Territory, or the favour of his Lord, or other eminent perſon, not to refuſe to give aſſiſtance to any action whatſoever, at which, though others were preſent as at a religious act, he aſſiſted, as at a civil thing.

The Duke of *Saxony* carrieth the ſword, after a long diſputation whether he might ſafely aſſiſt at the Maſs.

The Sermon of *Vicenzo Pimpinello* the Popes Nuncio.

In that Maſs, *Vicenzo Pimpinello* Archbiſhop of *Roſano* the Popes Nuncio, made an Oration in Latine before the Offertory; in which he ſpake not a word of any ſpiritual or religious matter, but upbraided *Germany* for having ſuffered ſo many wrongs by the *Turks* without revenge; and exhorted them by many examples of ancient Captains of the *Roman* Common-wealth, to make War againſt them. He ſaid, the diſadvantage of *Germany* was that the *Turks* obeyed one Prince only, whereas in *Germany* many obeyed not at all: that the *Turks* live in one Religion, and the *Germans* every day invent new, and mock the old, as if it were become mouldy. He taxed them, that being deſirous to change the Faith, they had not found out one more holy at the leaſt, and more wiſe. Finally he exhorted them, that imitating *Scipio Naſica*, *Cato*, and the people of *Rome*, and their Anceſtors, they ſhould obſerve the Catholick Religion, forſake thoſe novities, and apply themſelves to the War.

The Legate preſenteth his Letters, and maketh an oration.

In the firſt Seſſion of the Diet, the Legat, Cardinal *Campeggio*, preſented the Letters of his Legation, and in the Aſſembly, in the preſence of the Emperour, made an Oration in Latine; the ſubſtance whereof was, that the cauſe of ſo many Sects, which then reigned, was want of charity and love; that the change of Doctrine and Rites, had not only rent the Church in pieces, but brought all Polity to a miſerable deſolation. For remedying of which miſchief, the former Popes having ſent Legats to the Diets, and no fruit coming thereby, *Clement* had ſent him to exhort, to counſel, and to employ all his endeavours to reſtore the true doctrine. And having commended the Emperour, he exhorted all to obey whatſoever he ſhall ordain and reſolve upon concerning Religion, and Articles of belief. He perſwaded them to make War againſt the *Turks*, promiſing that the Pope would ſpare no coſt to aſſiſt them. He prayed them for the love of *Chriſt*, for their Countries, and their own ſafety, that, laying aſide all errors, they would apply

apply themſelves to ſet *Germany*, and all Chriſtendom at liberty. That in ſo doing, the Pope, Succeſſor of *S. Peter*, gave them his benediction. 1530 *Clement* VII. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

The Archbiſhop of *Mentz* anſwered the Legates Oration, by order of the Emperour and the Diet, that *Cæſar*, as ſupreme Advocate of the Church, will uſe all means to compoſe the diſorders, will imploy all his Forces in the War againſt the *Turks*, and that all the Princes will join themſelves with him, in ſuch ſort, that their actions ſhall be approved by God and the Pope. After this, many Ambaſſages being heard, the Elector of *Saxony*, with the other Princes and Proteſtant Cities joyned with him, preſented to the Emperour the confeſſion of their Faith, written in Latine and Dutch, inſtantly deſiring it might be read. But the Emperour refuſing to have it read in publick, it was put off until the next day, when the Legate would not be preſent for fear of receiving ſome prejudice. But the Princes being aſſembled before the Emperour in an Hall, capable to receive about 200 perſons, it was read with a loud voice. And the Cities, which followed the Doctrine of *Zuinglius*, preſented apart the confeſſion of their Faith, not differing from the former, but only in the point of the *Euchariſt*.

And is anſwered by the Archbiſhop of *Mentz*.

The Luthe-rans do preſent a confeſſion of their Faith.

And ſo do the *Zuinglians*.

The confeſſion of the Princes, which afterwards from this place, where it was read, was called *Auguſtana*, contained two parts: in the firſt were expounded 21 Articles of their Creed: of the unity of the Godhead, of original ſin, of the incarnation, of juſtification, of the miniſtry of the Goſpel, of the Church, of adminiſtring the Sacraments, of Baptiſm, of the *Euchariſt*, of Confeſſion, of Penance, of the uſe of the Sacraments, and the Eccleſiaſtical Order, of the Rites of the Church, of the Civil Common-wealth, of the laſt Judgment, of Free-will, of the cauſe of ſin, of faith, of good works, and worſhipping of Saints. In the ſecond were expounded the Doctrines which were different from the Church of *Rome*, and the abuſes which the Confeſſioniſts reproved. And theſe were declared at large in ſeven Articles; of the holy Communion, marriage of Prieſts, of the Maſs, of Confeſſion, of the diſtinction of meats, of Monaſtical Vows, and Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction. In concluſion they offered, in caſe it were needful, a more full information. But in the proheme thereof they delivered, that they had put their confeſſion in writing to obey the Propoſe of his Majeſty, that all men ought to preſent their opinions: and therefore if the other Princes will give up theirs in writing, they are ready to confer peaceably with them, that they may come to an agreement; whereunto in caſe they could not come, his Majeſty, having given them to underſtand in all the former Diets, that he could not determine or conclude any matter of Religion, for divers reſpects then alledged, but that he would perſwade the Pope to call a general Council, and finally having cauſed it to be ſaid in the Diet of *Spira*, that the differences between his Majeſty and the Pope being ready to be compoſed, there could be no doubt but that he would give conſent unto it, they offered to appear, and to give a reaſon, and make a defence of their cauſe in ſuch a general, free, and Chriſtian Aſſembly, of which it hath always been treated, in all the Diets celebrated during the time of his Empire. Unto which Council, and to his Majeſty, they have formerly in due form, and upon good cauſe, appealed; unto which Appeal they do yet adhere, not intending to abandon it, neither by this Treaty, nor by any other, if the difference be not charitably reduced firſt to a Chriſtian concord.

The name of the *Auguſtan* confeſſion began here.

This

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This was the only act of the first day. But the Emperour, before he made any resolution, would have the Legates advice. Who, having read and considered the Confession, together with the Divines which he brought out of *Italy*, though he was of opinion that it ought to be opposed, and a censure published under his name; yet, foreseeing that it would give occasion of greater tumults, and saying plainly that the difference for the most part seemed verbal, and that it imported not much whether one spake after one manner or after another, and that it was not reasonable that the Apostolical See should take part in the disputations of the Schools, he consented not to have his name used in the Contentions. And he answered the Emperour, that for the present, there was no cause to make any strict examination of the Doctrine, but to consider the example which would be given to all unquiet and subtle wits, who would not have wanted infinite other novities to propose, with no less probability, which would have been heard with greedines, because of the itching of ears which they stir up in the world; and that by correcting the abuses that were noted, greater inconveniences would be raised, than those which one sought to remedy. That his opinion was, that the Doctrine of the Lutherans being read, to remove all prejudice, a Confutation thereof should be read likewise, which should not be published in Copies, for fear of opening a way to disputations, but means should be used, that the Protestants should abstain from going further on, by proposing favours and threats. But the Confession being read, it wrought divers effects in the minds of the Catholicks who heard it. Some thought the Protestants more wicked, than they were perswaded, before they were informed of their particular opinions: others on the contrary, remitted much of the bad conceit they had against them, esteeming their Opinions not so absurd as before they did, yea, for a great part of the abuses, they confessed they were justly reprehended. It is not to be omitted that Cardinal *Mattheo Langi*, Archbishop of *Salzburg*, told every one, that the reformation of the Mass was honest, the liberty of meats convenient, and the demand just, to be disburthened of so many commandments of men, but that a poor Monk should reform all, was not to be endured. And *Cornelius Scoperus*, the Emperours Secretary, said, that if the Protestant Preachers had money, they would easily buy of the *Italians* what Religion pleased them best, but without Gold, it was impossible to make theirs shine in the world.

The Legate would not censure the Confession.

But gave order that a confutation thereof should be read, and no copy given.

The Archbishop of *Salzburg* would not have the world reformed by a Monk.

The Emperour, according to the Legates advice, approved also by his own Counsellors, desirous to compose all by a negative, went first about to separate the Ambassadors of the Cities from joyning with the Princes: which project not succeeding, he caused a Confutation to be made of what the Protestants put up in writing, and another of that which was produced by the Cities. And having called the whole Diet together, he told the Protestants that he had considered of the Confession presented unto him, and given order to some pious and learned men, to deliver their opinion thereof. And here he made the Confutation of it to be read, in which, many of their Opinions being taxed, it was confessed in the end, that in the Church of *Rome* there were some things fit to be amended against which he promised that provision should be made; and therefore that the Protestants ought to refer themselves unto him, and return to the Church, assuring them to obtain all their justs demands, but in case they did otherwise, he would not fail to shew himself Protector and Defender of it.

The

The Proteſtant Princes offered to perform whatſoever could be done with a ſafe conſcience, and if out of the holy Scripture, any errour in their Doctrine were ſhewed, to correct it, or to make a further declaration in caſe it were neceſſary. And becauſe ſome of the points propoſed by them, were granted in the Confutation, and ſome rejected, if a Copy of the Confutations were given them, they ſhould be expounded more clearly. 1530 *Clement* VII. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

A Colloquy between the Proteſtants & Catholicks.

After many Treaties, ſeven Catholicks, and ſeven Proteſtants were choſen, to confer together, to find out a means of compoſition: who, not being able to agree, the number was reſtrained to three a piece. And though ſome few ſmall points of Doctrine, and other petty things belonging to ſome Rites, were agreed on, yet in concluſion, it was perceived, that the conference could produce no concord at all, becauſe neither party was willing to grant to the other any thing of importance. Many days being ſpent in this Treaty, the refutation of the Cities Confeſſion was read: whereunto their Ambaſſadors anſwered, that many Articles of their Writing were repeated otherwiſe than they were written by them, and many other things propoſed by them, drawn to a bad ſenſe, to make them odious: unto all which objections they would have anſwered, if a Copy of the Confutation had been given them: in the mean time, they prayed them not to believe any Calumny, but to expect their defence. They denyed to give them a Copy, and ſaid that the Emperour would not ſuffer, that the points of Religion ſhould be put into diſputation.

The anſwer of the Proteſtant Ambaſſadors to the confutation.

The Emperour aſſayed by way of canvaſe to perſwade the Princes, telling them, that they were but few, their Doctrine new, that it had been ſufficiently confuted in this Diet, that their boldneſs was great to condemn of errour, hereſie, and falſe Religion, the Imperial Majeſty, and ſo many Princes and States of *Germany*, with whom, themſelves being compared, made not a number; and which is worſe, to eſteem alſo for Hereticks, their own Fathers and Anceſtours, and to demand a Council, and yet to go on ſtill in the errours. Theſe perſvaſions availing nothing, becauſe they denyed theirs to be new, and the Rites of the *Roman* Church old, the Emperour employing other remedies, unto which he was adviſed by the Legate *Campeggio*, cauſed every one to be treated with apart, propoſing to them ſome ſatisfaction in their proper intereſts, and laying before them divers oppoſitions and croſſes, which he would have raiſed againſt their proceedings, in caſe they perſiſted in their reſolution, not to reunite themſelves to the Church. But whether thoſe thought to bring about their own deſigns by perſevering, or preferred the preſervation of their Religion, before all other intereſt, the perſwaſions, though very potent, produced none effect. Neither could the Emperour obtain of them, to grant the exerciſe of the *Roman* Religion within their Territories, until the time of the Council, which he promiſed ſhould be intimated within ſix months, becauſe the Proteſtants had diſcovered that this was the invention of the Popes Legate, who not being able to obtain his purpoſe for the preſent, thought it ſufficient, if by the eſtabliſhing the *Roman* Doctrine in every place, he put confuſion among the people who were alienated already, whereby a way might be opened to thoſe accidents which might give occaſion to root out the new. For concerning the promiſe, to intimate a Council within ſix months, he well knew that many impediments might be pretended in the very nick, and finally all expectation deluded.

It

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It being impoſſible to conclude any thing, the Proteſtants departed in the end of *October*, and the Emperour made an Edict, to eſtabliſh the ancient Rites of the *Roman* Catholick Religion; which contained in ſum, that nothing ſhould be changed in the Maſs, in the Sacrament of Confirmation and extreme Unction, that the Images ſhould not be taken out of any place, and thoſe reſtored that were taken away already, that it ſhould not be lawful to deny Free-will, nor to hold opinion, that only Faith doth juſtifie, that the Sacraments, Ceremonies Rites, Obſequies of the dead, ſhould be obſerved in the ſame manner they were before, that Benefices ſhould be given to fit perſons, and that the married Prieſts ſhould forſake their Wives, or be baniſhed, all ſales of Church goods, and other uſurpations made void, that in preaching and teaching, no man ſhould paſs theſe terms, but the people ſhould be exhorted to hear Maſs, to invocate the Virgin *Mary*, and the other Saints, to obſerve the Feaſts and Faſtings, that the Monaſteries, and other ſacred Edifices, which have been deſtroyed, ſhould be rebuilt, and the Pope ſhould be requeſted to intimate a Council within ſix months, in a convenient place, and after to begin it with in a year at the moſt, that all things remain firm and conſtant, and no appeal or exception to the contrary take place, and that every one ought to employ all his forces, poſſeſſions, life, and blood, to preſerve this Decree, and that the Imperial Chamber proceed againſt whoſoever ſhall oppoſe it.

The Edict of *Ausburg*.

The Pope was diſpleaſed with the Emperour for medling in Religion, but eſpecially for promiſing a Council.

The Pope having received advice from his Legate, of what was done in the Diet, was touched with an inward grief of mind, diſcovering that, though *Charles* had received his counſel, by uſing his authority, and threatning violence, yet he had not proceeded as Advocate of the Church of *Rome*, unto whom it belongeth not to take knowledge of the cauſe, but to be a meer executor of the Popes Decrees: whereunto was quite contrary to have received the Confeſſions, and cauſed them to be read, and to have inſtituted a conference to accord the differences. He complained beyond meaſure, that ſome points were agreed unto, and eſpecially that he had conſented to the abolition of ſome Rites; thinking that the Popes authority was violated, when things of ſo great moment were treated of without his privity: at the leaſt if his Legates authority had been interpoſed, it had been tolerable. After he conſidered that it was a great prejudice to him, that the Prelates had conſented to it. But the promiſing of a Council, which he ſo much abhorred, preſſed him above all: in which though honourable mention were made of his authority, yet to ſubſcribe ſix months to call it, and a year to begin it, was to meddle with that which was proper to the Pope, and to make the Emperour the principal, and the Pope his Miniſter. By the obſervation of theſe beginnings, he concluded that there was little hope in the Affairs of *Germany*, and that he was to think of a defenſive, that the diſeaſe might not paſs to other parts of the body of the Church. And becauſe that which was paſt, could not be undone, he thought it not wiſdome to ſhew it was done againſt his will, but to make himſelf the Author of it, that he might receive a leſs blow in his reputation.

He writeth to all Princes that he would call a Council, though he never meant it.

Therefore he gave an account of the things paſt to all Kings and Princes, diſpatching his Letters the firſt of *December*, all of the ſame tenour, that he hoped the Lutheran Hereſie might be extinguiſhed by the preſence of the Emperour, and that principally for that cauſe he went to *Bolonia* to intreat him for it, though he knew that of himſelf

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he was very well affected that way. But having received advice from the Emperour, and from his Legate *Campeggio*, that the Proteſtants are become more obſtinate, he hath communicated the whole to the Cardinals, and together with them, ſeeth clearly, that there remaineth no other remedy, but that which hath been uſed by his Predeceſſors, that is, a general Council. Therefore he exhorteth them to aſſiſt in the Council that ſhall be called, either in perſon, or by their Ambaſſadors; a thing ſo holy, that he is reſolved to put it in execution, ſo ſoon as it is poſſible, intimating a general and free Council, in ſome fit place in *Italy*. The Popes Letters were known to the whole world, becauſe his Miniſters endeavoured in every place to give notice of them unto all: not becauſe the Pope or the Court deſired to apply their minds to a Council, from which they were moſt averſe, but to entertain the world, that by expectation of the remedy of the abuſes and inconveniences, they might remain conſtant in obedience. Yet few were deceived; for it was not hard to diſcover, that to deſire Princes to ſend Ambaſſadors to a Council, whereof neither time, nor place, nor manner was reſolved on, was too much affected prevention.

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And his colluſion is diſcovered by many.

But the Proteſtants alſo took occaſion by theſe Letters to write likewiſe to the Kings and Princes: and the next year in *February* they framed a Letter to every one under a common name of all, of this tenour That the old complaint of pious men againſt the vices of the Clergy, noted by *John Gerſon*, *Nicolas Clemangis*, and others in *France*, and of *John Collet* in *England*, and of others elſewhere, was known unto their Majeſties, which alſo hapned in *Germany* in theſe laſt years, by occaſion of the deteſtable and infamous gain which ſome Fryars made by publiſhing Indulgences. And paſſing from this to relate whatſoever hapned until the laſt Diet, they ſaid that their Adverſaries endeavoured to incite the Emperour and other Kings againſt them, uſing divers calumnies; which as they have withſtood in *Germany*, ſo they will more eaſily confute in a general Council of the whole world; whereunto they will refer themſelves, ſo that it may be ſuch a one, in which prejudices and paſſion may take no place. That amongſt the Calumnies laid upon them, this is the principal, that they condemn all Magiſtrates, and vilifie the dignity of Laws: which is not only not true, but, as they have ſhewed in the Diet of *Auguſta*, their Doctrine honoureth Magiſtrates, and defendeth the ſtrength of Laws, more than ever hath been done in other Ages, teaching Magiſtrates that their ſtate and kind of life is moſt acceptable to God, and preaching to the people that they are bound, by Gods Commandment, to give honour and obedience to them, and that he will not leave unpuniſhed the diſobedient, becauſe the Magiſtrate hath his Government by divine ordination. That they have deſired to ſignifie theſe things to them, Kings, and Princes, for clearing of themſelves before them, praying them not to believe the calumnies, and to ſuſpend their judgments, until thoſe that are accuſed have place to acquit themſelves publickly. And therefore they will deſire the Emperour that he would call a godly and free Council in *Germany*, as ſoon as might be, and not to uſe force, until the matter be diſputed and lawfully defined.

1531. The Proteſtants do write likewiſe to all Princes.

The *French* King anſwered with very courteous Letters, in ſubſtance, giving them thanks for communicating unto him a buſineſs of ſo great weight: he ſhewed them that he was glad to underſtand of their innocency, and did approve the inſtance they made, that the

The anſwer of the French King to the Proteſtants.

vices

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vices might be amended, wherein they ſhall find his Will to co[illegible] with theirs: that their requiring of a Council was juſt and holy, neceſſary, not only for the Affairs of *Germany*, but of the whole Church: that it was not honeſt to uſe Arms, where the Controverſie may be ended with Treaties. The Letters of the King of *England* were of the ſame tenour, but that he declared in particular, that himſelf alſo deſired a Council, and that he would mediate with *Charles*, to find out a means of compoſition.

The anſwer of the King of *England*.

The Emperours Decree being known throughout all *Germany*, they began immediately to accuſe the Profeſſours of the new Religion, in the Chamber of *Spira*, ſome for zeal, others for revenge, and ſome alſo to poſſeſs the goods of their adverſaries. Many ſentences were made, many declarations, and many confiſcations againſt Princes, Cities, and private men, and none took place, but ſome againſt private men, whoſe goods were within the Territories of Catholicks. By others the ſentences were contemned, with great diminution of the honour, not only of the Chamber, but of the Emperour alſo; who ſoon perceived that the remedy was not fitted to the malady, which increaſed daily. For the Proteſtant Princes and Cities (beſides that they eſteemed little the judgments of the Chamber) combined themſelves together, prepared for their defence, and fortified themſelves with foreign intelligences: ſo that it appeared, that in caſe things went on, a War would ariſe, dangerous for both Parties, and whatſoever the iſſue was, pernicious for *Germany*. Wherefore he was willing that ſome Princes ſhould interpoſe, and find out a way of agreement. To this end many heads and conditions of compoſition were negotiated all this year 1531. and to give them ſome concluſion, a Diet at *Ratisbon* was appointed for the next year.

Sentences were made in the Chamber of *Spira*, againſt the Proteſtants, and contemned.

Zuinglius taketh arms, and is ſlain.

In the mean ſpace, all things remained full of ſuſpitions, and the diffidences between the one part and the other, rather increaſed. And this year alſo, there hapned a notable event among the *Suiſſes*, which compoſed the diſputes between them. For though the Controverſie in Religion, between *Zuric*, *Bern*, and *Baſil* on the one ſide, and the Popiſh Cantons on the other, was often compoſed by the mediation of divers, yet at that time the hatred was ſo great between them, and new cauſes of diſtaſtes ariſing daily, the contentions were often renewed. And this year they were greateſt of all, thoſe of *Zuric* and *Bern* attempting to hinder the victualling of five Cantons, which cauſed both parties to arm. With thoſe of *Zuric*, *Zuinglius* took Arms, though his Friends perſwaded him to remain at home, and leave that charge to others. Whereunto he would by no means yield, that he might not ſeem to incourage the people in the Church only, and forſake them in time of danger. The eleventh of *October* they came to a ſet Battel, in which thoſe of *Zuric* had the worſt, and *Zuinglius* was ſlain; for which the Catholicks more rejoyced, than for the Victory. They did divers diſgraces to the Corps, and the death of that man was the chiefeſt cauſe of a new compoſition between them, both the parties retaining their own Religion. The five Catholick Cantons aſſured themſelves, that he being removed, who, by his Sermons, changed Religion in the Country, all would return to the old. In which hope they were confirmed the more, becauſe *Ecolampadius*, a Miniſter in *Baſil*, of the ſame opinion with *Zuinglius*, dyed within a few days after with grief, for the loſs of his Friend, the Catholicks attributing the death both of the one and the other, to the providence of God, who,

Whoſe death cauſed a compoſition between the Cantons.

And maketh *Ecolampadius* die with grief.

who, compaſſionating the Helvetians, had puniſhed and taken away the Authors of their diſcord. Surely it is a pious and religious thought, to attribute the diſpoſition of every event, to the Providence of God: but to determine to what end thoſe events are directed, by that high Wiſdom, is not far from preſumption. Men are ſo ſtraitly and religiouſly wedded to their own opinions, that they are perſwaded that God loveth and favoureth them, as much as themſelves. But the things that happened afterwards, ſhewed that the Cantons called Goſpellers, made greater progreſs in the Doctrine received, after the death of theſe two: a manifeſt Argument, that it came from a higher cauſe than the labours of *Zuinglius*.

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Charles V.
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An Agreement between the Proteſtants and the others, was negotiated in *Germany*, by the Electors of *Mentz* and the *Palatine*, and many Writings were made and changed, becauſe they gave not full ſatisfaction to either of the parties. This made the Emperour reſolve, that a Council was exceeding neceſſary; and having imparted his opinion to the *French* King, he ſent one to *Rome* by Poſt, to treat thereof with the Pope and Colledge of Cardinals. The Emperour made none account of the place preſcribed, nor of any other ſpecial condition, in caſe *Germany* were ſo ſatisfied that the Proteſtants would be preſent, and ſubmit themſelves; which ſatisfaction the King alſo thought to be juſt, and offered to join with him. The Ambaſſage was delivered to the Pope in theſe terms, that the Emperour having uſed all means to reunite the Proteſtants to the Church, by employing authority, threats, treaties, and juſtice alſo, nothing now remaining, but either War, or a Council, in regard he could not take Arms, by reaſon of the *Turks* preparations againſt him, he was conſtrained to take the other reſolution, and therefore did beſeech his Holineſs, that, imitating his Predeceſſors, he would be content to grant a Council, whereunto the Proteſtants would ſubmit themſelves without difficulty, having offered divers times to ſtand to the determination of one that is free, in which the Judges might be men without partiality. The Pope who by no means would have a Council, hearing the requeſt, and not being able to give a plain negative, made a grant, but ſo as that he knew it would not be accepted. For the place he propoſed one of the Cities of the Churches State, naming *Bolonia*, *Parma*, *Piacenza*, Cities capable to receive and feed a multitude, healthful, with a large Territory round about: whither the Proteſtants ought not to make difficulty to go, becauſe they ſhould be heard: unto whom he would give a full and ample ſafe-conduct, and himſelf would be there in perſon, that every thing might be handled with Chriſtian peace, and no man wronged. That he could by no means conſent to celebrate it in *Germany*, becauſe *Italy* would not endure to be neglected, and *Spain* and *France*, who in Eccleſiaſtical matters yield unto *Italy*, for the prerogative of the Papacy, which is proper unto it, would not give place unto *Germany*, and the authority of that Council would be little eſteemed, where only Dutch-men were preſent, and ſome few of another Nation. For undoubtedly the *Italians*, *French-men*, and *Spaniards* would not be induced to go thither. The medicine is not in the power of the ſick, but of the Phyſitian. Therefore *Germany* corrupted with the multiplicity and variety of Opinions, could not give right judgment in this ſubject, as *Italy*, *France*, and *Spain*, which are uncorrupted as yet, and wholly perſevere in ſubjection to the Apoſtolical See, which is Mother and Miſtreſs of all Chriſtians. For the manner of defining things in the

1523. An agreement between the Proteſtants and the Catholicks was negotiated, but could not be effected.

The Emperor doth ſeriouſly negotiate a Council.

The Pope conſenteth to the Council upon ſuch a condition as he knew would not be accepted.

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Council, the Pope ſaid there needed no words, becauſe no difficulty could ariſe therein, except they would make a new form of a Council, never uſed in the Church. That it was manifeſt, that none had voice in a Council, by right of the Canon, but Biſhops, and Abbots by Cuſtom, and ſome others by the Popes priviledge: the others that deſire to be heard, ought to ſubmit themſelves to the determination of theſe; every Decree being made in the name of the Synod, if the Pope be not preſent in perſon: but when he is there, every Decree paſſeth under his name, only with the approbation of the Fathers of the Synod. The Cardinals likewiſe ſpake in the ſame key, but always interpoſed ſome reaſon to ſhew that a Council was not neceſſary, ſo long as the determination of *Leo* ſtood in force, which being executed, all would be remedied; and he that will not refer himſelf to the determination of the Pope, eſpecially accompanied with the counſel of the Cardinals, will much more deſpiſe all Conciliary Decrees. That it was manifeſt that the Proteſtants call not a Council, but only to gain time, and to hinder the execution of the Edict of *Wormes*. For they well know that the Council cannot chuſe but approve that which *Leo* hath determined, except they would be a Conventicle, or unlawful Aſſembly, as all thoſe be, who have ſeparated themſelves from the Doctrine and Obedience of the Pope.

The Cardinals will not believe that a Council is neceſſary.

The Emperours Ambaſſador laboureth to perſwade the Pope to chuſe a place in *Germany* for the Council, but cannot obtain it.

The Emperours Ambaſſador, to find out a mean, had many audiences with the Pope, and with two Cardinals, deputed by him over this matter. He put him in mind, that neither he, nor *France*, nor *Spain*, had need of a Council, nor did deſire it; and that therefore it was to no purpoſe to have reſpect unto them: that it was ſought for, to cure the diſeaſes of *Germany*, unto which, becauſe it ought to be proportionated, it was fit to chuſe a place, where all that Nation might be preſent. That, for other Countries, the principal ſubjects were ſufficient, becauſe nothing was to be handled concerning them; that the Cities propoſed, were in all reſpects exceeding fit, but only that they were far diſtant from *Germany*; and though the ſafe-conduct of his Holineſs ought to ſecure every one, yet the Proteſtants were ſuſpicious, for divers reaſons, both old and new, amongſt which, they eſteemed not the leaſt, that *Leo* the Tenth, his Couſin, had condemned them already, and declared them Hereticks. And although all their reaſons are reſolved with this only, that every one ought to rely upon the Faith of the Pope, yet his Holineſs; by his great wiſdom and experience, might know that it was neceſſary to yield to the imperfection of others, and for pity, to accommodate himſelf to that which though in rigour is not due, yet in equity is convenient. And concerning the deliberative voices of the Council, he diſcourſed, that they being brought in, partly by Cuſtom, and partly by Priviledge, a large field was opened unto him, to exerciſe his benignity, by introducing another Cuſtom, more fit for the preſent times. For if the Abbots were formerly admitted by Cuſtom, becauſe they were more learned and intelligent in Religion, it is reaſon to grant the ſame now, to perſons of equal or greater learning, though they have not the title of Abbots. But the priviledge miniſtreth matter to give ſatisfaction unto all. For by granting the ſame priviledge to every one that is able to do God ſervice in that Congregation, there will be a Council exactly pious and Chriſtian, ſuch as the world deſireth. Unto theſe reaſons anſwer being made, with the motives before named, the Emperour could obtain nothing of the Pope; whereby the buſineſs remained

Who ought to have voices in Council.

mained unperfect for that time, and the Emperour applyed himself to 1532
ſollicite the Treaty of peace already begun: which being brought to *Clement* VII.
a good concluſion, and the *Turkiſh* War drawing near, at the laſt a com- *Charles* V.
poſition was publiſhed the three and twentieth of *July*, that there *Henry* VIII.
ſhould be common and pulick peace between the Emperours Majeſty, *Francis* I.
and all the States of the Empire of *Germany*, as well Eccleſiaſtical, as
Secular, until a general, free, and Chriſtian Council, and in the mean A Peace of religion concluded in *Germany*, *July* 23. called the *Interim*.
ſpace, that none ſhould make War againſt another for cauſe of Religion, nor take ſpoil, or beſiege him, but that there ſhould be true amity, and Chriſtian unity amongſt all. That the Emperour ſhould procure the intimation of the Council, within ſix months, and the beginning within a year, which if it be not poſſible, all the States of the Empire ſhould be called together, to reſolve of what is fit to be done, as well for the Council as for other neceſſary things. That the Emperour ſhould ſuſpend all the judicial Proceſſes, in cauſe of Religion, made by his Fiſcal, or others, againſt the Elector of *Saxony*, and his Adherents, until the future Council, or the forenamed reſolution of the States.

On the other ſide, the Elector of *Saxony* and the other Princes and The Emperor promiſeth the calling of a Council within ſix months.
Cities ſhould promiſe faithfully to obſerve this publick Peace, to give due obedience to the Emperour, and convenient aid againſt the *Turk*. This Peace the Emperour ratified, and confirmed by his Letters, dated the ſecond of *Auguſt*, and ſuſpended alſo all Proceſſes, promiſing to do his endeavour for the calling of a Council within ſix months, and for the beginning of it within a year. He gave alſo an account to the Catholick Princes, of the Ambaſſage ſent to *Rome*, for that end, adding that ſome difficulties of weight could not as yet be accorded, concerning the manner and place. But he would continue his endeavours that they ſhould be reſolved, and that the Pope ſhould grant the Convocation; hoping that he would not be wanting to the neceſſity of the Common-wealth, and his own duty: but in caſe this ſucceeded not, he would intimate another Diet to find a remedy herein.

This was the firſt liberty of Religion, which thoſe that adhered to The firſt liberty of the *Auguſtan* confeſſion.
Luthers Confeſſion, called the *Auguſtan*, obtained by publick Decree: whereof the world talked diverſly. At *Rome* the Emperour was reprehended, for putting his Sicle (as they ſaid) into another mans Harveſt, every Prince being obliged, by the ſtricteſt bonds of cenſures, to the extirpation of thoſe that are condemned by the Pope: wherein they ought to ſpend their goods, eſtate, and life: and the Emperours much more, becauſe they do ſo ſolemnly ſwear unto it. This not being performed by *Charles*, an example not heard of, there was cauſe to fear a ſudden revenge from Heaven. But others commended the piety and wiſdom of the Emperour, who laboured more to prevent the danger, imminent to Chriſtendom, by the Arms of the *Turk*, a direct oppoſer of Religion; againſt whom he could not have made reſiſtance without ſecuring the Proteſtants, who are Chriſtians too, though diſſenting from others, in ſome particular Rites, which is a tolerable difference. That the *Maxim*, ſo renowned in *Rome*, that it is more meet, to perſecute Hereticks, than Infidels, was well fitted to the Popes dominion, but not to the benefit of Chriſtendom. Some alſo, not regarding the *Turks*, ſaid that Kingdoms and Principalities ought not to be governed by the Laws and Intereſts of Prieſts, who are more partial, for their own greatneſs and profits, than any other, but according to the exigence of the publick good, which requireth now and then,

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the tolerating of ſome defect. That it was the duty of every Chri. Prince, to endeavour equally, that his Subjects maintain the true; as alſo that they obſerve all the Commandments of God, and not more than that. But when a vice cannot be rooted out, without ruine of the State, it is acceptable to the Majeſty to God to permit it. neither is the obligation greater to puniſh Hereticks, than Fornicators; who if they be tolerated, for publick quiet, it is no greater inconvenience, if thoſe be permitted, who defend not all our opinions. And though it be not eaſie to alledge examples of Princes, which have done this within theſe 800 years, yet he that will conſider the times before, will ſee it done by all, and laudably too, when neceſſity hath required. If *Charles* having attempted to compoſe by all means the differences in Religion, hath not been able to bring any thing to paſs, who can reprehend him, if, to try what can be done by a Council, he hath eſtabliſhed Peace in the mean time in *Germany*, that he may not ſee her ruine? None knoweth how to govern a Territory, but the Prince himſelf, who alone knoweth all the neceſſities of it. He will overthrow his State, whoſoever will govern with reſpect unto the intereſts of others, and it would be to as much purpoſe to govern *Germany* as the *Romans* deſire, as to govern *Rome* as the *Dutch-men* pleaſe.

The Romaniſts would have every country governed according to their intereſts.

No man that ſhall read this occurrence, ought to marvel, if theſe and many more diſcourſes did run in the minds of men, it being a thing which did inwardly touch them. For the caſe was, whether every Chriſtian Country ought to be governed, according to its own neceſſity and profit, or was a ſlave of one only City, to maintain the commodities whereof, all others ſhould ſpend themſelves, and become deſolate. The times following have taught, and will teach perpetually, that the Emperours reſolution was conformable to the Laws of God and man. The Pope, who was more troubled herein than all others, as one who was moſt intelligent in State Affairs, ſaw very well that he had no reaſon to complain; but he concluded herewithal, that his intereſts could not concur with thoſe of the Emperour, and therefore his mind was wholly aliened from him.

The Pope is aliened again from the Emperour.

The League is renewed between them, but ſuſpicions remain in the Popes mind.

The *Turk* being chaſed out of *Auſtria*, the Emperour paſſed into *Italy*, and had conference with the Pope in *Boſonia*, where they treated of the common Affairs: and though the League was renewed between them, yet the Pope was not fully ſatisfied, both for the liberty of Religion granted in *Germany*, as hath been ſaid, and becauſe they agreed not concerning the Council. The Emperour perſevered in demanding ſuch a Council, as might cure the maladies of *Germany*, (in conformity to his Ambaſſadors propoſition the year before) which was impoſſible if the Proteſtants had no part therein. The Pope continued in his reſolution, not to admit of a Council by any means, but in caſe of neceſſity, and which ſhould not be celebrated out of *Italy*, and wherein none ſhould have a deliberative voice but thoſe unto whom the Popes Laws did allow it. The Emperour would have con-

The Pope and Emperour reſolve to ſend a Nuncio and an Ambaſſador into *Germany*.

deſcended to the Popes will, if there had been means to give the Proteſtants contentment, wherein that he might give his Holineſs certain information, he propoſed unto him that he ſhould ſend a Nuncio into *Germany*, and himſelf an Ambaſſador, to find out a form and temper for theſe difficulties; promiſing that his Ambaſſador ſhould govern himſelf as the Nuncio would. The Pope accepted the match, though he were fully ſatisfied of the Emperour, aſſuring himſelf, that in caſe the

the negotiation of both thoſe Miniſters had taken none effect, *Charles* would have gone about to have given *Germany* ſatisfaction; and from that time *Clement* reſolved to make a ſtraight alliance with *France* to be able, by that means, to hinder whatſoever the Emperour ſhould propoſe. 1532

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The Pope after *Eaſter* 1533. ſent *Hugo Rangone*, Biſhop of *Rheggio*, to execute the Propoſition accepted by him: who coming with the Emperours Ambaſſador to *John Frederick*, Elector of *Saxony*, (who had ſucceeded his deceaſed Father a few months before) as chief of the Proteſtants, declared his commiſſion; that *Clement* from the beginning of his Papacy had always an extraordinary deſire to compoſe the differences in Religion, ſprung up in *Germany*, and for that end had ſent thither many learned perſons; and though their pains took not effect, the Pope notwithſtanding had hope, that at the Emperours going thither after his Coronation, all would be brought to perfection. But having not obtained the end he deſired; the Emperour returned into *Italy*, and ſhewed him that there was no fitter means than a General Council, which the Princes of *Germany* deſired alſo. With which the Pope being well pleaſed, as well for the publick good, as to give the Emperour contentment, had ſent him to agree with them, concerning the manner of the future Council, and of the time and place. And for the form and order thereof, the Pope propoſed ſome neceſſary conditions.

The Pope reſolveth to make an alliance with *France*, to be able to withſtand the Emperour. 1533.

The firſt, that it ſhould be free and general, as the Fathers were wont to celebrate it in former times. Then, that thoſe that demand a Council, ſhould promiſe and give aſſurance to receive the Decrees that ſhall be made. For otherwiſe it would be labour in vain, it being to no purpoſe to make Laws, which would not be obſerved. Thirdly, that he that could not be preſent ſhould ſend Ambaſſadors to make promiſe, and put in caution. After this, that it was neceſſary, that in the mean while, all things remained as they are, and that no innovation were made before the Council. The Nuncio added, that for the place the Pope had had long, frequent, and great conſideration. For it was neceſſary to provide one that ſhould be fertile to afford Victuals to ſo famous a concourſe, and of an healthful air too, that the Progreſs may not be hindred by ſickneſs. And in concluſion *Piacenza*, *Bolonia*, or *Mantua* ſeemed unto him very commodious, leaving it to the choice of *Germany* to elect which of theſe places they would. But he added that if any Prince would not come, or not ſend Ambaſſadors, it would be juſt for all the others to defend the Church. In the end he concluded, that if *Germany* would give a fit anſwer to the propoſitions, the Pope would immediately treat with other Kings, and would intimate the Council within ſix months, to begin a year after, that proviſion of Victuals might be made, and that all, eſpecially the fartheſt diſtant, might prepare themſelves for the Voyage.

The conditions of the Council required by the Pope.

Places for the Council propoſed by the Nuncio.

The Nuncio gave up his Propoſition in writing, and the Emperours Ambaſſador made the ſame Negotiation with the Elector; who, having required time to anſwer, the Nuncio was infinitely pleaſed. For he deſired nothing but delay, and took the anſwer for a preſage of the happy ſucceſs of the buſineſs: and he could not refrain to commend him, for not being too haſty in a diliberation which deſerved time. Yet the Elector anſwered within few days, that he was very glad that the Emperour and the Pope were reſolved to call a Council, where, according to promiſe, oftentimes made unto *Germany*, the Controverſies

The Emperors Ambaſſadour maketh the ſame negotiation.

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ſies might lawfully be handled, by the rule of the Word of God. Th himſelf for his own part, would willingly make preſent anſwer to t things propoſed; but becauſe there are many Princes, which have re ceived the ſame Confeſſion in the Diet of *Auſburg*, it was not fit nor profitable for the cauſe, to anſwer alone: but an Aſſembly being intimated againſt the 24. of *June*, he deſired he would be contented to grant this ſhort delay, that he might receive a more common and reſolute concluſion. The joy and hope of the Nuncio was much increaſed, who deſired the delay had been rather of years than months.

The Nuncio is pleaſed with the delatory anſwer.

The anſwer of the Proteſtants aſſembled in *Smalcalde*.

But the Proteſtants, aſſembled at the aforeſaid time in *Smalcalde*, anſwered, thanking the Emperour, that, for the glory of God, and ſafety of the Common-wealth, he had taken pains to cauſe a Council to be celebrated; which would be in vain, if conditions were not obſerved, neceſſary for the curing of the diſeaſes of *Germany*: which deſireth that her controverſies may be defined with due order: and hopeth to obtain it, for that the Emperour hath in many Imperial Diets promiſed ſuch a one, which, by the mature deliberation of the Princes and States, hath been reſolved ſhould be celebrated in *Germany*; in regard that many errours being revealed, by occaſion of the Indulgences, publiſhed in Sermons, Pope *Leo* condemned the doctrine and the Doctors, who diſcovered the abuſes. But that ſentence was oppoſed by the Teſtimonies of the Prophets and Apoſtles. Whence did ariſe the controverſie, which cannot be decided but in a Council, where the Popes ſentence, or the power of whoſoever, may not prejudice the cauſe, and where judgment may be given, not according to the Popes Laws, or opinions of the Schools, but according to the holy Scripture. If this be not performed, this ſo great a labour would be taken in vain, as may appear by the examples of ſome other Councils, celebrated before.

And their exceptions againſt the propoſitions of the Pope.

Now the Propoſitions of the Pope were contrary to this end, to the petitions of the Diet, and promiſes of the Emperour. For though he propoſe a free Council in words, yet in effect he would have it tied, ſo that vices and errours may not be reprehended and himſelf may maintain his power. That that was not a reaſonable demand that any man ſhould bind himſelf to obſerve the Decrees, before he know by what order, manner, or form they are made, whether the Pope deſire to have the ſupreme authority in him, and his; whether he will have the Controverſies diſcuſſed acccording to Holy Writ, or according to Humane Laws and Traditions. That that clauſe alſo ſeemed captious, that the Council ſhould be made according to the old cuſtom. For it being underſtood of that old, when all was determined by the holy Scriptures, they would not refuſe it. But the Councils of the next preceding Age were much different from the other that were more ancient, where too much was attributed to the Decrees of Popes, and other men. That the propoſe was glorious, but it took abſolutely away the liberty which was demanded, and was neceſſary for the cauſe. That they deſired the Emperour to be a means that all might paſs lawfully. That all men were in attention, and ſtood in hope of a Council, and demanded it with Vows and Prayers, which would be turned into great ſorrow and vexation of mind, if this expectation ſhould be deluded, by giving a Council, but not ſuch a one, as is deſired and promiſed. That there is no doubt but that all the States of the Empire, and other Kings and Princes alſo will be of the ſame opinion, to avoid thoſe ſnares and bonds, with which the Pope thinketh to bind them in a new

a new Council: to whoſe will if the managing of the Affairs ſhall be permitted, they will refer the whole to God, to think of what they have to do. Yet for all this if they ſhall be cited, with good and lawful aſſurance, in caſe they ſee themſelves able to do ſomething for the ſervice of God, they will not refuſe to appear; but with condition, not to conſent to the Popes demands, nor to a Council which is not conformable to the Decrees of the Imperial Diets. In the end they prayed the Emperour not to take their reſolution in ill part, and to endeavour that the power of thoſe be not confirmed, who long ſince have waxed cruel againſt the innocent. 1533 *Clement* VII. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

The Proteſtants reſolved, not only to ſend the anſwer to the Pope, and the Emperour, but to print it alſo, together with the Nuncio his propoſition, which by the ſame Pope was judged indiſcreet, and too open. Therefore under colour that he was old and unable to bear that charge, he recalled him, and wrote to *Vergerius*, Nuncio with King *Ferdinand*, that he ſhould take upon him that place, with the ſame inſtructions, admoniſhing him to remember not to ſwarve by any means from his will, or to give ear to any moderation, though the King deſire it, that unadviſedly he caſt him not into ſome ſtrait, and conſtrain him to call a Council, which was not profitable for the Church, or for the Apoſtolical See. The Pope recalleth *Hugo Rangone* B. of *Rheggio* his Nuncio, and putteth *Vergerius* in his place.

While theſe things were in handling, the Pope who foreſaw the anſwer that would come out of *Germany*, and before in *Bolonia* had conceived but ſmall confidence in the Emperour, wholly aliened himſelf from his friendſhip. For in the cauſe of *Modena* and *Rheggio*, between his Holineſs and the Duke of *Ferrara*, referred to him by the parties, he pronounced for the Duke. For all which cauſes, the Pope negotiated a confederation with the *French* King; the which was concluded, and eſtabliſhed alſo by the marriage of *Henry* the Kings ſecond Son, with *Catherine de Medici*, the Popes great Grand-child. And to give a compleat perfection to the whole buſineſs, he went to *Marſeilles* in perſon, to ſpeak with the King. But underſtanding that the journey was reprehended by all, as not addreſſed to any publick reſpect, but only to make his Houſe great, he juſtified himſelf, by ſaying he undertook it, to perſwade him to favour the Council, and to aboliſh the Lutheran Hereſie. And 'tis true that there, beſide other Treaties, he perſwaded his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, to deal with the Proteſtants, eſpecially with the Landgrave of *Haſſia*, who was to come to him into *France*, to cauſe them to deſiſt from demanding a Council, propoſing unto them, that they would ſeek out any other way to accommodate the differences, and promiſing his own faithful and effectual help, when time ſhould ſerve. The confederation between the Pope and the French King, is confirmed by marriage.

The King did thus negotiate, but could obtain nothing. For the Landgrave alledged, that there was no other means to hinder the deſolation of *Germany*, and that not to ſpeak of a Council, was willingly to run into a Civil War. In the ſecond place, the King treated with them that they would be contented with a Council in *Italy*. But neither did the *Germans* agree unto this; for they ſaid, that this match was worſe than the firſt: becauſe that conſtrained them only to make War, but this caſt them into a ſervitude both of body and ſoul: whereunto reſiſtance could not be made, but by a Council in a free place: yet condeſcending for his Majeſties ſake, to whatſoever they were able, they would ceaſe to demand to have it celebrated in *Germany*, ſo that another free place were appointed out of *Italy*, though it were near unto it. The French King treateth with the Landgrave of *Haſſia*, at the Popes requeſt about the Council.

In

1534
Clement VII.
Charles V.
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1534. In the beginning of the year 1534. the King gave the Pope an account of what he had done, and offered to bring to paſs, that the Proteſtants ſhould be contented with *Geneva*. The Pope having received the advice, was uncertain, whether the King, though his Confederate and Kinſman, would be glad to ſee him in troubles, or if, in this particular, he wanted that diſcretion which he ſhewed in other Affairs: But he concluded, that it was not good to uſe him in this matter. And writing unto him, thanked him for his pains, without anſwering to the particular of *Geneva*: and he encouraged many of the Courtiers, whoſe minds were troubled, aſſuring them, that by no means he would conſent to ſuch a folly.

The Pope is diſpleaſed with the Propoſe of *Geneva* for the place of the Council.

But this year the Pope, inſtead of regaining *Germany*, loſt the obedience of *England*, by proceeding rather with choler and paſſion, than with wiſdom neceſſary in ſo great Negotiations. The accident was of great importance, and greater conſequence, which to declare diſtinctly, it is neceſſary to begin from the firſt cauſes, whence it had its original.

He loſeth the obedience of *England*.

Catherine infanta of *Spain*, Siſter to the Mother of *Charles* the Emperour, was married to *Henry* the eight, King of *England*, and was before, the Wife of *Arthure*, Prince of *Wales*, *Henrys* eldeſt Brother; after whoſe death, their Father gave her in marriage to *Henry*, who remained Succeſſor, by the diſpenſation of Pope *Julio* the Second. This Queen was with child often, and always either miſcarried, or brought forth a creature of a ſhort life, except one only Daughter; King *Henry*, either for diſpleaſure againſt the Emperour, or for deſire of iſſue male, or for ſome other cauſe, conceived a ſcruple in his mind that the marriage was not good; and taking counſel of his Biſhops, ſeparated himſelf from her company. The Biſhops treated with the Queen, that ſhe would be contented with a divorce, ſaying that the Popes diſpenſation was neither good nor true. The Queen would not give ear to them, but had recourſe to the Pope: to whom, the King alſo ſent to crave a divorce. The Pope, who was ſtill retired in *Orvieto*, and hoped for good conditions in his Affairs, if the favours of *France* and *England*, which ſtill they performed, were continued, by moleſting the Emperour in the Kingdom of *Naples*, ſent into *England* the Cardinal *Campeggio*, delegating the cauſe unto him, and the Cardinal of *York*. From theſe, and from *Rome*, the King had hope given him, that in the end, the ſentence ſhould be on his ſide: Yea, to facilitate the reſolution, that the ſolemnities of the judgment, might not draw the cauſe in length, a Briet was framed, in which, he was declared free from that marriage, with the moſt ample clauſes, that ever were put into any Popes Bull, and a Cardinal ſent int *England*, with order to preſent it, after ſome fews proofs were paſt, which he was ſure would eaſily be made. And this hapned in the year 1524. But *Clement*, judging it fitter for compaſſing his deſigns upon *Florence*, as hath been declared in its proper place, to joyn himſelf with the Emperour, than to continue in the Friendſhip of *France* and *England*, in the year 1529. he ſent *Francis Campana* unto *Campeggio*, with order to burn the Brief, and to proceed ſlowly in the cauſe, *Campeggio* began firſt to draw the cauſe in length, and after, to make difficulty of performing the promiſes made to the King. Whereby being aſſured that the Judge and his Adverſaries did collude, he ſent to the Univerſities of *Italy*, *France*, and *Germany*, for a conſultation in his cauſe; where amongſt the Divines, ſome were contrary, and ſome favourable to his pretenſion. The

The cauſe.

The Cardinals *Campeggio* and *Wolſie* were delegated by the Pope to hear the cauſe of the Kings divorce.

The Pope cauſed his Brief which he had made in favour of the divorce to be burned.

A conſultation about the cauſe of divorce.

greater

greater part of the *Pariſians* were on his ſide, and ſome believed that the Kings gifts more perſwaded them, than reaſon. 1535

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But the Pope, either to gratifie the Emperour, or for fear, than in *England* by means of the Cardinal of *York*, ſomething might hapyen, not according to his mind, as alſo to give occaſion to *Campeggio* to part from thence, called the cauſe to himſelf. The King impatient of delay, either becauſe he knew their cunning, or for ſome other cauſe, publiſhed the divorce with his Wife, and married *Anne Bullen* in the year 1533. yet ſtill the cauſe depended before the Pope; in which he was reſolved to proceed ſlowly, to ſatisfie the Emperour and not offended the King. Therefore ſome by-points rather were handled, than the merits of the cauſe. And the diſputation grew upon the Article of the Attentas, in which the Pope gave ſentence againſt the King; declaring, that it was not lawful for him, by his own authority, without the Eccleſiaſtical Judge, to ſeparate himſelf from his Wife. For which cauſe, the King in the beginning of this year 1534. denied the Pope obedience, commanding all his Subjects, not to carry any money to *Rome*, nor to pay the ordinary *Peter* pence. This infinitely troubled the Court of *Rome*, and daily they conſulted of a remedy. They thought to proceed againſt the King with cenſures, and to interdict all Chriſtian Nations all commerce with *England*. But the moderate counſel pleaſed beſt, to temporize with him, and to mediate a compoſition by the *French* King. King *Francis* accepted the charge, and ſent the Biſhop of *Paris* to *Rome*, to negotiate a pacification with the Pope; whkre they ſtill proceeded in the cauſe, but gentl, and with reſolution, not to come to cenſures, if the Emperour did not proceed firſt, or at the ſame time, with his Forces. They had divided the cauſe into three and twenty Articles, and then they handled, whether Prince *Arthur* had had carnal conjunction with Queen *Catherine*; in this they ſpent time until mid-*Lent* was paſt, when, the nineteenth of *March*, news came, that a Libel was publiſhed in *England*, againſt the Pope, and the whole Court of *Rome*, and that beſides, a Comedy had been made in preſence of the King and Court, to the great diſgrace and ſhame of the Pope, and of every Cardinal in particular. For which cauſe all being inflamed with choler they ran head-long to give ſentence; which was pronounced in the Conſiſtory, the four and twentieth of the ſame Month, that the marriage between *Henry* and Queen *Catherine* was good, that he was bound to take her for his Wife, and that, in caſe he did it not, he ſhould be excommunicated.

The Pope to gratifie the Emperour, recalleth *Campeggio*.

The King marrieth *Anne Bullen*.

The King cauſeth the Peter-pence to be denied the Pope.

The Pope was ſoon diſpleaſed with this precipitation. For ſix days after, the *French* King his Letters came, that the King of *England* was contented to accept the ſentence concerning the *Attentates*, and to render obedience, with condition, that the Cardinals whom he miſtruſted ſhould not meddle in the buſineſs, and that perſons not ſuſpected, ſhould be ſent to *Cambray* to take information. And the King had ſent his Proctors before, to aſſiſt in the cauſe at *Ryme*. Wherefore the Pope went about to deviſe ſome pretence, to ſuſpend the precipitated ſentence, and again to ſet the cauſe on its feet.

But *Henry* ſo ſoon as he had ſeen it, ſaid it was no matter. For the Pope ſhould be Biſhop of *Rome*, and himſelf ſole Lord of his Kingdom: and that he would do according to the ancient faſhion of the Eaſtern Church, not leaving to be a good Chriſtian, nor ſuffering the Lutheran Hereſie, or any other to be brought into his Kingdom. And ſo he did. He publiſhed an edict, wherein he declared himſelf

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Head of the Church of *England* and puniſhed capitally, whoſoever ſaid that the Pope of *Rome* had any authority there: he chaſed out the Collector of the *Peter*-pence, and cauſed the Parliament to approve all theſe things: where it was determined, that all Biſhopricks of *England* ſhould be conferred by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, without ſending to *Rome*, and that the Clergy ſhould pay to the King one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling yearly, for the defence of the Kingdom againſt whoſoever.

How the action of K. *Henry* was expounded.

This Action of the King was variouſly expounded. Some thought him wiſe, for freeing himſelf from the ſubjection of *Rome*, without any innovation in Religion, and without putting his ſubjects in danger of ſedition, and without referring himſelf to a Council, a thing which they ſaw hard to be effected, and dangerous alſo for him, it being impoſſible that a Council, compoſed of Eccleſiaſtical perſons, ſhould not maintain the Popes power, which is the main pillar of their Order: becauſe by the Papacy it is above all Kings and the Emperor, but without it is ſubject to them, there being no Eccleſiaſtical perſon that hath ſuperiority but the Pope. But the Court of *Rome* maintained that it could not be ſaid, that there was no change in Religion, the firſt and principal Article being changed, which is the ſupremacy of the Pope, and that ſeditions would ariſe as well for this only, as for all the reſt. Which the event ſhewed to be true. For the King was fain to proceed ſeverely againſt ſome of his ſubjects, whom he loved and eſteemed. It cannot be expreſſed what grief was conceived in *Rome*, and by all the Clergy, for the alienation of ſo great a Kingdom from the Popes ſubjection: and it diſcovered the imbecillity of Humane Affairs, wherein, for the moſt part, great damages proceed from thoſe things, from which the greateſt benefits were formerly received.

The Popes have gained much by matrimonial diſpenſations.

For by matrimonial diſpenſations, and by ſentences of divorce, as well granted as denyed, the Papacy hath gained much in former times, ſheltering the Princes with the name of the Vicar of Chriſt, whom it concerned with ſome inceſtuous marriage, or by diſſolving one to contract another, to unite ſome other Territory to their own, or to drown the title of divers pretendants, making, for this cauſe, ſtrait alliance with them, and intereſting their power to defend that authority, without which their actions would be condemned and hindred: yea, intereſting not thoſe Princes only, but all their poſterity, to maintain their legitimation. But the misfortune which then aroſe, might be aſcribed to the precipitation of *Clement*, who, in this caſe, knew not how to manage his authority: and if it had pleaſed God to have given him in this fact the uſe of his uſual wiſdom, he might have gained much, where now his loſs was great.

But the Emperour at his return into *Germany*, being informed of the negotiation of the Nuncio *Rangone*, concerning the Council, wrote to *Rome*, complaining that himſelf having promiſed a Council to *Germany*, and treated with the Pope in *Bolonia*, in what ſort the Princes ſhould be dealt with in this matter, yet the Nuncio of his Holineſs had not proceeded in that manner that was agreed of, but had ſo treated, that the Proteſtants thought themſelves deluded: praying him in the end, to find ſome way to give *Germany* ſatisfaction. The eighth of *June* the Emperours Letters were read in the Conſiſtory; and becauſe there came advice, a little before, that the Landgrave of *Haſſia* had taken the Dukedom of *Wittenberg* from King *Ferdinand*, by force of Arms, and reſtored it to the Duke *Ulrick*, the lawful Lord

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of it, and that *Ferdinand* alſo was inforced to make peace with them, many of the Cardinals ſaid, that the Lutherans having atchieved ſo great a Victory, it was neceſſary to give them ſome ſatisfaction, and not to proceed any more by Art, but to make ſome demonſtration of effects, becauſe the Emperour having promiſed a Council, it was neceſſary he ſhould not be deluded, and ſaid, that if the Pope could not find a way, there was danger, That his Majeſty would be conſtrained to yield to ſome other thing of greater prejudice and loſs to the Church. But the Pope and major part of the Cardinals, ſeeing it was impoſſible to make the Lutherans accept ſuch a Council, as might be ſerviceable to the Court of *Rome*, and being reſolute not ſo much as to hearken to any ſpeech of making it otherwiſe, they reſolved to anſwer the Emperour, that they knew very well the importance of the times, and what great need there was of a general Council: which they were moſt ready to intimate, in caſe it might be ſo celebrated, that it might produce good effects, as need requireth: but ſeeing new diſcords ariſe between him and *France*, divers open diſſentions between other Chriſtian Princes, it was neceſſary they ſhould ceaſe, and minds ſhould be reconciled, before the Council were called. For, during the diſcords it could not produce any good effect, and now leaſt of all, the Lutherans being in Arms, and made proud by the Victory of *Wittenberg*.

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But it was neceſſary to leave diſcourſing with the Pope of a Council: For he fell into a long and mortal infirmity, whereof he dyed in the end of *September*, with no ſmall joy of the Court. For though they admired his virtues, which were a natural gravity, exemplary parſimony, and diſſimulation, yet they hated more his avarice, rigidity, and cruelty, encreaſed, or more manifeſted, after he was oppreſſed by his infirmity.

Clement the 7. dieth.

In the vacancies of the See, the Cardinals uſe to compoſe certain capitulations, to reform the Papal Government, which all ſwear to perform, if they ſhall be aſſumed to the Popedom, though it appear by all precedent examples, that every one ſweareth with a mind not to keep them, in caſe he ſhall be Pope. For ſo ſoon as he is elected, he ſaith, he could not bind himſelf, and that he is at liberty by gaining the Papacy. After the death of *Clement*, the capitulations were ſet down, according to cuſtom, amongſt which one was, that the future Pope ſhould be bound to call a Council within a year. But the capitulations could not be eſtabliſhed and ſworn, becauſe the ſame day, the 12. of *October*, in which the Conclave was locked up, Cardinal *Farneſe* was ſuddenly created Pope, firſt called *Honorius* 5. in the creation, and after in the coronation *Paulus* 3. A Prelate indowed with good qualities, and among all his virtues, made more eſteem of none than of diſſimulation. He being a Cardinal practiſed in ſix Popedoms, Dean of the Colledge, and much converſant in Negotiations, ſhewed that he did not fear the Council, as *Clement* did, but thought it profitable for the Papacy, to make ſhew by all means of deſiring it, being aſſured that he could not be inforced to call it in ſuch manner, and in ſuch a place where he could have no advantage, and when there was cauſe to hinder it, the contradiction which the Court and Clergy would make was ſufficient. He thought alſo that this might ſerve to maintain peace in *Italy*, which he eſteemed very neceſſary, that he might govern in quiet. He ſaw very well that this colour of a Council might ſerve to cover many matters, and to excuſe him in not doing thoſe

Capitulations always compoſed in the vacancy of the Popedom.

Card. *Farneſe* is created Pope, firſt called *Honorius* 5. and in the coronation named *Paulus* 3. Whoſe chiefeſt virtue was diſſimulation.

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things which were contrary to his will. Therefore ſoon after his Creation he let them know, that though the capitulations were not ſworn, yet he was reſolved to obſerve that of the convocation of a Council, knowing it to be neceſſary for the glory of God, and benefit of the Church: and the 16. of the ſame month he made a general congregation of the Cardinals, which is not called a Conſiſtory, the Pope not being crowned as yet, where he propoſed this matter. He ſhewed, by potent arguments, that the intimation could not be deferred, it being otherwiſe impoſſible to make true amity between Chriſtian Princes and to extirpate the Hereſies: and that therefore all the Cardinals ought maturely to conſider how it ſhould be celebrated. He deputed alſo three Cardinals to adviſe of the time, and place, and other particulars, with order to deliver their opinion in the firſt Conſiſtory after the Coronation. And to make contradictions ariſe, which might ſerve, him in occaſions, he added, that as he would reform the Clergy in the Council, ſo it was not convenient there ſhould be need to reform the Cardinals, but that it was neceſſary they ſhould then begin to reform themſelves, becauſe he was reſolved to draw fruit from the Council, the Precepts whereof would be of ſmall force, if the effects appeared not firſt in the Cardinals.

He maketh ſhew that he deſireth a Council.

Perſwadeth the Cardinals to reform themſelves.

The cuſtom is, that in the firſt days the Cardinals, eſpecially the great ones, obtain favours eaſily of the new Pope. Therefore the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and other *French*, in the name of the King, deſired him to grant to the Duke of *Lorrain* the nomination of the Biſhopricks, and Abbacies of his Dominion: which demand alſo it was thought the *Venetians* would make for theirs. The Popes anſwer was, that in the Council, which ſhould be called ſhortly, it was neceſſary to take away the faculty of nomination from thoſe Princes that already had it: which was ſome blemiſh to the Popes his Predeceſſors, who had granted them. Therefore it was not reaſonable to augment the heap of errours, and to grant that now which ſhortly ſhould be revoked with ſmall reputation.

And refuſeth to grant the nomination of Biſhops and Abbats to any Prince.

In the firſt Conſiſtory, which was the twelfth of *November*, he diſcourſed again of the Council, and ſaid, that firſt it was neceſſary to obtain an union of Chriſtian Princes, or aſſurance of ſuſpenſion of Arms, while the Council ſhould endure. Therefore that he would ſend *Nuncii* to all Princes to negotiate this point, and other particulars, of which the Cardinals put him in mind. He called alſo *Vergerius* out of *Germany*, to be well informed of the State of thoſe Provinces, and deputed three Cardinals, one of every order, to conſult of the things to be reformed. Theſe were the Cardinal of *Siena*, of S. *Severino*, and *Ceſis*. Neither was there ever any Conſiſtory where he entred not, and ſpake much of this matter, and often ſaid, it was neceſſary for this end, that the Court, and eſpecially the Cardinals ſhould firſt be reformed. This was expounded by ſome, to be ſpoken with good zeal, and deſire of effect; by others, that the Court and Cardinals might find means to hinder the Council, that there might not be any reformation. And the ground of this their opinion was, that having deputed three Cardinals, he elected neither the moſt zealous, nor the moſt practical, but the ſloweſt and moſt quiet of all the College. But the next month of *December*, he gave more ample matter of diſcourſe. For he created Cardinals, *Alexander Farneſe* his own grand-child, by *Peter Aloiſius* his Baſtard, and *Guido Aſcanius Sforza*, grand-child by his Daughter *Conſtanza*, the former of fourteen years

The Pope maketh ſhew to deſire an union of Princes, and a reformation of the Court. *Vergerius* is recalled out of *Germany*.

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of age, and the other of ſixteen. To thoſe that told him of their youth, he anſwered, that his own decrepit old age did ſupply it. The hope of reforming the Cardinals, and the fear of ſome of them vaniſhed immediately, becauſe it did not appear how it could begin, but from the age, and lawful birth of thoſe which were to be created. The Pope alſo gave over to ſpeak thereof any more, having done that, which would not ſuffer him to mask any longer. Yet the propoſition of calling a Council was currant ſtill. 1534 *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

Two of the Popes Nephews are created Cardinals, both very young.

And in the Conſiſtory of the ſixteenth of *January* 1535. he made a long and vehement Oration, exciting the Cardinals to reſolve in that matter. For by proceeding ſo ſlowly, the world did think that the Council was not truly intended, and that they had nothing but words, and Court holy water. And he delivered his mind with ſuch grave ſentences, that the whole Auditory was moved. In that Conſiſtory it was reſolved to diſpatch *Nuncii* to the Emperour, to the *French* King, and other Chriſtian Princes, with Commiſſion to declare, that the Pope and College had determined abſolutely, for the benefit of Chriſtendom, to celebrate a Council, exhorting them to favour it, and to procure peace and tranquillity, while it ſhall laſt, but to tell them, that for the time and place, his Holineſs was not reſolved as yet. And the moſt ſecret inſtruction was, that they ſhould cunningly find out, what the Princes thought concerning the place, to the end, that all their intereſts and purpoſes being known, he might hinder them, by oppoſing one againſt another, and ſo work his own will. He charged alſo the *Nuncii* to complain of the actions of the King of *England*: and, when they ſaw opportunity, to incite them againſt him, and to offer them alſo that Kingdom for a prey. Among theſe *Nuncii*, *Vergerius* was one, ſent back into *Germany* with more ſpecial Commiſſions, to penetrate the mind of the Proteſtants, concerning the form of proceeding in the Council, that he might draw from thence ſuch concluſions as were neceſſary. He gave him alſo particular charge to treat with *Luther*, and the other principal Preachers of the reformed Doctrine, uſing all kinds of promiſes and offers, to reduce them to ſome compoſition. The Pope reprehended in all occaſions the rigidneſs of Cardinal *Cajetan*, who in the Diet of *Ausburg* 1518. refuſed *Luther*'s offer, that ſilence being impoſed to his Adverſaries, he would alſo be contented to hold his peace: and he condemned the acerbity of that Cardinal, who, by urging obſtinately a recantation, caſt that man head-long into deſpair, which had coſt, and would coſt the Church of *Rome*, as much as the half of her authority is worth. That he would not imitate *Leo*, in believing that the Friars are good inſtruments to ſuppreſs the Preachers of *Germany*. For reaſon and experience have declared the vanity of that cogitation. That there were but two means, force and treaties; both which he would uſe, being ready to agree to any condition, ſo that the Popes authority might remain entire. For which end he ſaid he had need of able men, fit for Negotiation, and therefore the one and twentieth of *May*, he created ſix Cardinals, and the ſeventh a few days after, all which were men much eſteemed in the Court. Among theſe was *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, then priſoner in *England*, for refuſing to obey the Kings Decree, which took away the Popes authority. The Pope in making choice of him, conſidered that he honoured this promotion, by putting in that number a learned man, and well deſerving, for the perſecution which he endured: and that having increaſed his dignity, he would

1535. The Pope ſendeth Nuncii to all Princes, to treat with them concerning the Council.

Vergerius is ſent back into *Germany* with ſpecial inſtructions.

The Pope createth ſeven Cardinals. In which number was *John Fiſher* B. of *Rocheſter*.

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would have more reſpect with the King, and more credit with the people. But that Cardinals Cap profited that Prelate in nothing, but to haſten his death, which was given him 43 days after, by cutting off his head in publick.

The Court was of opinion that *Mantua* was the fitteſt place for the Council.

But howſoever the Pope made open demonſtrations to deſire ſuch a Council, as might give ſatisfaction, and reduce *Germany*, yet all the Court, and the Popes neareſt friends, who treated moſt ſecretly with him of theſe things, ſaid that it could not any where be celebrated but in *Italy*, becauſe in no other place it could be free, and that in *Italy*, no place could be choſen but *Mantua*.

The Negotiation of *Vergerius* in *Germany*.

Vergerius, at his return into *Germany*, delivered the Popes Ambaſſage, firſt to *Ferdinand*, and then to thoſe Proteſtants that came to that King about the preſent occurrences, and at laſt he made a journey to treat with the others alſo. He had no other anſwer from any of them, but that they would conſult together, and reſolve by common conſent in their Aſſembly, which ſhould be called in the end of the year. The Propoſition of the Nuncio contained, that that was the time for the Council, ſo much deſired, the Pope having treated with the Emperour, and all the Kings to call it ſeriouſly, not as formerly, in appearance only; and that it may not be deferred any more, he determined to chuſe *Mantua* for the place, according to the reſolution taken with the Emperour, two years ſince: Which being a City of the Emperours Vaſſal, placed near his Confines, and the *Venetians*, they might hold it for ſecure: beſides that the Pope and the Emperour would give any greater caution whatſoever. That it was not neceſſary to reſolve or ſpeak of the manner and form of treating in the Council, becauſe this would better be done in the Council it ſelf, when it ſhall be called. That it could not be celebrated in *Germany*, which abounded with Anabaptiſts, Sacramentaries, and other Sects, for the moſt part, both fooliſh and furious. Therefore that it would not be ſecure for other Nations, to go where that multitude is potent, and to condemn their Doctrine. That to the Pope it is all one to call it in any other Country whatſoever; but he would not ſeem to be inforced, and to have that authority taken from him which he hath enjoyed ſo many Ages, to preſcribe the place of general Councils.

He treateth with *Luther*.

In this journey *Vergerius* found *Luther* at *Wittenberg*, and treated with him very courteouſly, upon theſe tearms, inlarging, and amplifying them very much. And firſt, he aſſured him, that the Pope, and Colledge of Cardinals, eſteemed him exceedingly, who were infinitely grieved for the loſs of one, who, if he had been employed in the ſervice of God, and the Apoſtolical See (which are joined together) might have brought forth ineſtimable fruit; and that they would do whatſoever they could to regain him. He told that the Pope blamed the regidity of *Cajetan*, and that the Cardinals did no leſs; that he might expect all favour from that holy See, and that the rigor of *Leo*, which he uſed by the inſtigation of others, not of his own diſpoſition, diſpleaſed all men. He added alſo that he would not diſpute with him of the Controverſies, becauſe he profeſſed not Divinity, but that by common reaſon he could ſhew him that it was good to reunite himſelf with the head of the Church. For conſidering that his Doctrine, coming to light, and being publiſhed within theſe eighteen years had raiſed innumerable Sects, of which the one deteſteth the other, and ſo many popular ſeditions, with the death and baniſhment of ſo great multitudes, it could not be concluded that it came from God. But

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one might well aſſure himſelf, that it was pernicious to the world, because ſo much miſchief proceeded from it. *Vergerius* ſaid, that it was too great a ſelf-love, and too great a conceit of ones own worth, when a man would trouble the whole world to ſow his own opinions. If you have innovated the Faith, (ſaid *Vergerius*) in which you were born, and bred up 35 years, for your conſcience and ſalvations ſake, it was ſufficient to keep it within your ſelf. If the love of your Neighbour moved you, why did you trouble the whole world unneceſſarily, ſeeing that without it men did live, and God was ſerved in tranquillity? He added, that the confuſion was gone on ſo far, that the remedy could not be deferred. The Pope is reſolute to apply it by calling a Council, where all the learned men of *Europe* meeting together, the truth ſhall be cleared, to the confuſion of unquiet ſpirits, and for the place hath deſtinated the City of *Mantua*. And although the chiefeſt hope conſiſteth in the goodneſs of God, yet putting to that account the endeavours of men, it was in *Luthers* power, to make the remedy eaſie, if he will be preſent, treat with charity, and oblige to himſelf alſo the Pope, a munificent Prince, who taketh ſpecial notice of perſons of merit. He put him in mind of the example of *Æneas Silvius*, who following his own opinions with much ſlavery and labour, could get no further preferment, than to be Canon of *Trent*, but, being changed to the better, became Biſhop, Cardinal, and finally Pope *Pius* the ſecond. He called to his memory *Beſſarion* of *Nice*, who of a poor Caloier of *Trapizonda*, became a great renowned Cardinal, and wanted not much of being Pope.

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And propoſeth unto him the example of *Æneas Silvius*.

And of *Beſſarion*.

Luthers anſwer were, according to his nature, vehement and fierce, ſaying, that he made no account of the eſteem which he had with the Court of *Rome*, whoſe hatred he feared not, nor regarded their good will; that he applyed himſelf to the ſervice of God, as much as he could, though when he had done all, he was but an unprofitable ſervant; that he ſaw not how the ſervices of God were joyned with thoſe of the Papacy, but as darkneſs with light; that nothing in all his life was more profitable to him, than the rigour of *Leo*, and the rigidity of *Cajetan*, which he could not aſcribe to them, but to the providence of God. For not being as yet in thoſe times illuminated in all the truth of Chriſtian Faith, but having only diſcovered the abuſes of Indulgences, he was ready to have kept ſilence, in caſe his Adverſaries had done the like. But the writings of the Maſter of the holy Palace, the inſulting of *Cajetan*, and the rigour of *Leo* conſtrained him to ſtudy, and to deſcry many other leſs tolerable abuſes, and errours of the Papacy, which he could not diſſemble, nor refrain to declare them unto the world with a good conſcience. That the Nuncio had ingenuouſly confeſſed that he underſtood not Divinity; which appeared clearly by the reaſons which he propoſed, becauſe none could call his Doctrine new, but he that believed that Chriſt, the Apoſtles, and the holy Fathers lived, as now the Pope, Cardinals, and Biſhops do. Neither can any argument be drawn againſt the Doctrine, from the ſeditions hapned in *Germany*, but by him that hath not read the Scriptures, and knoweth not that this is proper to the Word of God, and the Goſpel, that it ſtirreth up troubles and tumults, even to the ſeparation of the Father from the Son, whereſoever it is preached. That this was the virtue of it, to give life to them that hearken to it; and to bring greater damnation to whoſoever rejecteth it. He added, that it was a great fault of the Romaniſts, to eſtabliſh the Church with

Luthers anſwers.

Governments

1535 *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

Governments take from humane reaſons, as if it were a temporal State. That this is that kind of wiſdom, which of *Paul* ſaith, is accounted fooliſhneſs with God, as not to eſteem thoſe politick reaſons by which *Rome* doth govern, but to truſt in Gods promiſes, and to refer to his Majeky the managing of the Church affairs, is that humain folly, which is wiſdom with God. That to make the Council take good effect, and to be profitable for the Church was not in the power of *Martin*, but of him that can make it free, that the Spirit of God may rule there, and guide it, and the holy Scripture may be the rule of the reſolutions, not bringing thither intereſts, uſurpation, and artifices of men, which in caſe it ſhould happen, yet himſelf would there uſe all ſincerity, and Chriſtian charity, not to bind the Pope or any other unto him, but for the ſervice of Chriſt, and peace and liberty of the Church. But that he could not hope to ſee ſo great a good ſo long as it appeared not that the wrath of God was appeaſed, by a ſerious converſion from hypocriſie. That no ſound argument could be taken from the aſſembling of learned men, ſeeing that ſo long as the anger of God is kindled, there is not errour ſo abſurd and unreaſonable, which Satan cannot perſwade, eſpecially to thoſe great wiſe men, who think they they know much, whom the Majeſty of God will confound. That nothing can be received from *Rome* compatible with the miniſtry of the Goſpel. That the example of *Æneas Sylvius*, and *Beſſarion* moved him not. For he eſteemeth not thoſe cloudy glitterings, and, in caſe he would exalt himſelf, he might truly reply that which facetely was ſpoken by *Eraſmus*, that *Luther* being poor and baſe, maketh rich, and advanceth many. That it was well known to the Nuncio himſelf, (not to go far) that the laſt *May* himſelf had a great part in the creation of the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and was the total cauſe of the creation of *Scomberg*. That if the life of the firſt was ſo ſoon taken away, this was to be aſcribed to the providence of God.

Vergerius could not move *Luther*.

Vergerius could not perſwade *Luther*, to remit any thing of his conſtancy, who ſo ſtedfaſtly maintained his Doctrine, as if it had been apparent to the eyes, and ſaid that the Nuncio, yea and the Pope himſelf ſhould ſooner embrace his Faith, than he would abandon it.

Nor any of the other Lutherans, except ſome few of ſmall eſteem.

Vergerius aſſayed alſo to perſwade ſome other Preachers in *Wittenberg*, and elſewhere in the journey, according to the Popes Commiſſion; but found no inclination, as he thought he ſhould, but rigidity in all that were of account; and thoſe that rendred themſelve were of ſmall worth, and pretended much, ſo that they were not for his purpoſe.

The anſwer of 15 Princes and 30 Cities aſſembléd in *Smalcalda*. *Mantua* is refuſed by the *Germans*.

But the Proteſtants, underſtanding *Vergerius* his propoſition, there being fifteen Princes, and thirty Cities aſſembled in *Smalcalda*, anſwered thae they had declared their reſolution concerning the Council in many Diets, and laſt of all to the Nuncio of Pope *Clement*, and the Emperours Ambaſſadors, two years ſince, and that ſtill they deſired a lawful Council, as they were ſure that all godly men did, and that they would go to it, as many times hath been determined in the Imperial Diets. But for the Council which the Pope hath appointed to be in *Mantua*, they hoped that the Emperour would not break the Decrees of the Diet, nor his own promiſes, ſo often made unto them, that the Council ſhould be celebrated in *Germany*, and that they ſaw not how there could be any danger there, ſeeing that all the Princes and Cites obey the Emperour, and are ſo well governed, that all ſtrangers are received and entertained with all humanity. But that the

the Pope ſhould provide for the ſecurity of thoſe that went to the Council they could not ſee how, eſpecially conſidering what things have happened in the precedent Age. That the Chriſtian Common-wealth hath need of a godly and free Council, and that to ſuch a one they have appealed. And whereas the Nuncio ſaid, that they ought not to treat of the manner and form firſt, it ſignified nothing but that there ſhould be no liberty, and that all ſhould be referred to the Popes power, who already having ſo often condemned their Religion, the Council cannot be free, if he ſhall be Judge. That the Council is not the Tribunal of the Pope and Prieſts only, but of all the Orders of the Church, not excluding the Seculars. That to prefer the Pope's power before the Authority of the whole Church, is an unjuſt and tyrannical opinion. That the Pope defending the opinion of his own men, yea with cruel Edicts, making himſelf a party to the cauſe, it is juſt that the manner and form of the Proceſs ſhould be determined by the Princes. 1535. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

The Kings of *England* and *France*, ſent Ambaſſadors to the Aſſembly of *Smalcalda*: the *French* King (who had a deſign to make War in *Italy*, *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, being now dead,) deſired them not to accept of any place for the Council, without the advice of him, and of the King of *England*, and that they would accept of none without them. The King of *England* adviſed them to be aware that they called not ſuch a Council, where, inſtead of moderating the abuſe, they ſhould more eſtabliſh the Pope's Authority, and deſired them to approve his Divorce. On the other ſide they dealt with him to receive the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion: Which things, being treated of in divers Aſſemblies, had no concluſion at all. *The King of England and the French King ſend Ambaſſadours to Smalcalda. Francis Sforza dieth.*

1536.

But *Vergerius*, in the beginning of the year 1536. returned to the Pope, to relate the Effect of his Ambaſſage. He delivered in ſum, that the Proteſtants would not receive any Council, except it were free, and in a fit place, within the Confines of the Empire, grounding themſelves upon the Emperours promiſe; and that of *Luther* and his Complices there was no hope at all, nor any other way to be thought of, but to oppreſs them with War. *Vergerius* for his reward had the Biſhoprick of *Capo d'Iſtria*, his own Country, and was ſent by the Pope to *Naples*, to make the ſame relation to the Emperour, who having been Victorious in *Africa*, was paſſed into the Kingdom, to ſettle the Affairs thereof. The Emperour, hearing the Narration of the Nuncio, went to *Rome*. He had private conference with the Pope, concerning the affairs of *Italy*, and the pacification of *Germany*. The Pope, according to *Vergerius* Counſel, ſaid there was no means to be uſed but War. But the Emperour, ſeeing the time not ripe as yet, to reap from thence that good Fruit, as others were perſwaded he might, and himſelf alſo intangled in *Italy*, without poſſibility of being free, but by yielding *Milan*, which he reſolved by all means to make his own, whither all his actions did principally tend, alledged for a reaſon to defer that War, that it was more neceſſary to defend *Milan* from the *Frenchmen*. On the other ſide the Pope, whoſe thoughts were wholly bent to make an *Italian* Lord of that State, and therefore propoſed the War of *Germany*, not ſo much to ſuppreſs the Lutherans (as he ſaid openly) as to divert *Cæſar* from poſſeſſing *Milan*, which was his principal end, though ſecret, replyed that himſelf and the *Venetians*, what by Arms, and what by Treaties, would more eaſily make the King deſiſt, in caſe his Imperial Majeſty did not meddle. *Vergerius returneth and delivereth to the Pope the effect of his Negotiation. He is rewarded and ſent to the Emperor. The Emperor goeth to Rome to confer with the Pope.*

1536. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

The Pope and Emperor have contrary ends and diſſemble one with another.

The Emperor is puffed up with the *African* Victory.

A reſolution eſtabliſhed for calling the Council.

The Emperor entereth into the publick Conſiſtory.

The Bull for Convocation of the Council is made.

The Emperour having diſcovered the inward thoughts of the Pope, with as much diſſimulation, made ſhew he was perſwaded, and inclined to the War of *Germany*; yet he ſaid, that it was fit to juſtifie the cauſe well, that the whole world might not be againſt him, and to ſhew, by intimating a Council, that he had firſt uſed all other means. The Pope was not ſorry that, being neceſſarily to intimate a Synod, it ſhould be done in a time, when, in regard the *French* King had invaded *Savoy* and *Piemont*, all *Italy* would be ſet on fire with War; whereby an apparent pretence was given him to Environ the Council with Arms, under colour of cuſtody and protection. He ſhewed himſelf to be contented, ſo that ſuch conditions were ſet down which might not derogate from the authority and reputation of the Apoſtolick See. The Emperour, who, by reaſon of the Victory Atchieved in *Africa*, was lifted up in mind, and ſwollen with vaſt thoughts, believed he ſhould make an end of the War in *Lombardy* within two years at the moſt, and that having immured the King of *France* beyond the Mountains, he might apply himſelf to the Affairs of *Germany*, without any impediment. His meaning was, the Council ſhould ſerve him for two things. Firſt to Bridle the Pope, in caſe, during the War of *Italy*, he ſhould according to the Cuſtom of other Popes, put himſelf on the *French* ſide when that ſhould be the weaker, to counterpoiſe him that was Victorious. Secondly to reduce *Germany* to his obedience, which was the mark he ſhot at. But for the Pope's obedience, he eſteemed it but an accidental thing. For the place, *Mantua* pleaſed him; and for the reſt he cared not what condition the Pope might add, conſidering that when the Council were aſſembled, he ſhould be able to change whatſoever pleaſed him not. Therefore he concluded that he was contented with any condition, ſo that the Council might be celebrated, alledging that he hoped to perſwade almoſt all *Germany* to conſent unto it. Wherefore the reſolution was eſtabliſhed by the Pope, and the whole College of Cardinals.

Therefore the Emperour, entering into the publick Conſiſtory the 28. of *April*, thanked the Pope and College, for having readily and without delay reſolved to call a general Council, and then deſired them that the Bull might be diſpatched before he parted from *Rome*, that himſelf might give order for the reſt. The Bull could not be framed ſo ſoon, becauſe it was neceſſary to conſider of fit words to be put into it, ſuch as might give as much hope of liberty as was poſſible, and yet not prejudice the Papal Power. Six Cardinals, and three Biſhops were deputed for this buſineſs; and finally the Bull was finiſhed the twelfth of *June*, publiſhed in the Conſiſtory, and ſubſcribed by all the Cardinals. The tenour was as followeth.

That from the beginning of his Papacy he had deſired nothing more than to cleanſe the Church, recommended by God to his care, from Hereſies and Errours, and to reſtore the diſcipline to its former ſtate: for which finding no way more commodious than that which always hath been uſed in like occurrences, that is, a general Council, he had often written concerning it to the Emperour and other Kings, with hope not only to obtain this end, but alſo, that all diſcords being appeaſed between Princes of Chriſtendom, War might be made againſt the Infidels, to free the Chriſtians from that miſerable ſlavery; and alſo to reduce the Infidels themſelves to the Faith. Therefore by the fulneſs of authority which he hath from God, by the conſent of his Brethren the Cardinals, he doth intimate a general Council of all Chriſtendom

againſt

againſt the 27. of *May* the next year 1537. in *Mantua*, a rich place, and commodious for the celebration of the Council. Therefore he commandeth the Biſhops and other Prelates, of what place ſoever, by virtue of their Oath, and under the pains ſet down by the holy Canons and Decrees, that they tender their preſence there at the day prefixed. He prayeth the Emperour, *French* King, and all other Kings and Princes to be there in Perſon, or in caſe they cannot, to ſend honourable and ample Ambaſſages, as the Emperour, *French* King, and other Chriſtian Princes have often promiſed both to *Clement*, and to him: and to cauſe the Prelates of their Kingdoms to go thither, and there remain untill the end, to determine that which ſhall be fit to reform the Church, extirpate Hereſies, and to make War againſt the Infidels. 1536. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I. The Council is to begin in *Mantua*, May 27. 1537.

The Pope publiſhed another Bull alſo, to correct (as he ſaid) all the vices and defects of the City of *Rome*, the head of all Chriſtendom, Miſtreſs of Learning, Manners, and Diſcipline; that his own Houſe being firſt purged, he might more eaſily cleanſe the reſt. But not being able fully to perform this buſineſs by himſelf, he deputed the Cardinals *Oſtienſe*, Saint *Severino*, *Genutio*, and *Simoneta*, commanding all men under the moſt grievous pains, to yield them abſolute obedience. Theſe Cardinals, together with other Prelates, deputed alſo by the Pope, applyed themſelves immediately to reform the Penitentiary and Datary Courts, and the manners of the Courtiers: yet nothing took effect. But the intimation of the Council ſeemed very unfit to every man of any mean capacity, in a time when Wars were on foot in *Picardy*, *Provence*, and *Piemont*, between the Emperour and the *French* King. A Bull for the reformation of *Rome*.

The Proteſtants when they had ſeen the Bull, wrote to the Emperour, that it appeared not what ſhould be the form and manner of the Council. They deſired it ſhould be pious, free, and in *Germany*, and ſuch a one was ever promiſed unto them, and ſaid they hoped that his Majeſty would provide that their demands ſhould be ſatisfied, and his promiſe fulfilled. The Proteſtants do not approve the Bull of the Convocation.

But in the beginning of the next year 1537. the Emperour ſent to the Proteſtants *Matthias Eldo* his Vice-Chancellor, to exhort them to receive the Council, for the calling whereof he had taken ſo great pains, and where he meaned to afford his perſonal preſence, if ſome great War conſtrained him not to be elſewhere. He put them in mind that they had appealed to a Council, and therefore that it was not convenient that now they ſhould change their purpoſe, and refuſe to meet all other Nations, who have fixed therein all their hope for reformation of the Church. Concerning the Pope, the Emperour ſaid there was no doubt but that he would govern himſelf as was fit for the principal Head of the Church, and that in caſe they had any complaint againſt him, they might modeſtly proſecute it in the Council. For the manner and form, that it was not convenient they ſhould preſcribe it to all Nations, but ſhould rather think that not their Divines only were inſpired from God, and underſtood holy Myſteries, but that men may elſewhere be found, who want neither learning, nor ſanctity of life. For the place, though they have demanded it in *Germany*, yet they ſhould conſider what was fit for other Nations. *Mantua* is near to *Germany*, rich, healthful, and the Duke thereof Vaſſal of the Empire; ſo that the Pope hath no power there; and if they deſired any further caution, himſelf was ready to give it them. He ſpake alſo apart with the Elector of *Saxony*, exhorting him to ſend his Ambaſſadours to the Council, without uſing 1537. The Emperour exhorteth them to accept the Council.

1537
Paul III.
Charles V.
Henry VIII.
Francis. I.

exceptions or excuſes, which would hatch nothing but inconveniences. Concerning the Council, the Proteſtants anſwered, that having read the Popes Letters, they ſaw well, that he and the Emperour were not of one mind; and, having repeated what was treated of with *Adrian*, *Clement*, and *Paul*, they concluded that they had all the ſame end. They went on to alledge their reaſons, why the Pope ſhould not be Judge in the Council, nor yet thoſe, who were by Oath tyed unto him. And for the place appointed, beſide that it was againſt the Decrees of the Imperial Diets, no ſafe-conduct could free them from danger, if they went thither. For the Pope having adherents throughout all *Italy*, who bitterly hate the Proteſtants Doctrine, there was great danger of treachery and ſecret plots. Beſides in regard that many Doctors and Miniſters ought to go in perſon, becauſe it is not fit to handle a matter of that importance by Deputies, their Churches would be left deſolate. And how can they conſent to the judgment of the Pope, who hath no other aim but to root out their Doctrine, which he calleth Hereſy, and cannot refrain from ſaying ſo much in all his Bulls, yea, in that, by which he intimateth the Council? and in the Bull, which, diſſemblingly, he made for reformation of the Court of *Rome*, he hath often repeated, that he hath called a Council to extirpate the Lutheran Hereſie, and maketh demonſtration thereof by effects, exerciſing bloody torments and puniſhments, againſt poor innocent people, who adhere to that Religion, for conſcience ſake. And how ſhall they be able to accuſe the Pope and his followers, when himſelf will be Judge? and to approve his Brief, is nothing elſe but to conſent to their own condemnation. And therefore that they have always demanded a free and Chriſtian Council, not only that every man may freely ſpeak, the Turks and Infidels being excluded; but that thoſe that are linked together by Oaths, and other Covenants, may not be Judges, and that the Word of God may govern, and define all the Controverſies. That they well know, that there are learned and godly men in other Nations: but withall they aſſure themſelves, that if the unlimited power of the Pope ſhall be moderated, not their Divines only, but many others, who now by reaſon of oppreſſion hide themſelves, will labour for reformation of the Church. That they will not diſpute of the ſituation and fitneſs of *Mantua*, but they may well ſay, that ſo long as there is War in *Italy*, they cannot want matter of ſuſpicion. That it is ſufficient to ſay of the Duke of that City, that he hath a Brother a Cardinal, one of the prime men of the Court. That in *Germany*, there are many Cities as commodious as *Mantua*, where Juſtice and Equity doth flouriſh: and in *Germany* thoſe ſecret wiles to take away mens lives, are neither uſed nor known, as they are in other places. That in the ancient Councils, the ſecureneſs of the place hath ever been firſt ſought for, which would not be ſufficient there, though he the Emperour were perſonally preſent in the Council. For it is known that the Popes grant him place in conſultations, but for power of determining, they reſerve it to themſelves only. That it was known what happened to the Emperour *Sigiſmond*, in the Council of *Conſtance*, whoſe ſafe-conduct was violated by the Synod: and himſelf conſtrained to put up ſo great an affront. Therefore they prayed his Majeſty to conſider the importance of theſe reaſons.

And they anſwer.

Some of the Proteſtant Princes would not ſo much as hear the Popes Nuncio.

There appeared in this ſame Diet the Biſhop of *Aix*, ſent by the Pope to invite them to the Council. But he did no good, and ſome of the Princes would not ſo much as hear him. And to make their

reaſons

reaſons known to the world, they printed and publiſhed a Writing, where they laboured principally to anſwer that objection, that they would not ſubmit themſelves to any Judge; that they deſpiſed other Nations; that they refuſed the ſupreme Tribunal of the Church; that they had renewed Hereſies formerly condemned; that they were glad of civil Diſcords; that the faults which they found in the manners of the Court of *Rome*, were ſmall, and tolerable. They alledged the cauſes why it was not fit, that the Pope alone, nor yet together with his Adherents, ſhould be Judge: they brought the examples of many Councils refuſed by divers of the Fathers, and in fine, implored the aid of all Princes, offering that whenſoever a lawful Council ſhall be called, they will therein defend their cauſe, and render an account of all their actions. They ſent alſo an expreſs Ambaſſadour to the *French* King, to give him a particular account of the ſame things: who anſwered, that for the Council he was of their opinion, not to approve it, except it were lawful, and in a ſecure place, aſſuring them that his Son-in-Law, the King of *Scotland*, was of the ſame mind. 1537 *Part III. Charles V. Henry VIII. Francis I.* They juſtifie their actions to the world by writing.

The Duke of *Mantua* to gratifie the Pope, granted his City for the Council, without conſidering what he did, thinking as others, that it could not be effected, there being Wars between the Emperour and *French* King, and *Germany* oppoſing it, for whoſe ſake it was called: But when he ſaw the intimation, he began to think how to ſecure the place, and ſent a Propoſition to the Pope, that, in regard of the great number of thoſe that would come to the Council, there was need of a great Garriſon, which he would not have depend upon any but himſelf, and that he was not able to maintain it. Therefore in caſe his Holineſs would celebrate the Council in that City, he muſt allow him money for Souldiers pay. The Pope anſwered that the multitude would not conſiſt of men of Arms, nor profeſſed for the War, but of Eccleſiaſtical and learned perſons, which one Magiſtrate, whom he would depute to render Juſtice, with a ſmall Court and Guard, was able to keep in order; that a Garriſon of Souldiers would breed a general ſuſpicion, and became not the place of the Council, where all ſhould appear and be truly peaceable; and that in caſe a Garriſon were neceſſary, it were not reaſonable to put it into the hands of any but of the Council it ſelf, that is, of the Pope, who is Head thereof. The Duke, conſidering that Juriſdiction draweth with it abſolute Soveraignty, replyed, that by no means he would have juſtice adminiſtred in his City, but by his own Officers. The Pope, a very wiſe man, who ſeldom received any anſwer which he did not foreſee, was much amazed, and anſwered the Duke's man, that he would never have believed that by his Lord, a Prince of *Italy*, whoſe Family hath been ſo much advanced by the Apoſtolical See, who had a Brother a Cardinal, that would be denied him of which never any made doubt before, which the Law of God and man doth give him, which the very *Lutherans* cannot deny, that is, to be ſupreme Judge of the Clergy; a thing which the Duke denieth not to his own Biſhops, to judge the cauſes of Prieſts in *Mantua*. That in the Council none ſhould be preſent but the Eccleſiaſticks, who are exempted from the Secular power, both themſelves and their Families. Which is ſo clear, that the Doctors of Divinity affirm, that the very Concubines of Prieſts are of Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction, and yet he would deny him a Magiſtrate to render juſtice to thoſe men, during the time of the Council. The Duke, for all this, was conſtant, as well in refuſing the Popes Magiſtrates

The Duke of *Mantua* maketh a grant of his City and afterwards recalleth it.

The Pope claimeth right to adminiſter juſtice where the Council ſhall be celebrated.

Prieſts Concubines are of Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction.

1537. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

giſtrates, as alſo in demanding pay for the Souldiers. Theſe conditions ſeeming hard to the Pope, contrary (as he ſaid) to the ancient cuſtom, and againſt the dignity of the See and Eccleſiaſtical Liberty, he would not yield unto them, and reſolved not to call the Council at *Mantua*. He remembred very well what happened to *John* 23. for calling a Council where another was ſtronger than he. His purpoſe therefore was to prolong the time, and excuſed himſelf in a publick Bull, ſaying in ſubſtance, that though with grief he was conſtrained to depute another place for the Synod, yet he endured it with patience, becauſe another was in fault and not himſelf: and becauſe he could not reſolve ſo ſuddenly upon a convenient City, he deferred the celebration thereof until the firſt of *November* the ſame year.

The Pope reſolveth not to call the Council at *Mantua*.

At that time the King of *England* publiſhed a Manifeſt in his own name, and of his Nobility, againſt the Popes Convocation, as by a perſon that had no power, in a time when *Italy* was ſet a fire with War, and in a place not ſecure, adding that he much deſired a Chriſtian Council, but that to the Popes he would neither go nor ſend Ambaſſadours, having nothing to do with the Biſhop of *Rome*, or his Edicts, more than with the Edicts of any other Biſhop. That the ancient Councils were called by the authority of Kings, which cuſtom ought now the rather to be renewed, becauſe the defects of the Court of *Rome* are called into queſtion. That it was not uſual with Popes to break their Faith, which himſelf had more cauſe to conſider than others, being moſt bitterly hated by him, for having denyed him authority in his Kingdom, and the revenue which was paid him. That to blame the Prince of *Mantua*, becauſe he will not receive ſo many people into his City without a Garriſon, is to mock the world; as alſo to prorogue the Council unto *November*, not ſaying in what place it ſhall be celebrated. And if the Pope chuſe the place, without doubt it will be in his own State, or of ſome Prince that is obliged to him. Therefore, it being impoſſible that any man of judgment ſhould hope for a true Council, the beſt way was for every Prince to reform Religion at home: concluding in the end that if any man could give him better directions, he would not refuſe to follow them.

The King of *England* oppoſeth the Council by a publick maniſeſt.

In *Italy* alſo there was a general diſpoſition to interpret the Popes actions in the worſer ſenſe: and it was ſpoken freely, that though the Duke of *Mantua* were blamed, yet he was not the cauſe why the Council was not called, whereof there was a manifeſt argument, becauſe the Pope had publiſhed a Bull for reformation of the Court, and committed the care thereof to four Cardinals at the ſame time; which notwithſtanding was buried in ſilence, though neither the Duke, nor any body elſe hindred it from being in his power: and having propoſed it immediately after he was aſſumed to the Papacy, it was not ſo much as ſpoken of for three years after. The Pope to withſtand theſe defamations, reſolved to ſet the buſineſs on foot again, firſt reforming himſelf, the Cardinals, and the Court, that none might object againſt him, nor make bad conſtruction of his actions: and he elected four Cardinals, and five other Prelates, whom he ſo much eſteemed, that the year following he made four of them Cardinals, giving charge to thoſe nine to collect the Abuſes, which deſerved amendment, and withall to add the Remedies, by which they might quickly and eaſily be removed, and to reduce all to a good reformation. The Prelates made the collection, as the Pope commanded, and committed it to writing.

The care of reforming the Court, was committed to 4 Cardinals, but nothing was done, which made the *Italians* ſuſpect the Popes actions.

The reformation is ſet on foot again.

In

In the beginning they propoſed for the fountain and ſource of all the abuſes, the Pope's readineſs in giving ear to Flatterers, and his facility in diſpenſing with Laws, with neglect of the Commandment of Chriſt, not to receive gain for ſpiritual things. And deſcending to particulars, they noted twenty four abuſes in the adminiſtration of Eccleſiaſtical matters, and four in the ſpecial Government of *Rome*: they touched the ordination of Clergy-men, Collation of Benefices, Penſions, Permutations, Regreſſes, Reſervations, Plurality of Benefices, Commendaes, Exemptions, Deformation of the regular Order, Ignorance of Preachers, and Confeſſors, Liberty of printing pernicious Books, the reading of them, Toleration of Apoſtates, Pardoners. And, paſſing to Diſpenſations, firſt they touched that, for marriage of thoſe that are in Orders, for Marriages in degrees forbidden, Diſpenſations granted to Symoniacal Perſons, facility of granting Confeſſionals and Indulgences, diſpenſation of Vows, licence to bequeath by will the Church-goods, commutation of Wills and Teſtaments, toleration of Harlots, negligence of the government of Hoſpitals, and ſuch other things, which they exactly handled, expounding the nature of the abuſes, the cauſes and original of them, the conſequences of the evils which they carry with them, the means to redreſs them, and to keep henceforward the body of the Court in Chriſtian life: a work worthy to be read, and which deſerved to be ſet down word by word, if it had not been too long.

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The fountain of the abuſes of the Court.

The particular abuſes.

These things are ſet down at large in the 12. Book of *Sleidan*.

The Pope having received the relation of theſe Prelates, cauſed many Cardinals to conſider of it, and after, that he might reſolve what to do, propoſed it in the Conſiſtory. Fryar *Nicholas Scomberg*, a Dominican Cardinal of S. *Siſtus*, *alias* of *Capua*, ſhewed in a long diſcourſe, that that time comported not any reformation at all. Firſt, he put them in mind of the malice of man, which being ſtopped in one courſe, findeth a worſe, and that it is better to tolerate a known evil, which, becauſe it is in uſe, is not ſo much marvelled at, than by redreſſing that, to fall into another, which, being new, will appear greater, and be more reprehended. He added that it would give occaſion to the Lutherans, to brag that they had inforced the Pope to make that reformation; and above all he conſidered that it would be a beginning to take away not only the abuſes, but the good uſes alſo, and to endanger the whole ſtate of Religion. For by the Reformation it would be confeſſed that the things provided againſt were deſervedly reprehended by the Lutherans, which would be a great abetting to their whole Doctrine. On the other ſide, *John Peter Caraffa*, Cardinal *Theatino*, ſhewed, that the reformation was neceſſary, and that it was a great offence to God to leave it, and anſwered that it was a rule in Chriſtian actions, that as evil is not to be done that good may follow, ſo no good of obligation is to be omitted, for fear that evil may enſue. The opinions delivered were divers, and the final concluſion was, not to ſpeak any more of it until another time; and the Pope commanded that the Remonſtrance of the Prelates ſhould be concealed. But Cardinal *Scomberg* ſent a Copy thereof into *Germany*, which ſome thought was done by the Pope's conſent, that it might appear there was ſome deſign in *Rome*, and ſome pains taken alſo for Reformation. The Copy was ſuddenly printed, and publiſhed, throughout all *Germany*, and many wrote againſt it, both in Dutch and Latin. And the number of the Proteſtants increaſed daily in that Country, the King of *Denmark*, and ſome Princes of the Houſe of *Brandenburg* being entred into their League.

The Cardinal of S. *Siſtus* would have no reformation at all made.

Cardinal *Caraffa* deſireth the reformation.

The Pope commandeth the remonſtrance of the Prelates to be concealed, but a Copy of it is ſent into *Germany* by Cardinal *Scomberg*.

The King of *Denmark* becometh a Proteſtant.

November

1538
Paul III.
Charles V.
Henry VIII.
Francis. I.

November drawing near, the Pope ſent out a Bull for convocation of the Council at *Vicenza*, and alledging the neceſſity to prorogue the time, becauſe Winter was at hand, he did intimate it, for the firſt of *May*, the next year 1538. and appointed three Cardinals Legates for that place, *Lorenzo Campeggio*, Legate before for *Clement* the ſeventh in *Germany*, *James Simoneta*, and *Jerom Aleander* created Cardinals by himſelf.

The Council is intimated at *Vicenza*, and three Legates appointed.

So ſoon as this Bull went out, the King of *England* publiſhed another Manifeſt, againſt this new Convocation, and addreſſed it to the Emperour, Kings, and Chriſtian people, dated the eight day of *April*, the ſame year 1538. that having before declared to the World, the manifold cauſes, why he had refuſed the Council, which the Biſhop of *Rome* feigned he would celebrate in *Mantua*, prorogued afterwards, without aſſignation of any certain place, it ſeemed not convenient to proteſt, as often as he did excogitate a new way, and to refuſe that Council, which the Pope made a colourable ſhew that he would celebrate. He ſaid that that Declaration defended his, and his Kingdoms cauſe, againſt all the attempts, that either *Paul*, or any other Pope could make, which he was willing to confirm with this Epiſtle, to excuſe himſelf for not going to *Vicenza*, more than he would have done to *Mantua*, though no man deſired a publick Aſſembly of Chriſtians more than himſelf, ſo that the Council be general, free, and pious, ſuch as he hath deſcribed in his proteſtation againſt the Council of *Mantua*. And as nothing is more holy than a general Convocation of Chriſtians, ſo nothing is more prejudicial and pernicious to Religion, than a Council abuſed for gain and profit, or confirmation of Errours. That it is called a general Council, becauſe all Chriſtians may ſpeak their opinions; and that it cannot be called general, where only they are heard, who are reſolved to put themſelves on the Pope's ſide, in all matters, and where the ſame men are Plaintiffs, Defendants, Advocates, and Judges. That all may be ſaid of *Vicenza* which, in his Declaration, hath been ſaid of *Mantua*. And briefly repeating a ſhort Contents thereof, he ſaid, If *Frederick* Duke of *Mantua* hath not yielded ſo much to the Pope's authority, as to grant him his City in that manner that he would, why ſhould we ſo much eſteem it, as to go whither he pleaſeth? If the Pope hath power from God to call Princes whither he will, why can he not chuſe what place he liſteth, and make himſelf obeyed? If the Duke of *Mantua* can, with reaſon, deny the place which the Pope hath choſen, why cannot other Kings and Princes refuſe to go thither? And if all Princes ſhould deny him their Cities, where would be his power? what a thing would it have been, if all men had put themſelves into the journey, and being arrived there, ſhould have been ſhut out of Doors by the Duke of *Mantua*? That which happened for *Mantua*, may happen likewiſe for *Vicenza*.

Another manifeſt publiſhed by the K. of *England*.

The Legates go to *Vicenza*.

The Legates went to *Vicenza* at the time appointed, and the Pope to *Nizza*, in *Provence*, at the ſame time, to ſpeak perſonally with the Emperour, and *French* King, which he gave out was only to make peace between thoſe two great Princes; though his principal end was to draw the Dukedom of *Milan* into his Houſe. There the Pope, amongſt other things, deſired them both to ſend their Ambaſſadours to the Council, and to cauſe the Prelates which were in their Trains to go alſo. and to give order that thoſe that were at home in their Kindoms ſhould begin their Voyage thither. For giving the order they both excuſed, and ſaid, that firſt it was fit to inform themſelves by the Prelates, of the

A conference in *Nizza* between the Pope, *French* K. and King of *Spain*.

the neceſſities of their Churches; and for ſending thoſe that were preſent; that it would be hard to perſwade them to go before they had conſulted with others. The Pope was ſo eaſily ſatisfied with the Anſwer, that it was doubted, whether he more deſired the Affirmative, or the Negative. Therefore this Treaty being unprofitable, as were all his other in that meeting, he went his way, and, being at *Genua*, in his return, received Letters from his Legates, who were at *Vicenza*, yet alone without any Prelate: wherefore he recalled them, and by his Bull, dated the eighth of *July*, prolonged the Term of the Council until the next Eaſter-day. 1538. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I. The Council is deferred until *Eaſter*.

This year, the Pope brake the wiſe patience, or rather Diſſimulation, which for four years together, he had uſed towards *England*, and ſent againſt the King a terrible thundring Bull, ſuch as never was uſed by his Predeceſſors, nor imitated by his Succeſſors. Which Fulmination, having its original from the Manifeſts, publiſhed againſt the Council of *Mantua*, and *Vicenza*, my purpoſe requireth, I ſhould make mention thereof. Beſides, for the underſtanding of many accidents which ſhall be related hereafter, it is neceſſary to repeat this Event, with the particulars of it. The Pope thundereth againſt the K. of *England*.

The King of *England* having denied his obedience to *Rome*, and declared himſelf Head of the Engliſh Church, the year 1534 as hath been ſaid in its place, Pope *Paul*, immediately after his Aſſumption, was continually inſtigated by the Emperour for his own intereſts, and by the Court, which thought by that means, either to regain *England*, or ſet it on Fire, to Fulminate againſt that King: which he as a man well experienced in the World, judged would be to little purpoſe; conſidering, that if the thunders of his Predeceſſors never had good ſucceſs, when they were believed and feared by all, there was leſs hope they could effect any thing, after a Doctrine was publiſhed, and received by many, which did contemn them. He thought it Wiſdom to hold a weapon within the Scabbard, which had no other Edge, but what was given by the opinion of thoſe againſt whom it was uſed. But the beheading of the Cardinal of *Rocheſter* happening in the year 1535, the other Cardinals were earneſt in remonſtrating unto him what a ſhame, and how great a danger it was to the Order, which ever was eſteemed moſt ſacred and inviolable, if ſuch an example ſhould be ſuffered to paſs. For the Cardinals defend the Popedom boldly with all Princes, becauſe they are aſſured of their Lives: which aſſurance, when it ſhall be taken away, and made known to the Seculars, that the Cardinals may be juſticed, they ſhould do their buſineſs with too much fear: Notwithſtanding, the Pope forſook not his Reſolution, but found a temper, never uſed by any of his Predeceſſors, to lift up the Thunderbolt with his Hand, and to threaten to Shoot, yet to hold it without flinging it abroad, and ſo to ſatisfie the Cardinals, the Court, and others, and not to put the Papal Authority in hazard. Therefore he framed a Proceſs and moſt ſevere Sentence againſt that King the thirtieth of *Auguſt* 1535. and withal ſuſpended the Publication, during his pleaſure. Yet ſecretly he let the Copy go into the hands of ſome that he knew would cauſe it to be delivered to the King, diſperſing the Rumour of the Bull that was framed, and the Suſpenſion, with fame, that very ſuddenly he would remove the Suſpenſion, and come to Publication, yet with deſign never to proceed ſo far.

And though he wanted not hope, that the King either for fear of the Excommunication framed, or by the inclination of his People, or by

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the Satiety of puniſhments, uſed againſt thoſe that diſobeyed his Decree, would induce himſelf, or by the Mediation of the Emperour, or *French* King, (when by reaſon of the Occurrences of the World, he ſhould be conſtrained to Unite himſelf with either of them) would be induced to yield, yet he was principally moved by the forenamed Cauſe, that he might not ſhew the weakneſs of his Weapons, and more confirm the King in his Separation. But in the end of three years he changed his purpoſe, by reaſon of the Provocation which the King ſeemed to uſe againſt him, by ſending out Manifeſts againſt all his callings of the Council, and by oppoſing his actions, though without particular offence of his Perſon, and laſtly, by having Proſecuted, Cited, and Condemned S. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, for a Traytor to the Kingdom, with Confiſcation of Goods, whom *Alexander* the third Canonized in the year 1171. for being ſlain in defence of the Eccleſiaſtical Power and Liberty, whoſe ſolemn Feaſt the Church of *Rome* doth annually obſerve: which Sentence was Executed by taking the Bones out of the Grave, which were publickly Burned by the Hangman, and the Aſhes ſprinkled in the River, putting his hands into the Treaſures, Ornaments, and Revenues of the Churches dedicated to him, which was to touch a Secret of the Popedom, of far greater importance than the matter of the Council. Whereunto joining ſome hope which he conceived from the Conference with the *French* King, which was, that he would aſſiſt the Malecontents of *England*, ſo ſoon as he was free from the Wars with the Emperour, the 17. of *December*, he Brandiſhed the Thunderbolt of Excommunication, made three years before; and opened his Hand to caſt it forth. which all this while was ready to do it. The Cauſes alledged were in ſubſtance theſe. The Divorce, obedience taken away; the Death of the Cardinal of *Rocheſter*, and the proceeding againſt S. *Thomas*. The Puniſhments to the King were, Deprivation of his Kingdom, and to his Adherents, of whatſoever they poſſeſſed, commanding his Subjects to deny him obedience, and Strangers to have any Commerce in that Kingdom, and all to take Arms againſt, and to perſecute both himſelf and his Follower, granting them their States and Goods for their Prey, and their Perſons for their Slaves.

The King of *England* ſentenceth S. *Thomas Becket*.

The Cauſes of Excommunication, and the puniſhments.

But how much the Popes Brief was eſteemed, and his Commandments obſerved, the Leagues, Confederations, Peaces, Treaties, which by the Emperour, *French* King, and other Catholick Princes, were made with that King, do evidently declare.

The Excommunication was generally contemned.

1539. In the beginning of the year 1539, new Controverſies being raiſed in *Germany* about Religion, and perhaps by men of bad intentions, who uſed it but for a pretence, there was an Aſſembly held in *Franckfort*, whither the Emperour ſent a Commiſſioner; and after long diſputation there, it was by his conſent concluded, the 19. of *April*, that there ſhould be a Conference in *Noremberg* the firſt of *Auguſt*, to treat quietly and lovingly of Religion, where on the one ſide and the other, beſides the Doctors, other Perſons of Wiſdom were to be preſent, ſent by the Emperour, King *Ferdinand*, and other Princes, to Superintend at the Colloquy, and deal between the Parties: and what was determined by common conſent, ſhould be ſignified to all the Orders of the Empire, and ratified by the Emperour in the next Diet. The Catholicks would have the Pope intreated to ſend alſo ſome Perſon to the Conference: but the Proteſtants thought it contrary to their Proteſtation; and therefore it was not done. This news of the Aſſembly being arrived at *Rome*; the Pope was offended, as well becauſe there ſhould

An aſſembly is held in *Franckfort* about Religion.

Whereat the Pope was much offended.

be

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be a Treaty about Religion in *Germany*, as becauſe it Derogated from the credit of the Council intimated, though he cared very little to have it celebrated; and more particularly becauſe there was a diſpute to admit of one to be ſent by him, and in the end his Authority wholly rejected. Therefore he ſuddenly diſpatched into *Spain* the Biſhop of *Montepulciano*, whoſe principal meſſage was to perſwade the Emperour not to Confirm, yea, rather to annihilate the Decrees of that Diet.

He ſendeth a Nuncio to the Emperour.

The Nuncio had a great and long inſtruction, firſt, to complain grievouſly of the demeanour of *John Veſſalius*, Archbiſhop of *London*, his Commiſſary, who forgetting his Oath made to that See, and infinite benefits received from the Pope, and the inſtruction given him by the Emperour, had conſented to the demands of the *Lutherans*, with prejudice of the Apoſtolick See, and diſhonour of his Imperial Majeſty. That *London* was corrupted with Gifts and Promiſes, the City of *Ausburg* having given him 250 thouſand Florins of Gold, and the King of *Denmark* promiſed him four thouſand Florins yearly, out of the Fruits of his Archbiſhoprick of *London*, which was taken from him. That he thought to take a Wife, and forſake the Church, and had never entred into holy Orders. The Nuncio had Commandment to ſhew to the Emperour, that if the things which *London* had granted, were confirmed by him, they would ſhew that he was not a Son of the Apoſtolick See; and that all the Catholick Princes of *Germany* complained thereof, and were of opinion that his Majeſty would not confirm them. He gave order alſo to propoſe unto him his Intereſts concerning the Dutchy of *Ghelderland*, and the Election of the King of the *Romans*, to move him the more; putting him alſo in mind that he could not have *Germany* at his Diſpoſition, by Tolerating the Lutheran Hereſies, as *London* and others did perſwade. For it is a thing long ſince known, that Principalities cannot in likelihood be preſerved where Religion is loſt, or where two Religions are ſuffered. That this happened to the Emperours of the Eaſt, who having abandoned the obedience due to the Univerſal Biſhop of *Rome*, loſt their Forces and Kingdoms. That the cunning of the Lutherans was manifeſt, who have proceeded Maliciouſly with his Majeſty, and that, under the colour of Eſtabliſhing their Religion they do ever procure ſomething elſe. That an Example thereof was the Diet of *Spira* in the year 1526, of *Noremberg* 1532, and of *Calano* 1534. when the Duke of *Wittenberg* regained the Dutchy. which ſhewed that thoſe Commotions of the Landgrave and the Lutherans were not for Religion, but to take that State from the King of the *Romans*. That he ſhould put him in mind, that, when he made an accord with the Lutherans, the Catholick Princes would not endure ſuch a diſorder, that his Majeſty ſhould have more power over them than over the Proteſtants, and would think upon new Remedies. That there are many other lawful and honeſt ways to reduce *Germany*, the Pope being reſolved to afford him all poſſible aid, according to the proportion of his Forces. And when his Majeſty ſhall have well thought thereon, he will find that theſe Capitulations cannot be approved, without making all *Germany* Lutheran; which were wholly to deprive himſelf of Authority. For that Sect excludeth all Superiority, extolling liberty, or rather Licence above all. That he ſhould put into the Emperours Head to Augment the Catholick League, and to take from the Lutherans their Adherents, as much as he could, and to ſend as much money as was poſſible into *Germany*, to promiſe, and really to give it to thoſe that follow the Catholick League. That it were good alſo, under

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colour of *Turkiſh* Affairs, to ſend a competent number of *Spaniards* or *Italians* into thoſe parts, lodging them within the Territories of the King of the *Romans*. That the Pope was reſolved to ſend ſome Perſon to the Catholick Princes, with money, to gratifie thoſe that ſhall be fit for his purpoſe. That he ſhould exhort *Cæſar*, to make ſuch an Edict, as the King of *England* made in his Kingdom, cauſing a rumour to be ſpread cunningly, that his Majeſty Negotiated with the ſaid King, to reduce him to the obedience of *Rome*. The Pope gave Commiſſion alſo to the ſaid *Montepulciano* to complain to the Emperour, that his Siſter, Queen *Mary*, Governeſs of the Low Countries, ſecretly favoured the *Lutheran* party, that ſhe purpoſely ſent men unto them, that, when the Catholick League was to be eſtabliſhed, ſhe wrote to the Elector of *Triers*, that he ſhould not enter into it, and ſo that good work was Croſſed; that ſhe hindred the Lord of *Lavaur*, the *French* Ambaſſadour, from going into *Germany*, to conſult with the King of the *Romans*, and the Legate of his Holineſs about Religion: which he did believe proceeded not from her own will, but from the Counſel of her bad Miniſters.

The Nuncio complaineth againſt the Emperours Siſter, Governeſs of the Low Countries.

The Edict of religion made by King *Henry* the 8.

But becauſe mention is made of the Edict of the King of *England* in matter of Religion, it will not be amiſs to recount here, how *Henry* the Eighth in the time of the Diet of *Francfort*, either becauſe he thought to do God Service by not permitting innovation of *Religion* within his Kingdom, or to ſhew conſtancy in what he had wrote againſt *Luther*, or to give the Pope the Lye, who laid an imputation upon him in his Bull, that he had publiſhed Heretical Doctrine in his Kingdom, made a publick Edict, whereby he commanded that the real preſence of the true and natural Body and Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, under the kinds of Bread and Wine, there remaining no ſubſtance of thoſe Elements, was to be believed throughout all *England*, as alſo that Chriſt was wholly contained under the one and the other kind; that the Communion of the Cup was not neceſſary; that it was not lawful for Prieſts to Marry; that religious Men, after their Profeſſion and Vows of Chaſtity, were bound always to keep them, and to live in Monaſteries; that ſecret and Auricular Confeſſion was not only profitable but alſo neceſſary; that the Celebration of Maſs even private, was an holy thing, which he commanded ſhould be obſerved in his Kingdom. He prohibited all to do or teach any thing contrary to theſe Articles, upon pain to be puniſhed as Hereticks. It is to be marvelled at, how the Pope, who a little before thundered againſt that King, was conſtrained to praiſe his actions, and to propoſe him to the Emperour for an enſample to be imitated. So a mans proper intereſt makes him commend and blame the ſame Perſon.

A Conſultation about the Council.

But the Pope, after he had diſpatched *Montepulciano*, ſeeing that by calling the Council, and after deferring it, though he entertained the World, yet he loſt reputation, thought it neceſſary to leave that ambiguous proceeding, which howſoever it had given men ſatisfaction heretofore, yet in progreſs of time it might produce ſome Siniſter Effect. And he made a ſecret reſolution, to declare himſelf, and to forſake Ambiguities; and in the Conſiſtory, having related what had happened, and propoſed that it was neceſſary to make a conſtant and firm reſolution, he put the matter in Conſultation. Some of the Cardinals, to deliver themſelves from fear, which every other day amazed them, did not approve the Suſpenſion, but deſired an expreſs Declaration that there ſhould be no Council at all, becauſe it appeared not how

the

the difficulties could be overcome, before there was a Reconciliation between Princes, a neceſſary means, without which there was no hope it could be celebrated. But the wiſer ſort were Balanced between this and another fear, that there might be National Councils, or other Remedies uſed, more offenſive to them than a general Synod; and therefore the major part gave conſent for the Suſpenſion during pleaſure: thinking that when it ſhould ſeem not fit to bring it to Effect, it might be continued, by pretending the Diſcord between Princes, or ſome other thing; and that if there happened any danger of a National Council, or of Colloquies, or ought elſe, it might be removed by promoting the General Council, and aſſigning unto it place and time; and afterwards it might be called, or let alone, as time ſhould adviſe. The match was made, and a Bull was framed the thirteenth of *June*, by which the Council intimated was ſuſpended during pleaſure of the Pope and the Apoſtolical See. 1539. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I. The Council intimated is ſuſpended during pleaſure.

But *Montepulciano* the Nuncio, who went into *Spain*, executed his Commiſſions with the Emperour; who, either for the cauſe alledged by the Nuncio, or for ſome reſpects of his own, declared not himſelf whether he Diſſented or Aſſented to the Colloquy, appointed to be held at *Noremberg* in *Auguſt*. Afterwards, by reaſon of his Wifes death, and the Rebellion of *Gant*, with part of the Low Countries, he had occaſion, by pretending Affairs of greater importance, to leave the matter in Suſpence, and ſo the whole year 1539. paſſed.

When I ſet my ſelf to write this Story, conſidering the number of Colloquies, ſome only intimated, and ſome held, to compoſe the differences in Religion, I doubted whether it was fit to make mention of all, having concluding reaſons for the one part and the other. In the end, conſidering that I have propoſed to my ſelf to relate all the cauſes of the Council of *Trent*, and obſerving that none hath been intimated or held, but to hinder, or divert, or delay, or to haſten and accelerate the Council, I reſolved to make mention of every one, eſpecially for the Fruit which may be gathered from the knowledge of the notable particulars which happened in them: as in that which was appointed the year following, which had his beginning thus.

The Emperour went to the Low Countries by the way of *France*, to accommodate thoſe Seditions, and *Ferdinand* met him there, where one of the moſt principal buſineſſes, conferred of between them both, was to find a way of Compoſition for matters of Religion in *Germany*, which being exactly handled by the Body of the Emperours Council, all did incline to inſtitute a Colloquy herein. 1540.

This coming to the Ears of *Farneſe*, who was Legate there, and had accompanied the Emperour in the Voyage (which Cardinal, though a Youth, under the Age of twenty years, yet had in his company many Perſons fit for buſineſs, and amongſt others, *Marcellus Cervinus*, Biſhop of *Nicaſtro*, who after was Pope, and called *Marcellus* the Second) he oppoſed this reſolution, and treating with the Emperour, *Ferdinand*, and with all thoſe of the Council, he put them in mind, that the Proteſtants had been often dealt withal for Peace, beginning Ten years ſince in the Diet of *Ausburg*, but ſtill without effect. And in caſe any concluſion had been made, it would have been Vain and Fruitleſs. For they daily change their opinion, not following any certain Doctrine, and have oppoſed even their own *Auguſtan* Confeſſion. That they are ſlippery as Eels. Firſt they were deſirous Cardinal *Farneſe* the Popes Legate diſſwadeth the Colloquy.

that

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that the abuſes and vices ſhould be removed; now they will not ha the Papacy amended but extinguiſhed, and the Apoſtolical See Ro ed out; and all Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction aboliſhed. And if ever they were Petulant, they would be then much more, when the Peace was not well confirmed with *France*, and the *Turk* threatned *Hungary*. That there was no hope to perſwade them, becauſe the Controverſies were upon innumerable Doctrines. And becauſe there are many Sects among them, it is impoſſible to accord with all; beſides, that the greater part of them hath no other end, but to poſſeſs the Goods of others, and bereave the Emperour of his Authority. It was true that the inſtant *Turkiſh* War perſwaded an agreement in Religion; but this was not to be done in particular or National Diets; but in a general Council, which might immediately be intimated. For where Religion is in queſtion, no Mutation can be made without common conſent. That *Germany* is not only to be reſpected, but *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and other people, without whoſe Counſel if *Germany* ſhall make a change, there will ariſe a dangerous Diviſion of that Province from the reſt. That it was a moſt ancient Cuſtom; even from the time of the Apoſtles, to compoſe Controverſies with a Council only; and that now all Kings, Princes, and godly men deſired it. That Peace may now eaſily be concluded between the Emperour and the King of *France*, and immediately after a Council called, and in the mean Space endeavours may be uſed to encreaſe the number and power of the Catholick League of *Germany*, which, by intimidating the Proteſtants, will cauſe them to ſubmit themſelves to the Council, or at the leaſt they will be enforced by the Catholicks; and when it ſhall be neceſſary to reſiſt the *Turk*, the Catholick League, being ſtrong, may conſtrain the Proteſtants to Contribute; which in caſe they will not do, it was neceſſary of two Evils to chuſe the leſſer, it being a greater fault to offend God by abandoning the cauſe of Religion, than to want the Aſſiſtance of one part of a Province. And the rather, becauſe it is not eaſie to judge who are more contrary to Chriſt, the Proteſtants or the *Turks*. For theſe deſire to Enthral our Bodies, but thoſe, both Bodies and Souls together. All the Diſcourſes and Parlies of the Cardinal had for their Concluſion, that it was fit to call a Council, and to begin it that ſame year, and not to treat of Religion in the Diets of *Germany*, but to Labour or Augment the Catholick League, and to make Peace with the King of *France*.

The Emperour after much Deliberation, concluded that he would labour for a Concord, and gave order for a Diet to be held in *Germany*, where *Ferdinand* thought good, inviting the Proteſtant Princes to be there in Perſon, and promiſing publick Security unto all. Cardinal *Farneſe*, hearing of this Concluſion, made without his knowledge, went immediately away, and paſſing by *Paris*, obtained of the King a ſevere Edict againſt the Hereticks, and Lutherans, which being publiſhed, was Executed in that City, and after throughout all *France* with much Rigour.

The Legate departeth.

The Diet of *Aganoa* about Religion.

In *Germany* the Diet was called by *Ferdinand* in *Aganoa*, where the Catholick Doctors, and many Proteſtant Preachers and Miniſters met together; and the Elector of *Triers*, the *Palatine*, Duke *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, and *William*, Biſhop of *Argentina*, were deputed for Mediators between the Parties. The Proteſtants being required to preſent the Heads of the Doctrine in Controverſie, anſwered that they had given up their Confeſſion in *Ausburg*, Ten years ſince, and an Apology in defence

defence of it; that they perſevered in that Doctrine, and were ready to give an account thereof unto all Men: and not knowing what the Adverſaries reprehended, they had no more to ſay, but expected to underſtand from them what it was they eſteemed contrary to truth: for ſo the matter will come to a Conference, and themſelves will not fail to ſet Peace before their Eyes. The Catholicks took them ſuddenly at their word, and aſſenting to what the others propoſed, inferred that it was fit to eſteem for approved all things paſſed in that Diet, and to account the Decree firm and ſtable which was publiſhed in the Receſs, and to lay before them the form of Reconciliation begun in that Diet. The Proteſtants, knowing their diſadvantage, in caſe they followed that form, and the prejudice, which that Decree would have inferred, urged for a new form, and to have all the Prejudices taken away. On the other ſide the Catholicks demanded, that in regard all prejudice was to be removed, thoſe things that the Proteſtants had done ſhould be rectified, and the Church goods taken by them reſtored. The Proteſtants replyed, that the Goods were not taken away, but, by Renovation of the true Doctrine, were reapplyed to thoſe lawful and honeſt uſes, unto which they were Deſtinated in their firſt inſtitution, from which the Clergy had degenerated, and therefore that it was neceſſary to decide the points of the Doctrine before they talked of the Goods. And the Contentions increaſing, *Ferdinand* concluded that a new form, not prejudicial to any, ſhould be inſtituted, that the Doctors that treated on both ſides ſhould be equal in number, and that it ſhould be lawful for the Pope to ſend his *Nuncii* thither, and that the place of the Colloquy ſhould be changed, which ſhould begin in *Wormes*, the eighth and twentieth of *October* next if the Emperour thought good. The Proteſtants accepted the Decree, declaring that they refuſed not the preſence of the *Nuncii*, but intended not to attribute thereby any Primacy to the Pope, nor Authority to them.

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The Emperour confirmed the Decree, and gave order for the Aſſembly, and appointed *Granuel* for his Commiſſioner there: who going thither with his Son, the Biſhop of *Arras*, who after was Cardinal, and three *Spaniſh* Divines, began the Colloquy, and made a very godly Diſcourſe, and fit for Pacification. A few days after, there arrived *Thomas Campeggio*, Biſhop of *Feltre*, Nuncio to the Pope. For his Holineſs, though he ſaw that every Treaty of Religion in *Germany* was pernicious to his Affairs, and therefore had uſed all diligence to break off that Conference, yet he thought it leſs hurt to give conſent unto it, than ſuffer it to be done againſt his Will. The Nuncio, according to the Popes inſtruction, at his entry, made a Diſcourſe, that the quiet of *Germany* was always procured by the Popes, and eſpecially by *Paulus* 3. who for that cauſe had intimated a general Council in *Vicenza*, howſoever he was conſtrained to defer it, until another time, becauſe no man went thither, and now was reſolved to intimate it again in a more convenient place: in which, that the matter of Religion might be handled with Fruit, he had granted to the Emperour, that a Colloquy might be held in *Germany*, which might be an entrance, to diſpoſe them to the reſolution of the Council, and had ſent him to be preſent there, and to aſſiſt. Therefore he prayed them all to aim at Concord, promiſing that the Pope would do whatſoever with Piety he could. There arrived alſo the forenamed Biſhop of *Capo d'Iſtria*, who, though ſent by the Pope, as one who well underſtood the humours

A Colloquy in *Wormes* without effect.

To which the Pope ſendeth a Nuncio.

The Pope ſendeth another Nuncio under a falſe name.

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mours of *Germany*, yet came as ſent from *France*, that he might do the Pope better Service under another name. He cauſed an Oration to be printed, the Subject whereof was, the Unity and Peace in the Church, but the Scope to ſhew that a National Council, was not the means to attain thereunto. And this he diſtributed amongſt as many men as he could, to interrupt the Colloquy, which had a reſemblance of it. Much time was ſpent, in giving form to the Conference, as well for Secrecy, as for the number of the Doctors which were to ſpeak. And there were ſome who ſtudiouſly protracted the time, as well for the diligent indeavours of the Nuncio *Campeggio*, as the ſecret Negotiations of *Vergerius*. Finally it was ordered that *John Ecchius* ſhould ſpeak for the Catholicks, and *Philip Melanchthon* for the Proteſtants, and that the Subject ſhould be, Original Sin. While theſe things went on in *Wormes*, the Pope's Nuncio, reſiding with the Emperour, ceaſed not to perſwade his Majeſty, that the Colloquy would bring forth ſome great Schiſm, and make all *Germany* Lutheran, and not only take obedience from the Pope, but weaken his own alſo. He repeated the ſame conceits which *Monte-Pulciano* uſed to hinder the Colloquy appointed in the Diet of *Franckfort*, and thoſe that were uſed by Cardinal *Farneſe* to hinder that of *Aganoa*. In concluſion, the Emperour, conſidering theſe reaſons, and the advices given him by *Granuel*, of the difficulties which he incountred, thinking to do the work better in his own Perſon, he reſolved the Colloquy ſhould not proceed. Wherefore *Ecchius* and *Melanchthon* having ſpoken three days, the Conference was interrupted. For Letters came from the Emperour, which recalled *Granuel*, and referred the reſt to the Diet in *Ratisbon*.

1541. The Diet of *Ratisbon*.

That began in *March* 1541. The Emperour was perſonally preſent, with great hope to end all Diſcords, and to Unite *Germany* in one Religion. For which purpoſe he alſo had deſired the Pope to ſend a Legate, a man learned and diſcreet, with moſt ample Authority, that there might be no need to ſend to *Rome* for any thing, but all might be there immediately determined, which by the Diet and the Legate ſhould be thought convenient; ſaying, that for this end he had yielded to the great importunity of the Nuncio reſiding with him, to break off the Colloquy of *Wormes*.

Jaſper Contarini the Popes Legate in *Ratisbon*.

The Pope ſent for his Legate *Jaſper* Cardinal *Contarini*, a man much eſteemed for his ſingular Honeſty and Learning, and put alſo into his Company men inſtructed in all the intereſts of the Court, with Notaries to make Inſtruments of whatſoever ſhould be handled or ſpoken: his Inſtruction. he gave him Commiſſion, that if he foreſaw that they went about to do any thing which might tend to the Diminution of the Papal Authority, he ſhould interrupt it, by propounding a General Council, the only and true Remedy; and in caſe the Emperour were forced to yield to the Proteſtants in any prejudicial matter, he ought to forbid it, by the Apoſtolick Authority, and, if it were done, to Condemn it, and to declare it void, and to leave the Diet, but not the Emperours Company.

The firſt Negotiation with the Emperour.

Being arrived at *Ratisbon*, the firſt thing he had to do with the Emperour, was to excuſe the Pope, that he had not given that ample Authority, and abſolute Power which his Majeſty deſired. Firſt, becauſe it is ſo Annexed to the very Bones of the Papacy, that it cannot be granted to any other; Secondly, becauſe neither Words nor Clauſes are found, by which the Authority of determining Controverſies of Faith can be Communicated by the Pope, the Privilege of not being able

able to Erre being given to his Perſon only; in thoſe words, *I have prayed for thee, Peter*: But that the Pope had given him all manner of Power to agree with the Proteſtants, ſo that they deny not the Principles, which are, the Primacy of the Apoſtolick See, inſtituted by *Chriſt*, the Sacraments, as they are taught in the Church of *Rome*, and what elſe is determined in the Bull of *Leo*, offering in other things to give *Germany* Satisfaction. And he deſired his Majeſty not to give ear to the propoſe of any thing not fit to be granted, without the Privity of other Nations, to avoid all dangerous Diviſion in Chriſtendom. It is neceſſary to make particular mention of the things that paſſed in that Diet, becauſe that was the principal cauſe, which induced the Pope not only to conſent, as before, but to uſe all endeavours that the Council might be Celebrated, and which aſſured the Proteſtants, that neither in Council, nor in any other place, where any Miniſter of the Pope was preſent, they could hope to obtain any thing. 1541. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis.* I.

The firſt Action began the fifth of *April*; and it was delivered in the Emperours name, that his Majeſty, ſeeing the *Turk* entred into the Bowels of *Germany* (the cauſe whereof was the Diviſion of the States of the Empire for the difference in Religion) had always ſought a means of Pacification; and that of the Council ſeeming unto him moſt commodious, he went purpoſely into *Italy* to Treat thereof with Pope *Clement*: and after, not being able to bring it to effect, he returned, and went in Perſon to *Rome*, to make the ſame Negotiation with Pope *Paul*, in whom he found much readineſs: But not being able to effect any thing, by reaſon of divers impediments of War, he had finally called that Diet, and beſought the Pope to ſend a Legate thither. Now he deſired nothing but that ſome Compoſition might be made, and that ſome ſmall number of godly and learned men might be choſen on either ſide, to confer upon the Controverſies, in friendly manner, without prejudice of either of the Parties, and propoſe to the Diet the means of Concord, that all being conſulted with the Legate, the wiſhed concluſion might be attained. Suddenly there aroſe a Controverſie between the Catholicks and Proteſtants, about the manner of chuſing thoſe that ſhould Treat. Wherefore the Emperour being deſirous that ſome good ſhould be done, demanded, and obtained of either Party, power to nominate the Perſons, deſiring them to believe he would do nothing but for the common good. For the Catholicks he Elected *John Ecchius*, *Julius Flugius*, and *John Groperus*; and for the Proteſtants *Philip Melanchon*, *Martin Bucer*, and *John Piſtoria*: whom he called to him, and gravely admoniſhed them to abandon all paſſion, and to aim only at the Glory of God. He made *Frederick*, the Prince Palatine, and *Granuel* Preſidents of the Colloquy, adding unto them ſome others, that all might paſs with greater Dignity. When the Aſſembly was made, *Granuel* publiſhed a Book, and ſaid it was given to the Emperour, by ſome godly and learned men, as a direction for the future Concord, and that his will was they ſhould Read and Examine it, that it might ſerve for an Argument and Subject of what they ought to Treat, that that which pleaſed all, might be confirmed, that which diſpleaſed all, might be Corrected, and in that wherein they aſſented not, means might be uſed to reduce them to an agreement. The Book contained 22 Articles. The Creation of Man, the Integrity of Nature, Free-will, the cauſe of Original Sin, Juſtification, the Church, her Signs, the Signs of the word of God, Penance after Sin, the Authority of the Church, the Interpretation of the Scripture, the Sacraments, Order, Baptiſm, Confir-

The firſt action of the Diet in *Ratisbon.*

The names of the diſputants.

A Book given to the Emperour as a direction for the future Concord.

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Confirmation, the Euchariſt, Penance, Matrimony, extreme Unction, Charity, the Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy, the Articles determined by the Church, the Uſe, Adminiſtration, and Ceremonies of the Sacraments, Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and Diſcipline of the People. It was Read and Examined, and ſome things were approved, ſome things amended by common conſent, and in others they could not agree. And theſe were, the ninth, of the power of the Church, the fourteenth, of the Sacrament of Penance, the eighteenth, of the Hierarchy, the 19. of the Articles determined by the Church, the 21. of ſingle Life. In theſe they differed, and either Party wrote his opinion.

This being done in the Aſſembly of all the Princes, the Emperour required the opinions of them all concerning the things agreed on, and the different opinions of the Collocutors, and withal propoſed the amendment of the State of the Common-wealth, as well Civil as Eccleſiaſtical. The Biſhops rejected abſolutely the Book of the Concord, and whatſoever was done in the Colloquy; unto whom the other Electors and Catholick Princes, deſirous of Peace, agreed not: and it was concluded, that the Emperour, as Advocate of the Church, together with the Apoſtolick Legate, ſhould examine the things agreed on, and if any thing were obſcure, ſhould cauſe it to be Expounded, and ſhould Treat with the Proteſtants, that concerning the things in Controverſie, they ſhould conſent to ſome Chriſtian form of Concord. *Cæſar* imparted all to the Legate, and urged him that the Eccleſiaſtical State ought to be Reformed. The Legate, after he had conſidered of all the buſineſs, anſwered in Writing, not more Perſpicuouſly than the ancient Oracles; in this manner, That having ſeen the Book preſented to the Emperour, and what was written by the Deputies of the Colloquy, as well the Explications of either party, as the Exceptions of the Proteſtants, it ſeemed that the Proteſtants, differing in certain Articles from the common conſent of the Church, (in which notwithſtanding he deſpaired not, that, with the help of God, they might be induced to agree) nothing ſhould be ordered concerning the Reſidue, but referred to the Pope, and the Apoſtolical See, who either in the General Council, or ſome other way, if there ſhall be cauſe, will define them according to the Catholick Truth, with regard unto the times, and what ſhall be expedient for the Chriſtian Common-Wealth, and for *Germany*.

The Legate ſpeaketh like an Oracle.

But for Reformation of the Clergy, he promiſed all readineſs, and, to that end, called into his Houſe all the Biſhops, and made them a long Exhortation. First for their manner of living, that they ſhould abſtain from all Scandal, and appearance of Luxury, Avarice, and Ambition. For their Family, that they ſhould underſtand that from it the People made Conjecture of the manners of the Biſhop, that the better to keep their Flock, they ſhould remain in the moſt inhabited places of the Dioceſs, and have deligent Watchmen elſewhere, that they ſhould viſit the Dioceſſes, give the Benefices to honeſt and fit men, ſpend their Revenues upon the neceſſity of the Poor, flying not only Luxury, but all Superfluous Pomp, make Proviſion of Godly, Learned, Diſcreet, and not Contentious Preachers, procure that the younger ſort be well brought up, becauſe by this means the Proteſtants draw all the Nobility unto them. He committed his Oration to Writing, and gave it to the Emperour, to the Biſhops, and the Princes: which gave occaſion to the Proteſtants to Tax the Anſwer made to *Cæſar*, together with the Exhortation made to the Prelates, alledging for their Motive, that the Writing being publiſhed, they ſhould ſeem to approve it, if they

The Exhortation of the Legate *Contarini* made to the Prelates.

they diſſembled the knowledge of it. His anſwer made to the Emperour pleaſed not the Catholicks, becauſe it appeared that he did approve the things agreed on in the Conference. 1541. *Paul* III. *Charles* V.

But the Emperour related in publick Diet whatſoever was done until that time, and Communicated unto them the Writing of the Legate, and concluded, that having uſed all poſſible diligence, he ſaw not what more could be done, but only to deliberate, whether (ſaving the Receſs of the Diet of *Ausburg*) the Articles agreed on in the Conference, ought to be received, as being Chriſtian, nor any more to be diſputed of, at the leaſt until a General Council, which ſhall be held very ſhortly, (of which opinion the Legate ſeemed to be) or, in caſe there were no Council, until a Diet, where all the Controverſies of Religion may be exactly handled. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I. The Emperor's opinion concerning Religion, to which the Legate doth agree.

The Electors approved for good, and undoubtedly profitable, that the Articles agreed on in the Conference, ſhould by all be received, until the time of the Council, in which they may be examined again; or, in caſe that fail, in a National Council, or Diet, becauſe it would ſerve to make a perfect Reconciliation in the Articles, not accorded as yet. But yet they prayed his Majeſty to go on, if there were any hope to make any further agreement in that Diet: and if opportunity ſerved not, they thought it good, that by his favour, a General or National Council, might be called in *Germany*, as ſoon as might be, that the Union might wholly be Eſtabliſhed. The Proteſtants made the ſame Anſwer, only declaring themſelves, that as they deſired a free and Chriſtian Council in *Germany*, ſo they could not conſent to any, where the Pope and his Miniſters, had power to hear and judge the Cauſes of Religion. But the Biſhops and ſome few other Catholick Princes, anſwered after another Manner; firſt, confeſſing that in *Germany*, and other Nations, there were many Abuſes, Sects, and Hereſies, which could not be Extirpated without a General Council; adding, that they could not aſſent to any change in Religion, Ceremonies, and Rites, ſeeing that the Popes Legate offereth a Council within a ſhort time, and that his Majeſty will Treat with his Holineſs thereof. But in caſe the General Council could not be Celebrated, they deſired that the Pope and Emperour would ordain a National Council in *Germany*; which if they would not do, another Diet ſhould be aſſembled, to Root out the Errours; and that they were reſolved to adhere to the old Religion, as it is contained in the Scripture, Councils, Doctrine of the Fathers, and alſo in the Imperial *Receſſes*, eſpecially in that of *Ausburg*. That they will never conſent to receive the Articles accorded in the Colloquy, becauſe ſome of them are Superfluous, as are the four firſt, and becauſe there are Words in them, not conformable to the Cuſtom of the Church; beſides ſome Poſitions, which are partly damnable, and partly to be tempered; and becauſe the Articles accorded, are of leſs Moment, and thoſe of Conſequence remain in Controverſie: and becauſe the Catholicks of the Colloquy had granted too much to the Proteſtants, whereby the Reputation of the Pope, and the Catholick States was wounded. They concluded it was better the Acts of the Colloquy were left to their place, and whatſoever belonged to Religion, deferred to a General Council, or National, or a Diet. Not the opinion only of the Catholicks, that the Emperours Propoſition was too advantageous for the Proteſtants, cauſed them to make this Anſwer, but alſo becauſe the three Catholick Doctors of the Colloquy diſſented amongſt themſelves. The anſwer of the Electors. The anſwer of the Proteſtants. The anſwer of the B. B. and of the Catholick Princes.

1541. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

The Legate complaineth that his anſwer was miſtaken.

But the Legate underſtanding that the Emperour had named him, as conſenting to the eſtabliſhment of the things accorded, as well for fear, as at the inſtance of the Eccleſiaſticks of the Diet, he went to the Emperour and complained, that his Anſwer was ill interpreted, and that he was blamed for having given conſent, that the things accorded ſhould be tolerated until the Council; that his mind was, that nothing ſhould be reſolved on, but all ſent to the Pope, who promiſed by the Faith of a good Paſtour, and Univerſal Biſhop, that all ſhould be determined by a General Council, or by ſome other way, Equivalent, Sincerely, and without Paſſion, not haſtily, but maturely, always aiming at the Service of God. That his Holineſs had to the ſame end, in the beginning of his Papacy, ſent Letters and *Nuncii* to the Princes, to celebrate the Council, and after did intimate it, and ſent his Legates to the place; and if he had endured ſo many Treaties of Religion in *Germany*, with ſmall reverence of his Authority, to whom only it appertaineth to make them, it was upon his Majeſties purpoſe, and promiſe that all ſhould be for the beſt: that it was unreaſonable, that *Germany* ſhould aſſume that to her ſelf, with injury to the Apoſtolick See, which belongeth to all Nations of Chriſtendom. Wherefore the Popes Clemency was no longer to be abuſed, by concluding that in a Diet, which belongeth to him, and the Church Univerſal; but ſaid, that the Book, and all the Acts of the Colloquy, together with the opinions of both Parties, was to be ſent to *Rome*, and the determination of his Holineſs to be expected. And not ſatisfied with this, he publiſhed a third Writing, in which he ſaid, that his Writing given to the Emperour, concerning the Treaty of the Colloquy being diverſly interpreted, ſome expounding it, as if he had conſented to the Articles accorded of, until the General Council, and others underſtanding that he had referred both theſe, and all other things to the Pope, to the end there may remain no doubt herein, he declareth that in the Writing he had no intention to decide any thing in this buſineſs, nor that any Article ſhould be received or tolerated until the future Council, and leaſt of all did then decide or define them, but had referred the whole Treaty, and all the Articles thereof unto the Pope, as he did refer them ſtill. Which having declared to the Emperour by Word, he would alſo declare and confirm it to the whole World in Writing.

And he was not contented with this, but, conſidering that all the Catholick Princes, even the Eccleſiaſticks, did agree in demanding a National Council, and that, in his inſtruction, he had ſtrait charge from the Pope to oppoſe himſelf when that ſhould be urged, though they would do it with his Authority, and with the preſence of the Apoſtolical Legates, to ſhew what danger it would be to mens Souls, and injury to the Popes Authority, from whom would be taken the Power which God hath given him, and granted to one Nation; to put the Emperour in mind how himſelf, being in *Bolonia*, deteſted a National Council, knowing it to be pernicious to the Imperial Authority, becauſe the Subjects, incouraged by ſeeing power given them to innovate in matter of Religion, would think to do the like in the Temporal State, and that his Majeſty, after the year 1532. would never have an Imperial Diet celebrated in his preſence, leſt he ſhould give occaſion of demanding a National Council: be treated moſt ſeriouſly with the Emperour, and with every one of the Princes, and beſides publiſhed a Writing addreſſed to the Catholicks. He ſaid therein that he had diligently conſidered what a prejudice it would be, if the Controverſies of Doctrine

The Legate publiſheth a writing to diſſwade all Treaties about Religion in a National Council.

ctrine ſhould be referred to the Council of a Nation, and thought it his duty to admoniſh them, that they ſhould by all means remove that Clauſe, for that it was moſt manifeſt that queſtions of Faith could not be determined in a National Council, becauſe it concerned the Univerſal State of the Church; and if any thing were determined therein, it would be void and of no force. And, as in not Celebrating ſuch a Council (as he was perſwaded they would not) they ſhould do a thing moſt acceptable to his Holineſs, who is head of the Church, and of all Councils, ſo the Celebration of it would be moſt offenſive to him. That it was a clear caſe, that by this means greater Seditions would ariſe in matter of Religion, as well in other Nations, as in that moſt noble Province. That he would not omit this duty, both to obey the inſtruction of his Holineſs, and not to be wanting to the charge of Legation laid upon him.

1541. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

The Princes anſwered this Writing of the Legate, that it was in his Power to remedy all the inconveniences which might ariſe, by perſwading his Holineſs, that a general Council might be intimated and celebrated without any more Procraſtination. That by this means all occaſion of a National Council (which all the States of the Empire deſired and prayed for) would be removed. But if the general Council, ſo often promiſed, and laſt of all by himſelf, were not brought to effect, the manifeſt neceſſity of *Germany* required, that the Controverſies ſhould be determined in a National Synod, or in an imperial Diet, with the aſſiſtance of the Popes Legate. The Proteſtant Divines anſwered alſo in a long Writing, and ſaid, that neither greater Seditions, nor any at all could ariſe, when the Controverſies of Religion ſhall be compoſed according to the Word of God, and manifeſt Vices corrected according to the Doctrine of the Scripture, and the undoubted Canons of the Church. That to determine of Faith hath never been formerly denied to National Councils, becauſe Chriſt hath promiſed his aſſiſtance, where two or three ſhall be aſſembled in his Name. That the number was great, not only of National Councils, but even of a very few Biſhops, which have determined the Controverſies, and ordered the manners of the Church in *Syria*, *Greece*, *Africk*, *Italy*, *France*, and *Spain* againſt the Errours of *Samoſatenus*, *Arrius*, the *Donatiſts*, *Pelagius*, and other Hereticks; whoſe determinations cannot be called void, of no force, and vain, without Impiety. That it hath been granted to the See of *Rome* to be the firſt, and to the Pope to have the chiefeſt Authority amongſt the Patriarchs; but that it is not found in any Father, that he hath been called head of the Church, or of the Councils. *Chriſt* only is Head; *Paul*, *Apollos*, and *Cephas* are but Miniſters of the Church. That what may be expected from *Rome*; the Diſcipline there obſerved ſo many Ages, and the Tergiverſation to celebrate a lawful Council do declare.

The anſwer of the Princes to the writing.

The anſwer of the Proteſtant Divines.

But the Emperour, after long diſcuſſion, the 28. of *July* made the Receſs of the Diet, remitting the whole Action of the Colloquy unto the general Council, or National Synod of *Germany*, or a Diet of the Empire. He promiſed to go into *Italy*, and to Treat with the Pope for a Council; which, if he could not obtain, either General or National, he would intimate a Diet of the Empire within 18 Months, to ſettle the matters of Religion, and be a means that the Pope ſhould ſend thither a Legate. He commanded the Proteſtants to receive no new opinions, but thoſe that were agreed on, and the Biſhops to reform their Churches. He commanded that the Monaſteries ſhould not be deſtroyed, nor the goods

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goods of the Church Uſurped, nor any man Sollicited to change Religion. And, to give the Proteſtants greater Satisfaction, he added, that, concerning the Doctrines not as yet accorded, he preſcribed them nothing; but that they ought not to deſtroy the Cloyſters of the Monks, but reduce them to a Holy and Chriſtian amendment: that the Eccleſiaſtical goods ſhould not be Uſurped, But, left to the Miniſters, without regard of Diverſity of Religion: that no man ſhould be moved to change his Religion, but thoſe received who change it willingly. He ſuſpended alſo the Receſs of *Ausburg*, for as much as concerned Religion, and the things depending thereon, until the Controverſies were determined in a Council or Diet.

A Conference between the Pope and Emperour in *Lucca*.

After the Diet was ended, *Cæſar* paſſed into *Italy*, and Diſcourſed with the Pope in *Lucca*, concerning the Council, and the Turkiſh War; and concluded that the Pope ſhould ſend a Nuncio into *Germany*, to take reſolution both in the one matter and the other, in the Diet which ſhould be held in *Spira* in the Leginning of the next year, and that the Council ſhould be held in *Vicenza*, as was before appointed.

The Venetians will not ſuffer the Council to be held in *Vicenza*.

The Pope ſignified the concluſion to the Senate of *Venice*, who thought not fit, for divers reſpects, that ſo great a Multitude ſhould meet in the City, and ſhould Treat of the Turkiſh War, as certainly they would have done, either with a purpoſe to effect it, or at the leaſt to make a fair ſhew. Whereupon they anſwered, that, the caſe being altered by reaſon of an accord which they lately had made with the *Turk*, they could not continue in the ſame opinion, becauſe *Solyman* would ſuſpect that they moved the Chriſtian Princes to conſpire againſt him. Hereupon the Pope was conſtrained to alter his Deſign. But the Cardinal *Contarini* was much Caluminated in the Court of *Rome*, where an opinion aroſe, that he was ſomewhat affected to Lutheraniſm; and thoſe that ſpake leaſt hurt of him, ſaid, that he oppoſed not as much as he ought, and that he had put the Popes Authority in hazard. The Pope alſo diſtaſted his Service, though he were mightily defended by the Cardinal *Fregoſo*. But at his return to his Holineſs, whom he found in *Lucca* expecting the Emperour, he rendred an account of his Legation, and gave abſolute Satisfaction.

The Legate *Contarini* was ſuſpected of Lutheraniſm.

1542. *John Morone* is ſent Nuncio to the Diet of *Spira*.

The year 1541. ended thus; and in the next the Pope ſent *John Morone*, Biſhop of *Modena*, to *Spira*, where the Diet was held in preſence of *Ferdinand*: who, according to his Commiſſion, declared, That the Popes mind concerning the Council, was the ſame as before; that is, that it ſhould one day be Celebrated; that he had ſuſpended it by *Cæſar*'s conſent, to make way firſt to ſome Concord in *Germany*: But ſeeing this to be in vain, he returned to his former opinion, not to deter the Celebration of it. But that he could not conſent to make it in *Germany*, becauſe he meant to be there in Perſon, and that his Age, and length of the way, and ſo great a change of the Air hindred his going into that Country. And that it ſeemed not more commodious for other Nations. Beſide, that there was a great probability to fear, that the differences could not be handled without Commotion. Therefore, that *Ferrara*, *Bolonia*, or *Piacenza* (all great and moſt opportune Cities) ſeemed to him more fit. But in caſe they liked them not, he was contented to call it in *Trent*, a City at the Confines of *Germany*. That his will was to begin it at *Whitſontide*, but for the ſtraitneſs of the time he had Prorogued it to the thirteenth of *Auguſt*. He prayed them all to be preſent there, and, laying aſide all hatred, to handle the Cauſe of God with Sincerity. *Ferdinand*, and the Catholick Princes thanked the

Trent is named for the place of the Council; but the Proteſtants would not conſent.

the Pope, and ſaid, that, not being able to obtain a fit place in *Germany*, as *Ratisbon* or *Collen*, they were contented with *Trent*. But the Proteſtants would not agree either that the Council ſhould be intimated by the Pope, or that *Trent* ſhould be the place, which was the cauſe why nothing was determined in that Diet concerning the Council. 1542. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

Howſoever, the Pope ſent out a Bull of the Intimation, the two and twentieth of *May* this year; wherein, having declared his deſire to provide againſt the Evils of Chriſtendom, he ſaid, he had always thought upon the Remedies: and finding none more fit than a Council, he was conſtantly reſolved to call it: and, making mention of the Convocation at *Mantua*, then of the Suſpenſion, after of the Convocation at *Vicenza*, and of the other Suſpenſion made in *Genua*, and finally of that other during pleaſure, he went on to ſhew the reaſons that induced him to continue the ſame Suſpenſion until then. Theſe were, *Ferdinand*'s War in *Hungary*, the Rebellion of *Flanders* againſt the Emperour, and the things that happened in the Diet of *Ratisbon*, expecting a time appointed by God for this work. But conſidering in the end, that every time is acceptable to his Divine Majeſty, when holy things are handled, he reſolved to expect no other conſent of the Princes; and becauſe he could not have *Vicenza*, being willing to give Satisfaction to *Germany* concerning the place, and underſtanding they deſired *Trent*, though a City more within *Italy* ſeemed to him more commodious, yet his Fatherly Charity inclined his Will to yield to their demands, and he choſe *Trent* to Celebrate there an Oecumenical Council the firſt of *November* next; and that he interpoſed that time, that his Decree might be publiſhed, and the Prelates have time to arrive at the place. Therefore, by the Authority of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, and the Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul*, which himſelf exerciſeth on Earth, by the Counſel and Conſent of the Cardinal, all Suſpenſions being removed, he intimateth an holy, Oecumenical, and General Council in that City, a fit place, free, and Opportune for all Nations, to be begun the firſt of that Month, proſecuted, and ended: calling all Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and thoſe who by Law or Privilege, have Voice in General Councils, and commanding them by Vertue of the Oath made to him and the Apoſtolick See, and by holy obedience, and under the Puniſhments, by Law or Cuſtom to be inflicted upon the diſobedient, to be there in Perſon, or in caſe they ſhall be hindered, to make Faith of the hindrance, or ſend Proctors: praying the Emperour, the moſt Chriſtian King, and all other Kings, Dukes, and Princes, to be Perſonally preſent, or, in caſe they cannot, to ſend Ambaſſadours, men of Gravity and Authority, and to cauſe the Biſhops and Prelates of their Kingdoms and Provinces to go thither: deſiring further of the Prelates and Princes of *Germany*, for whoſe ſake the Council is intimated in the place they wiſhed, that the things may be handled which belong to the Truth of Chriſtian Religion, to the Correction of Manners, to the Peace and Concord of Chriſtian Princes and People, and oppreſſion of the Barbarians and Infidels.

The Pope publiſheth the Bull of the intimation.

The Bull was preſently ſent from *Rome* to all Princes, but went not forth in a fit time. For *Francis* the *French* King, having in *July* denounced War, in threatning Terms, againſt the Emperour, and publiſhed it by a Book which he ſet forth; he made it at the ſame inſtant in *Brabant*, *Lucemberg*, *Ronciglione*, *Piemont*, and *Artoiſe*.

The *French* King maketh War againſt the Emperour.

The Emperour, having received the Bull of the Council, anſwered the

1542. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

the Pope, that he was not ſatisfied with it. For having never refuſed any pains, danger, or coſt, that the Council might be called, and contrarily the *French* King having always endeavoured to hinder it, it ſeemed ſtrange unto him that they were compared and made equal in the Bull; and, rehearſing all the injuries which he pretended to have received from the King, added alſo, that, in the laſt Diet at *Spira*, he had Laboured by his Ambaſſadours to Cheriſh the Diſcords of Religion, by promiſing friendſhip and favour to either Party. In fine, he referred it to his Holineſs to conſider, if the actions of that King did ſerve to remedy the Miſchiefs of the Chriſtian Common-wealth, and to begin the Council, which he did ever Croſs, for his private gain, and had conſtrained him, who did perceive it, to find a way to Reconcile the differences of Religion. Therefore, in caſe the Council ſhall not be Celebrated, that his Holineſs ought not to blame him, but the King, and denounce War againſt him, if he meant to aſſiſt the publick good: becauſe this is the only way, to call the Council, eſtabliſh Religion, and regain Peace.

The Emperor excepteth againſt the Bull, and complaineth of the *French* King.

The King, preſaging what imputations would be laid upon him, for making a War to the hurt of Religion, and hindrance of the Service of God, which might be expected from the Council, prevented it by publiſhing an Edict againſt the Lutherans, commanding the Parliaments to Execute it Inviolably, with ſevere charge that all ſhould be appeached, who had Books differing from the Church of *Rome*, that made ſecret Conventicles, that Tranſgreſſed the Commandments of the Church, and eſpecially that obſerved not the Doctrine of Meats, or prayed in any Tongue but the Latine; and commanded the *Sorboniſts* to be diligent Spies againſt them. Afterwards underſtanding the Emperours cunning, who aſſayed to incite the Pope againſt him, he cauſed the Lutherans to be really proceeded againſt, and commanded that a form to diſcover and accuſe them, ſhould be inſtituted in *Paris*, propoſing puniſhments to the Concealors of them, and rewards to the Delators. Afterwards having full notice what *Cæſar* had written to the Pope, he wrote alſo unto him a long Apology for himſelf, and an Invective againſt the Emperour, upbraiding him with the Surprize and Sack of *Rome*, and with the Deriſion added to the loſs, by making Proceſſions in *Spain* for the Popes delivery, whom himſelf kept Priſoner. He Diſcourſed of all the Offences between himſelf and the Emperour, and laid all the blame on him. He concluded that it could not be aſcribed to him, that the Council of *Trent* was hindred or foreſlowed, becauſe he gained nothing by it, and that this was far from the Examples of his Anceſtors, by whoſe imitation he uſed all endeavours to preſerve Religion, as the Edicts and Executions made in *France* did very well demonſtrate. Therefore he prayed his Holineſs, not to believe the Calumnies, and to aſſure himſelf that he ſhould find him ready to aſſiſt him in all occaſions, either of his own, or of the Church of *Rome*.

The *French* King waxeth cruel againſt the Proteſtants, to face himſelf from the imputations laid upon him by the Emperour.

He writeth alſo to the Pope againſt the Emperour.

The Pope ſendeth Legates to mediate a Pacification.

The Pope, not to prejudice the Office of a common Father, whereof his Predeceſſors did ever make Oſtentation, ſent Legates to both the Princes, to mediate a Pacification, Cardinal *Contarini* to the Emperour, and *Sadoletus* to the *French* King, to pray them to forget private injuries, for the publick cauſe, and to be reconciled, that their Diſcords may not hinder the peace of Religion. To Cardinal *Contarini*, who immediately dyed, he Subſtituted Cardinal *Viſeus*; whereat the Court marvelled, becauſe he was not gracious with the Emperour to whom he was ſent. And though the War waxed hot in ſo many places, yet

Cardinal *Contarini* dieth.

the

the Pope thinking that he wronged his Reputation if he went not on with the Council; the 26. of *Auguſt*, this year 1542. ſent his Legates to *Trent*, to the Synod which he had intimated, *Peter Paul Pariſius*, *John Morone*, and *Reginald Poole*; the firſt as a learned, and practiſed Canoniſt; the ſecond, as a Man fit for Negotiation; the third, to ſhew, that, howſoever the King of *England* was alienated from the Subjection of *Rome*, yet the Kingdom had a great part in the Council. To theſe he diſpatched the Mandate of the Legation, commanding them to go thither, and to entertain the Prelates and Ambaſſadours who came unto them, without making any publick Act before they had received Inſtructions, which he meant to ſend them in time convenient. 1542. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Franc's* I. The Pope ſendeth 3 Legates to *Trent*.

The Emperour alſo underſtanding the Deputation of the Legates, though as the Caſe did then ſtand, he hoped for no good, yet that the Pope might do nothing to his prejudice, he ſent thither for his Ambaſſadours, *Don Diego*, his Reſident in *Venice*, and *Nicholas Granuel*, together with his Son *Anthony*, Biſhop of *Arras*, and ſome few Biſhops of the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Pope, beſides his Legates, ſent thither ſome Biſhops, whom he eſteemed moſt faithful, with order not to make too much haſt in their Journey. As well the Popes men as the Emperours, arrived at the time appointed. Theſe preſented to the Legates the Emperors Mandate, and deſired that the Council ſhould be opened, and the buſineſs begun. The Legates make delay, and ſaid, that it would be a diſhonour to the Council, to begin it with ſo ſmall a number, eſpecially where Articles of ſo great importance were to be handled, as were thoſe which the Lutherans did queſtion. The Imperialiſts replyed, that the matter of Reformation might well be handled, which was more neceſſary, and not ſubject to ſo many difficulties. The others alledged, that it muſt be applyed to the uſe of divers Nations, ſo that the aſſiſtance of all was more neceſſary therein. In fine, they paſſed to Proteſtations, to which the Legates not anſwering, but referring the anſwer to the Pope, no concluſion at all was made. The Emperor ſendeth Ambaſſadors and Prelates to *Trent*, and ſo doth the Pope, but the Council doth not begin.

The end of that year approaching, the Emperour gave order to *Granuel* to go to the Diet, which was to be held in *Noremberg*, in the beginning of the next, and to *Don Diego* to remain in *Trent*, and to labour that the Council ſhould begin, or, at the leaſt, that thoſe that were aſſembled ſhould not depart, that in the Diet he might make uſe of that ſhadow of the Council. In *Noremberg*, *Granuel* propoſed the War againſt the *Turks*, and that the Emperour might be aſſiſted againſt the *French* King. The Proteſtants replyed, demanding that the differences of Religion might be compoſed, and the oppreſſions which the Judges of the Chamber uſed againſt them under other pretences, though indeed for that cauſe, might be taken away. *Granuel* anſwered, that it neither could, nor ought to be done in that place and time, becauſe a Council was aſſembled in *Trent* to that end. But the excuſe was in vain, becauſe the Proteſtants approved not the Council, and ſaid plainly, that they would not be there. The Diet ended without concluſion, and *Don Diego* returned to his Ambaſſage at *Venice*, though the Legates intreated that, to give Reputation to the buſineſs, he would entertain himſelf there, until they received anſwer from the Pope. *Granuel* is ſent to the Diet in *Noremberg*, and *Don Diego* remaineth in *Trent*. The Proteſtants refuſe to go to *Trent*, and *D. Diego* returneth to *Venice*.

The Emperours Ambaſſadour being gone, the Biſhops of the Empire followed, and all the others, having leave to depart under divers colours; at the laſt, the Legates, after they had been there ſeven Months, without doing any thing, were recalled by the Pope. And this was the end of that Congregation. The Emperour, being parted from The Legates being left alone were recalled.

1542. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

Spain by Sea to go into *Germany* by the way of *Italy*, the Pope reſolved to ſpeak with him ſomewhere, and deſired it ſhould be in *Bologna*. And to this end he ſent *Peter Aloiſius* his Son to *Genua*, to invite him. But becauſe his Majeſty would not go out of his way, nor loſe time in his Voyage, he ſent the Cardinal *Farneſe* to meet him, and pray him to go by the way of *Parma*, where the Pope might expect him. But after there being difficulty how the Emperour might enter into that City, the twenty firſt of *June* 1543. they met in *Buſſeto*, a Caſtle belonging to the *Palavicini*, Situate upon the River *Tarus*, between *Parma* and *Piacenza*. The ends of them both ſuffered not that the buſineſs of the Council and of Religion ſhould be the principal Treaty between them. But the Emperour, being wholly bent againſt the *French* King, laboured to incite the Pope againſt him, and to have money from him for the War. The Pope, ſerving himſelf upon this occaſion, was wholly ſet upon the gaining of *Milan* for his Nephews; wherein he was aſſiſted by *Margarite*, Baſtard Daughter to the Emperour, Married to *Octavius Farneſe*, the Pope's Nephew, and in that reſpect made Dutcheſs of *Camerino*. The Pope promiſed the Emperour to Combine with him againſt the *French* King, to make many Cardinals of his Nomination, to pay him for ſome years 150000 Crowns, leaving alſo in his Hands the Caſtles of *Milan* and *Cremona*. But becauſe the Imperialiſts required a Million of Ducats for the preſent, and another Million upon ſhort days of payment, nothing could be concluded: and in regard the Emperour could not longer tarry, it was agreed to continue the Treaty, by means of the Popes Miniſters, who ſhould follow the Emperour. *Cæſar* ſhewed he was ſatisfied with the Council, that by the ſending of Legates, and aſſiſtance of thoſe few Prelates, the Catholicks of *Germany* at the leaſt had known his ready mind: and, becauſe the impediments might be imputed to the *French* King, he concluded that the Remedy was not to be thought upon, until it did appear how the War proceeded. They parted with great Demonſtrations of mutual Satisfaction; yet the Pope miſtruſted the Emperour, and from that time turned his mind toward the *French* King.

1543. The Pope and Emperour meet in *Buſſeto*.

The Pope ſeeketh to gain *Milan*.

He miſtruſts the Emperour and turneth to the *French* King.

A League between the Emperour and King of *England*.

The Pope was much offended with the League.

But while he was thus doubtful, the League between the Emperour and the King of *England* againſt *France*, was publiſhed, which conſtrained the Pope wholly to alienate himſelf from him. For he ſaw how much that League prejudiced his Authority, being Contracted with one Excommunicated, Anathematized by him, Curſed, deſtinated to eternal Damnation, a Schiſmatick, deprived of his Kingdom and Dominions, whoſe Confederation made with whomſoever was void, againſt whom alſo all Chriſtians, Princes were bound by his Commandment to take Arms, and, which moſt imported, that ſtill remaining more Contumacious, and openly deſpiſing his Authority, this evidently ſhewed to the World that the Emperour bare no reſpect unto him, neither Spiritual nor Temporal, and gave Example to all, to make no account of his Authority. And the affront ſeemed to him the greater, becauſe *Clement*, who might eaſily have Temporized in that cauſe, to pleaſe the Emperour, and for his Intereſts, had proceeded againſt that King, who otherwiſe was well affected, and deſerved well of the Apoſtolick See. To weigh down theſe Offences, the Pope put in the other Balance, that the *French* King had made ſo many Laws and Edicts before named, to preſerve Religion and his Authority. Unto which was added that the *Pariſian* Divines the firſt of *Auguſt*, aſſembling the People by the ſound of a Trumpet, publiſhed five and twenty Heads of Chriſtian

Doctrine

Doctrine, propoſing the bare concluſions and determinatians, without adding reaſons, perſwaſions, or grounds, but only Preſcribing, as it were by Authority, what they would have believed: which were Printed, and ſent through all *France*, confirmed by the King's Letters, under moſt grievous Puniſhments, againſt whoſoever ſpake or taught otherwiſe, with another new Decree to make inquiſition againſt the Lutherans. Theſe things the rather pleaſed the Pope, becauſe he knew the King did them, not ſo much for the reaſon related before, that is, to juſtifie himſelf to the World that he made not War with the Emperour to favour the Lutherans Doctrine, nor to hinder their Extirpation, but principally to pleaſe him, and for reverence of the Apoſtolical See. 1543. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

The Emperors anſwer to the Popes complaints.

But the Emperour knowing the Popes complaints, anſwered, That the *French* King having made a League with the *Turk* to the prejudice of Chriſtians. (as the Siege of *Nizza* in *Provence*, made by the *Ottoman* Army, guided by *Polinus* the Kings Ambaſſadour, and the Spoils taken in the Rivers of the Kingdom, well ſhewed) it was lawful for him to uſe, for his defence, the help of the King of *England*, a Chriſtian, though he acknowledge not the Pope; as alſo by the ſame Pope's leave, himſelf and *Ferdinand* uſed the aſſiſtance of the Proteſtants, more averſe from the Apoſtolick See, than that King; that the Pope, underſtanding the League of the *French* King with the *Turk*, ſhould have proceeded againſt him. But he ſaw well what difference was made. For the *Turkiſh* Army, which had ſo much damnified all the Chriſtians whereſoever it went, paſſed Friendly by the Pope's Rivers, yea going to *Oſtia* to take in the Freſh Water on S. *Peters* day at Night, for which all *Rome* was in Confuſion, the Cardinal of *Carpi*, who commanded in the Popes name that was abſent, put them out of fear, being ſecure by the intelligence which he had with the *Turks*.

The Treaty about the Council began again in the Diet of *Spira*.

The War and theſe complaints put to ſilence the Treaties about the Council for this year, which, the next 1544. returned into the Field, and began in the Diet of *Spira*, where the Emperour rehearſing the Pains which he formerly took to remedy the Diſcords in Religion, and finally the care and diligence uſed in *Ratisbon*, he put them in mind how, it not being then poſſible to compoſe the Controverſies, all was finally referred to a General or National Council, or a Diet, and that afterwards the Pope, at his inſtance, had intimated the Council, where himſelf reſolved to be in Perſon, and would have performed it if the War of *France* had not hindred him. But now in regard the Diſcord in Religion remaineth the ſame, and is accompanied with the ſame inconveniences, it is not time to defer the Remedy any longer; for which he gave order they ſhould conſider, and propoſe to him what way they thought to be beſt. The buſineſs of Religion was much conſidered on. But becauſe the Affairs of the War preſſed them more, it was referred to the Diet, which was to be Celebrated in *December*, and in the mean ſpace a Decree was made, that the Emperour ſhould give charge to ſome honeſt and learned Men to write a form of Reformation, and that all the Princes ſhould do the ſame, that all being conferred together, that might be determined in the Diet by common conſent, which was to be obſerved until the future General Council, to be held in *Germany*, or until a National. In the mean ſpace that all ſhould remain in peace, without raiſing any Tumult for Religion, and the Churches of the one and the other ſhould enjoy their goods. This Receſs did not generally pleaſe the Catholicks; but ſome of them, becauſe they inclined to the Proteſtants opinion, approved this middle way. Thoſe 1544.

1544. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

that were not contented, ſeeing their number to be ſmall, reſolve to endure it.

The Popes diſdain againſt the Emperour is increaſed.

But the War went on ſtill; and the Popes diſdain conceived for the League with *England*, did wax greater, for that the Emperour had never aſſented to any of thoſe main and ample Matches offered him by the Cardinal *Farneſe*, whom he ſent Legate with him into *Germany*, concerning the Grant of the Dutchy of *Milan* to the Family of the *Farneſi*, and, that being to aſſiſt in the Diet of *Spira*, he would not ſuffer the Cardinal Legate to follow him thither for fear of offending the Proteſtants. And finally, conſidering the Decree made in the Diet, ſo prejudicial to him and the Apoſtolick See, he was more offended, becauſe he ſaw his hopes loſt, and his Authority and Reputation much diminiſhed, and judged it neceſſary to ſhew he was ſenſible of it. And though on the other ſide he conſidered that his Party in *Germany* was weakened, and was Counſelled by his moſt inward Friends to diſſemble, yet finally, being aſſured, that by declaring himſelf openly againſt *Cæſar*, he did more ſtraitly bind the *French* King to maintain his Reputation, he reſolved to begin from Words to take occaſion to paſs to Deeds, as the Conjunctures ſhould Comport.

The Pope writeth a long angry Letter to the Emperour.

And the 5. of *Auguſt* he wrote a great long Letter to the Emperour; the ſubſtance whereof was; That having underſtood what Decrees were made in *Spira*, his Duty and Fatherly Charity did inforce him to tell him his opinion, that he might not follow the Example of *Eli* the Prieſt, whom God ſeverely puniſhed for his too much Indulgence towards his Sons. That the Decrees of *Spira* were dangerous for the Emperours Soul, and extreamly troubled the Church; that he ſhould not violate the Rules obſerved by Chriſtians, which command that, in the cauſe of Religion, all ſhould be referred to the Church of *Rome*: and yet he, not eſteeming the Pope, who only, by the Law of God and Man, hath power to call Councils. And to Decree in Spiritual Matters, was willing to think of aſſembling a General or National Council; and hath ſuffered Idiots and Hereticks to judge of Religion: hath made Decrees concerning ſacred Goods, reſtored to honour the Rebels of the Church, whom he had condemned by his own Edicts: that he is willing to believe that he hath not done theſe things by his own Inclination, but by the Pernicious Council of thoſe that bear ill will to the Church of *Rome*, and that he complaineth of this, that he hath yielded unto them; that the Scripture is full of Examples of the Wrath of God, againſt the Uſurpers of the Office of the High-Prieſt, of *Uzza*, *Dathan*, *Abiron*, and *Core*, of King *Ozias*, and others. That it is not a ſufficient excuſe to ſay, the Decrees are but Temporary, until the Council only. For though the thing done be holy, yet in regard of the Perſon that did it, it not belonging to him, it is wicked. That God hath always exalted thoſe Princes, that have been Devoted to the See of *Rome*, Head of all Churches, *Conſtantine*, the *Theodoſii*, and *Charles* the Great: and contrarily hath puniſhed thoſe that have not given due reſpect unto it. Examples hereof are *Anaſtaſius*, *Mauritius*, *Conſtans* the 2. *Philip*, *Leo*, and others; and *Henry* the 4. was for this cauſe Chaſtiſed by his own Son; as alſo *Frederick* the 2. by his. And not Princes only, but whole Nations have been puniſhed for it; the Jews for putting to Death, Chriſt the Son of God; the *Grecians* for having many ways contemned his Vicar: which things he ought the more to fear, becauſe he is deſcended from thoſe Emperours, who have received more honour from the Church of *Rome*, than they have given it. That he commendeth him for

for deſiring the amendment of the Church, but withal doth adviſe him to leave the charge thereof to him, to whom God hath given it. That the Emperour is a Miniſter, but not a Governour, nor an Head. He added, that he deſired the Reformation, and hath declared it often by intimating the Council, whenſoever any Spark of hope hath appeared that it might be aſſembled, and though in vain until then, yet he had not been wanting to his Duty, deſiring much a Council, which is the only Remedy againſt all Miſchiefs, as well for the general good of Chriſtendom, as the particular of *Germany*, which hath more need, thereof. That it hath been intimated already, though deferred until a more Commodious time, by reaſon of the Wars. That it belongeth to the Emperour himſelf, to give way that it may be Celebrated, by making Peace, or deferring the War, while matters of Religion are handled in the Council. That he ſhould obey theſe Fatherly Commands, exclude from the imperial Diets all Diſputes about Religion, and refer them to the Pope, ordain nothing concerning Eccleſiaſtical goods, revoke the Grants made to the Rebels againſt the See of *Rome*; otherwiſe to perform his own Duty, that he ſhall be forced to uſe greater Severity againſt him than he would.

1544.

Paul III.
Charles V.
Henry VIII.
Francis I.

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1544.
Paul III.
Charles V.
Henry VIII.
Francis I.

THE HISTORY OF THE Council of Trent.

BOOK II.

THE War between the Emperour and the *French* King lasted not long. For the Emperour saw plainly, that while he was busied in that, and his Brother in the other against the *Turk*, *Germany* so much increased in Liberty, that the Imperial Name would not be esteemed within a short time; and that so long as he made War in *France*, he imitated *Æsop's* Dog, who following the Shadow, lost both it and the Body. Whereupon he hearkened to the Propositions of Peace made by the *French* men, with design not only to be freed from that impediment, but, by the Kings means, to accommodate the *Turkish* Affairs, and apply himself unto *Germany*. The four and twentieth of *September* the Peace was concluded between them, and amongst other things they both Capitulated to defend the old Religion, and to labour for the Union of the Church, and reformation of the Court of *Rome*, from whence all the Dissentions are derived, and that, for this purpose, the Pope should jointly be requested to call the Council, and the *French* King should send to the Diet of *Germany*, to perswade the Protestants to accept it. The Pope was not afraid of the Capitulation for the Council, and Reformation of the Court, being assured that whensoever they began that Interprize, by reason of their divers ends and interests, they would not long agree: neither did he doubt, but that the design being to be Executed by a Council, he would so accommodate every Treaty, that his Authority should be amplified. But he thought that in case he should call the Council at their request, the World would imagine he was constrained, which would bring much dishonour to his reputation, and incouragement to him that designed the Moderation of the Papal Power. Therefore not expecting to be prevented by any of them, and dissembling the Suspicions conceived against the Emperour, even those that

The Emperor is wholly inclined to Peace, which was concluded the 24. of *September*.

The Pope dissembleth his Suspicions.

1542. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis.* I.

that were moſt important (which the Peace made without his knowledge, with points prejudicial to his Authority, put into his Head) he ſet forth a Bull, in which he invited the whole Church to rejoice for the Peace, by which the only impediment of the Council was removed, which he eſtabliſhed again in *Trent*, giving order it ſhould begin the 15 of *March*.

The Popes Bull of the convocation of the Council.

He ſaw the Term was ſtrait, and not ſufficient to give notice throughout, much leſs to give the Prelates ſpace to put themſelves in order, and make the Journey: Yet he thought it advantage, that, in caſe it were to be Celebrated, it ſhould begin with few, and thoſe *Italians*, Courtiers and his Dependants, whom he had Sollicited to be there firſt, becauſe the manner of proceeding in the Council ſhould be handled in the beginning (which is the principal; yea, the only thing to preſerve the Pontifical Authority) unto whoſe determination they who daily arrived would be conſtrained to ſtand. That it was no marvel that a general Council ſhould begin with a few: for ſo it was in that of *Piſa* and *Conſtance*, which nevertheleſs had an happy Progreſs. And having penetrated the true cauſe of making the Peace, he wrote to the Emperour, that he had uſed Prevention and Celerity to intimate the Council, to do him Service. For knowing that his Majeſty was conſtrained, by reaſon of the *French* War, to permit, and promiſe many things to the Proteſtants, by intimating the Council he had now given him a means to excuſe himſelf in the Diet, which was to be in *September*, if, the Council approaching, he performed not what he had promiſed to grant until the Council.

The Emperor was diſpleaſed with the ſudden intimation of the Council.

But the Popes haſtineſs pleaſed not the Emperour, nor the reaſon gave him Satisfaction. He deſired, for his Reputation, to be the principal cauſe, to make *Germany* accept the Council more eaſily, and for many other reſpects. And therefore being able to do nothing elſe, he uſed all thoſe Terms, which might ſhew himſelf to be the Author, and the Pope the Adherent. He ſent Ambaſſadours to all Princes to ſignifie the intimation, and to pray them to ſend Ambaſſadors to honour the meeting, and to confirm the Decrees which ſhould there be made. And he ſet himſelf to make ſerious Preparations, as if the interprize had been his own. He gave divers orders to the Prelates of *Spain* and the *Low Countries*, and commanded amongſt other things, that the Divines of *Lovaine* ſhould aſſemble themſelves together, to conſider of the Doctrines which were to be propoſed; which they reduced to three and thirty Heads, without confirming them by any place of Scripture, but explicating Magiſterially the concluſion only. Theſe Heads were after confirmed by the Emperours Edict, and publiſhed, with command, that they ſhould be defended and followed by all. And the Emperour concealed not his diſtaſte againſt the Pope, in his Speeches to the *Nuncio*, as well upon that occaſion, as in other audiences: yea, the Pope having created thirteen Cardinals in *December*, amongſt which were three *Spaniards*, he forbad them to accept the Arms, or uſe the name or habit.

33 Points of Doctrine collected by the Divines of *Lovaine*.

The Emperor ſheweth his diſtaſt againſt the Pope.

The *French* King alſo aſſembled at *Melun* the *Pariſian* Divines, to conſult of the neceſſary poſitions of the Chriſtian Faith, to be propoſed in the Council: where there was much contention. For ſome deſired to propoſe the Confirmation of whatſoever was Conſtituted in *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the Pragmatical Law; and others, doubting that the King would be offended by deſtroying the Concordate, made between him and *Leo*, which would neceſſarily follow, gave Counſel not to ſet that Diſputation on foot. And afterwards

afterwards, becauſe there were divers opinions in that School concerning the Sacraments, unto which ſome give effective miniſterial Virtue, and others not, every one deſiring that his opinion ſhould be an Article of Faith, nothing could be concluded, but that they ſhould keep themſelves within compaſs of the five and twenty Heads, publiſhed two years before. 1544. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

But the Pope ſignifying to the *French* King how little good-will the Emperour bare him, deſiring him for the maintenance of the Apoſtolick See, to ſend Ambaſſadors to the Council as ſoon as might be, and charged his *Nuncio* reſiding with the Emperour, that attending all occaſions when the Proteſtants gave him any diſtaſte, he ſhould offer all aſſiſtance from him, to recover the Imperial Authority, with Spiritual and Temporal aids, whereof the *Nuncio* having had too many occaſions, he ſo wrought, that the Emperour, finding he might have need of the Pope, both the one and the other way, remitted his Rigidity. And he gave an Argument thereof, by granting the new Cardinals leave to aſſume the Name and Arms, and by giving the *Nuncio* more grateful Audiences, and by conferring with him of the affairs of *Germany* more than he was wont to do. The Emperor is reconciled to the Pope.

The Pope made great haſt, not only to call the Council, but to diſpatch the Legates, whom he charged, that for maintenance of their dignity, they ſhould not firſt ſend ſome Subſtitute to receive the firſt Prelates, as ſome adviſed, that afterwards they might make their entry with Meetings and Ceremonies, but would have themſelves to be the firſt, and to be there before the time. He deputed for his Legates, *John Maria de Monte*, a Biſhop, Cardinal of *Paleſtrina*, *Marcellus Cervinus*, Prieſt of the Holy Croſs, and *Reginald Poole*, Deacon of S. *Mary* in *Coſmedin*. In this Man he choſe Nobility of Blood, and opinion of Piety, which commonly was had of him, and the rather for that he was an *Engliſh*-man, to ſhew that all *England* did not Rebel: in *Marcellus* conſtancy, and immoveable and undaunted perſeverance, together with exquiſite knowledge: in *Monte*, reality and openneſs of mind, joyned with ſuch Fidelity to his Patrons, that he could not poſtpoſe their intereſts before the ſafety of his own Conſcience. Theſe he diſpatched with a Brief of Legation, without giving them, as the cuſtom is, a Bull of Faculty, or any inſtruction in writing, being uncertain as yet, what Commiſſion to give them, meaning to govern himſelf, as the Succeſſes, and the Emperours proceeding ſhould Counſel him. So he made them depart with the Brief only. The Pope diſpatcheth the Legates to *Trent*. He giveth them no inſtructions.

But beſides the care the Pope had for the affairs of *Trent*, another of no leſs moment troubled his mind, concerning the Diet to be Celebrated in *Wormes*, where he thought the Emperour would not be preſent, and doubting that, being provoked by the Letter written unto him, he would underhand cauſe ſome Decree to be made more prejudicial to his affairs than the former, or at the leaſt give way unto it; he thought it neceſſary to have in that place a Miniſter of Authority and Reputation, with Title of Legate. But he feared an Affront that way, in caſe the Diet ſhould not receive him with due Honour. He found out a Temper to ſend to the Emperour the Cardinal *Farneſe* his Nephew, and make him paſs by *Wormes*, and there to give inſtructions to the Catholicks, and, after he had made the Treaties that were convenient, to go forward toward the Emperour, and in the mean ſpace to ſend *Fabius Magnanellus* of *Siena*, Biſhop of *Groſſeto*, for his *Nuntio* to reſide with the King of the *Romans*, with order to follow him to the Diet. Cardinal *Farneſe* is ſent to the Diet of *Wormes*, and to the Emperour.

Afterwards applying his mind to *Trent*, he cauſed a Conſultation to be begun concerning the faculties to be given to the Legates. This had ſome

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difficulty, becauſe they had no Examples to follow. For in the *Late* Council next preceeding, the Pope was Perſonally preſent; before in the Florentine *Eugenius* the fourth was preſent, and that of *Conſtance*, where the Schiſm was taken away, began with the preſence of *John* the 23, one of the three depoſed Popes, and ended with the preſence of *Martin* the fifth. Before that, the Council of *Piſa* was called by the Cardinals, and concluded by *Alexander* the Fifth. And in more ancient times, *Clement* the fifth was preſent in the Council of *Vienna*; in the two Councils of *Lions*, *Innocence* the fourth, and *Gregory* the Tenth; and before theſe in the *Lateran*, *Innocence* 3. Only the Council of *Baſil*, at that time when it obeyed *Eugenius* the fourth, was Celebrated by Legates. But to imitate any thing, that was there obſerved, was too bad a Preſage.

A conſultation about the Faculties to be given to the Legates.

The Contents of the Bull.

He reſolved to frame the Bull, with this Clauſe, that he ſent them as Angels of peace to the Council, which before he had intimated in *Trent*: and gave them full and free Authority, that for want of that, the Celebration and Continuation might not be hindred, with Faculty to preſide there, and to ordain any Decrees or Statutes whatſoever, and to publiſh them in the Seſſions according to Cuſtom: to propoſe, conclude, and Execute whatſoever was neceſſary, to condemn Errours and Root them out of all Provinces and Kingdoms: to take knowledge, hear, decide, and determine the cauſes of Hereſie, and whatſoever elſe concerneth the Catholick Faith: to reform the State of the holy Church in all her Members, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Secular: to make peace amongſt Chriſtian Princes, and to determine any thing elſe which may be for the honour of God and the increaſe of Chriſtian Faith: with Authority to Bridle, with Cenſures and Eccleſiaſtical Puniſhments, all contradicting and Rebellious Perſons, of what State or Preeminence ſoever, though graced with Pontifical or Regal Dignity; and to do any thing elſe neceſſary and fit for the Extirpation of Hereſies and Errours, and the reducing of thoſe People that are aliened from the obedience of the Apoſtolick See, Preſervation, and Reſtauration of Eccleſiaſtical liberty; yet with condition, that in all things they proceed with conſent of the Council.

The Bull for the diſſolution of the Council.

But the Pope, conſidering not only how to ſet the Council forward, but of the means to diſſolve it when it was begun, in caſe his Service did require it, to provide for himſelf in good time, he followed the Example of *Martin* the Fifth, who for fear of thoſe Encounters which happened to *John* the 23. in *Conſtance*, when he ſent *Nuncii* to the Council of *Pavia*, gave them a particular Brief, with Authority to prolong, diſſolve or tranſlate it to what place they would; A ſecret to croſs all Deliberation which was contrary to the intereſts of *Rome*. A few days after he made another Bull, giving the Legates power to Tranſfer the Council. This bare date the 22. of *February*, the ſame year, of which being to ſpeak hereafter, when the Tranſlation unto *Bolonia* ſhall be related, whatſoever is to be ſpoken thereof, ſhall be deferred until then.

1545.

The thirteenth of *March* 1545. The Cardinals of *Monte* and *Santa Croce* arrived in *Trent*, and were received by the Cardinal of that place. That day they made their publick Entry, and granted three years, and ſo many times Forty days of Indulgence, to thoſe that were preſent. They had not this Authority from the Pope, but hoped he would Ratifie the Fact. They found no Prelate there, though the Pope had cauſed ſome to part from *Rome*, that they might be preſent at the prefixed time.

The Legates grant an Indulgence without Authority.

The firſt thing the Legates did, was to conſider of the Contents of the Bull of Faculties given them, and reſolved to keep it ſecret, and ſent

advice

advice to *Rome*, that the condition to proceed with consent of the Council, tied them too much, and made them equal to every petty Prelate, and would breed great difficulties in the Government, in case it were necessary to Communicate every particular unto all; and said it was to give too much liberty or rather Licence to the Multitude. It was perceived in *Rome* that the reasons were good, and the Bull was corrected according to the advice, and absolute Authority was given them. But while the Legate expected an answer, they appointed out the place for the Session, capably of 400. Persons, within the Cathedral Church.

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The Bull was Corrected.

Don Diego de Mendoza, the Emperours Ambassador with the Republick of *Venice*, arrived in *Trent* Ten days after the Legates, to assist at the Council, with large Commission given him from *Bruxels* the twentieth of *February*, and was received by the Legates, assisted with the Cardinal *Madruccio*, and three Bishops; who only were then arrived; whose Names are not to be omitted, because they were the first. And they were, *Thomas Campeggio* Bishop of *Feltre*, the Cardinals Nephew, *Thomas* of S. *Felicius*, Bishop of *Cava*, Friar *Cornelius Musſus*, a Franciscan, Bishop of *Bitonto*, the most eloquent Preacher of those times. Four days after, *Don Diego* made his Proposition in Writing; which shewed the Emperours good disposition concerning the Celebration of the Council, and that order was given to the Prelates of *Spain* to be there, who he thought were already on their Journey; he excused himself by reason of his indisposition for not being there before, desired that the actions of the Council, and the Reformation of Manners might begin, as was proposed two years before in the same place, by the Lord *Granuel* and himself. The Legates answered in Writing, commending the Emperour, receiving his Personal excuse, and shewing their desire of the Prelates coming thither. And the Proposition and Answer were received by the parties unto whom it belonged, in the points not prejudicial to the rights of their Princes respectively. A caution which giveth a manifest Argument, with what Charity they treated in the proposition and answer, where there were only Words of pure Complement, except the mention of Reformation.

Don Diego returneth to *Trent*.

The Legates not knowing which way to Treat, made Demonstration to proceed jointly with the Ambassadours and Prelates, and to communicate to them their most inward thoughts; whereupon when Letters came from *Rome* or *Germany*, they assembled all to read them. But perceiving that *Don Diego* Equalized himself to them, and the Bishops presumed more than they were wont to do at *Rome*, and fearing some inconvenience would arise when their number did encrease, they sent advice to *Rome* that always one Letter should be written be to shewed, and the secret things apart, because of the Letters which they had received until then, they had made no use but by their Wit. They demanded also a Cypher, to Communicate the matters of greater Moment. All which particularities, with many more that shall be spoken of, having taken out of the Register of the Letters of the Cardinal of *Monte*, I have not been willing to conceal them, because they serve to penetrate the depth of the Treaties.

The Legates desire to have two sorts of Letters and a Cypher.

The Month of *March* being past, and the time, prefixed in the Popes Bull, to begin the Council expired many days, the Legates consulted amongst themselves concerning the opening of it, and resolved to expect advice from *Fabius Magnanellus*, *Nuncio* with *Ferdinand*, of what was handled in *Wormes*, and order from *Rome*, after the Pope had heard of the arrival and proposition of *Don Diego*; and the rather, because

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they were aſhamed to make ſo great a beginning with three Biſhops only. The Ambaſſadours of the King of the *Romans* arrived the eighth of *April*, and a ſolemn Congregation was made to receive them. In that *Don Diego* would have preceeded the Cardinal of *Trent*, and ſate next the Legates, ſaying that in regard he repreſented the Emperour, he ought to ſit in the ſame place where his Majeſty ſhould. But not to hinder the buſineſs, they found out a way to place them ſo that it could not appear who had the precedence.

The Ambaſſadours of the K. of the *Romans* are received in congregation.

D. Diego would have preceded the Cardinal of *Trent*.

The Kings Ambaſſadours preſented only their Prince his Letter, and declared by word of Mouth, his obſervance towards the Apoſtolick See and the Pope, his readineſs to favour the Council, and large offers: and they added that he would ſend a Commiſſion in form, and Perſons better inſtructed.

After this, the wiſhed for advice came to *Rome* and *Trent*, of the propoſition made in the Diet the 24. of *March* by King *Ferdinand*, who was Preſident there in the Emperours Name, and of the Negotiation which followed thereupon. The Kings Propoſition was, that the Emperour had made peace with the *French* King, that he might apply himſelf to compoſe the differences of Religion, and proſecute the War againſt the *Turks*; from whom he had promiſe of aſſiſtance, and an approbation of the Council, with a reſolution to be there in Perſon, or by his Ambaſſadors. That for this end, it being before Prorogued, he had dealt with the Pope to intimate it again, and Sollicited him to give aid againſt the *Turks*. That he had obtained the intimation of his Holineſs, and that Ambaſſadours ſent from the Emperour and himſelf were already in *Trent*. That all the World knew what pains *Cæſar* had taken to cauſe the Council to be Celebrated; firſt with *Clement* in *Bolonia*, then with *Paul* in *Rome*, *Genua*, *Nizza*, *Lucca*, and *Buſſeto*. That according to the Decree of *Spira*, he had given order to men of learning and good Conſcience, to compoſe a form of reformation; which was accordingly performed. But it being a thing of great Deliberation, and the time ſhort, and the *Turkiſh* War threatning them; the Emperour was reſolved not to ſpeak of this any more, but to expect how the Council would proceed, and what might be hoped from it, becauſe it was ſuddenly to begin; and in caſe no Fruit appeared, he might before the end of that Diet, intimate another to handle all that buſineſs, applying himſelf now to that which is of more Importance, that is, the *Turkiſh* War.

The propoſition of *Ferdinand* in the Diet.

The ſuſpicion of the Proteſtants.

This Propoſition made the Proteſtants very ſuſpicious. For the peace of Religion being to laſt until the Council, they were in doubt that when they were exhauſted, by Contributions againſt the *Turks*, they ſhould be Aſſailed, upon pretence that the peace was ended by opening the Council, in *Trent*. Yet they demanded that the Treaty begun ſhould be continued, alleadging that the time was long enough to him that feared God; or at leaſt that a new peace ſhould be eſtabliſhed until a lawful Council, ſo often promiſed, ſuch as that of *Trent* was not, for the reaſons ſo many times rehearſed before. And they declared that they could not Contribute; if they had not aſſurance of Peace, not tied to the Popes Council, which they had refuſed whenſoever it was ſpoken of. And though the Eccleſiaſticks did conſent abſolutely, that the cauſe of Religion ſhould be wholly remitted to the Council, yet it was reſolved to expect the Emperours anſwer before the Concluſion.

The Pope and the Legates were diſpleaſed with three particulars in the propoſition.

Three particulars in this action diſpleaſed the Pope and Legates which were at *Trent*. One, that the Emperour arrogated to himſelf, to have induced the Pope to celebrate the Council, which argued ſmall care of Religion

Religion in his Holineſs. The ſecond, that he had induced the *French* King to conſent unto it, which was no honour to his Sanctity, to whom this belonged. The third, that he would ſtill keep the Bit in his Mouth by a future Diet, that, in caſe the Council went not forward, he ſhould always fear, that things concerning Religion ſhould be treated of in the Diet. The Pope was perpetually troubled, not ſo much for the injuries received from the Proteſtants, as for the Emperours actions, which as he was wont to ſay, though they ſeemed favourable, yet were more pernicious to Religion, and his Authority, which could not be ſeparated. Beſides, it ſeemed he was always in danger, that the Emperour would make ſome accord with the *Dutch-men*, to his prejudice. And thinking how to provide a remedy, he could find none, but to ſet on Foot a War for Religion, becauſe the Proteſtants would be Curbed, and the Emperour likewiſe entangled in a dangerous Enterprize, and all Speech of Reformation and the Council would be buried in Silence. He had great hope it would Succeed, by that which his *Nuncio* wrote unto him, that he found in the Emperour great diſdain againſt the Proteſtants, and that he hearkened to his Propoſitions to ſubdue them by force. For this reſpect, beſide that which was before related, and to hinder that no prejudicial thing might be done in the Diet, and to encourage and give ſtrength to his Followers, another cauſe was added, more urgent, becauſe it belonged to his private intereſt. For being reſolved to give *Parma* and *Piacenza* to his Son, he thought he could not do it without great danger, if the Emperour conſented not: becauſe he might find pretences, either for that thoſe Cities were formerly Members of the Dutchy of *Milan*, or might ſay, the Church ſhould not be damnified, whereof he was Advocate. To diſpatch theſe buſineſſes, he ſent Cardinal *Farneſe* into *Germany*, with inſtructions neceſſary.

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The Pope is reſolved to give *Parma* and *Piacenza* to his Son: but fearеth the Emperour.

But the Legates in *Trent* had Commiſſion from the Pope, to open the Council with thoſe few Prelates that were there, without expecting a greater number, in caſe they underſtood that they would Treat of Religion in the Diet; but if not, to govern themſelves as other reſpects ſhould adviſe. They ſaw that the propoſing of the Diet did not bind them, but, on the other ſide, that the ſmall number of Prelates (who then were not more than four) perſwaded a Prorogation. Notwithſtanding they were in doubt that the danger of the *Turkiſh* Arms would conſtrain *Ferdinand* to make the *Receſs*; and, according to promiſe, to intimate another Diet, in which Religion ſhould be treated of: caſting the blame upon them, by ſaying that notice was given them of the Propoſition, that, knowing what was promiſed with good intention, they might have hindered the Execution of it by opening the Council. For this cauſe they ſent in diligence to the Pope, to receive order from him what to do in this doubtful Conſultation, ſeeing themſelves on the one ſide conſtrained by a potent reſpect to make haſt, and on the other enforced to deſiſt, becauſe they were almoſt alone in *Trent*. They declared to the Pope that they had many Conjectures, and Signs, that the Emperour regarded not the Celebration of the Council; that *Don Diego*, after his firſt Comparition, had never ſpoken ſo much as one word, and did ſhew, as it were in his Countenance, that he was pleaſed with that leaſure and ſpending of time. For his appearance only was ſufficient to excuſe and juſtifie his Maſter, that having by himſelf and his Ambaſſadors, continually deſired and Sollicited the Council, and brought the buſineſs to that paſs, and not ſeeing a convenient Progreſs, he might and ought to intimate another Diet, to determine the cauſe

The Legates know not what to reſolve about the opening of the Council.

of

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of Religion, as by reaſon devolved unto him by his own diligence, and negligence of the Pope. They reſolved to take a middle Courſe: that is, to Sing a Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, before the Emperour arrived in the Diet, which might ſtand for a beginning of the Council, and prevent whatſoever the Emperour could do in the *Receſs*, and, on the other ſide, remove all occaſion of ſaying, that the matters of the Council were begun to be handled with four Perſons; remaining in Liberty to enjoy the benefit of time, and to be able to go on, or deſiſt, or transfer, or ſhut up the Council, as the Occurrences ſhould adviſe. They wiſhed him to conſider, that if the Council were opened, after that Cardinal *Farneſe* had ſpoken with the Emperour, one might think that Cardinal was ſent to intreat that it might not be opened, and could not obtain it. Beſides the fame of the *Turkiſh* Army increaſing; it would be ſaid it was opened when neceſſity compelled to think of other matters, and when it was known it could not be done. The Cardinal *Santa Croce* deſired much that Signs of Devotion ſhould be ſhewed, and the People made to run together with the uſual Ceremonies of the Church; and therefore perſwaded that all ſhould write to the Pope, to demand a Brief, with Authority to give Indulgences, dated from the time of their parting, that the Indulgence which they granted at their entry, might be made good. That Cardinal was Scrupulous, that the People which were preſent at that entry, ſhould not be defrauded of thoſe three years and thrice forty days which they granted, and would ſupply it by this; not conſidering that a difficulty did ariſe, whether he that hath Authority to grant Indulgences, can make good thoſe which another hath granted without Authority.

It is reſolved that the Council ſhould be opened, only by Singing a Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt.

The deſire of the Cardinal *Santa Croce*.

The Cardinal of *Trent* deſireth a Garriſon.

The Cardinal, Biſhop and Lord of *Trent*, conſidering that that City, little it ſelf, and not much inhabited, would remain at the Diſcretion of Strangers and in danger of Seditions, in caſe the Council proceeded, gave the Pope to underſtand, that there was need of a Garriſon, of, at the leaſt, an Hundred and Fifty Foot-men, eſpecially if the Lutherans came; which expence himſelf was not able to bear, being exhauſted by paying his Predeceſſors Debts. The Pope anſwered, that, if he put a Garriſon into the Town, the Lutherans would have a pretence to publiſh that the Council was not free; that it was in vain to make doubt, ſo long as none but *Italians* were in *Trent*; and that he had no leſs care of the quiet of the City, than the Cardinal himſelf, becauſe the Security of the Council more imported the Pope than the Biſhop of the place; therefore that he ſhould leave the care thereof unto him, and aſſure himſelf, that he will be Vigilant to provide againſt dangers, for his own intereſt, and will not Burthen him with any expence. Having well conſidered all the reaſons which perſwaded and diſſwaded to begin the Council, for Diſſwaſion he ſaw no weighty reaſon but this, that when the Council ſhould be opened, he would be intreated to leave it ſo, until the impediments of the *Turkiſh* War, and others did ceaſe: which was to put a Bridle in his Mouth, which would turn him whither he pleaſed that held the Reins: a thing dangerous to his affairs. This made him reſolve firmly in himſelf, by no means to let the Council ſtand Idly open, and not to depart from this Disjunctive, either to Celebrate the Council if he could, or, if he could not, to ſhut it up, or ſuſpend it, until he had publiſhed another Day to re-aſſume it. Having eſtabliſhed this point, he wrote to the Legates, to open it upon *Holirood* Day; which order they publiſhed to the Emperours Ambaſſador and the reſt, without naming the particular time. A little after Cardinal

The Pope giveth Commiſſion to open the Council on *Holirood* day.

Card. *Farneſe* paſſeth by *Trent*.

Farneſe

Farneſe, in his Journey towards *Wormes*, arrived in *Trent*, and brought the ſame Commiſſion; and all being conſulted of between him and the Legates, they reſolved to continue, notifying unto all, the Commiſſion to open the Council in general, without deſcending to the particular day, more than this, that it ſhould be when he had ſpoken with the Emperour in *Wormes*. And they conceived good hope; becauſe they underſtood that his Majeſty, knowing the diſpatch of the Legation, was much ſatisfied with the Pope, and declared that he would jointly proceed with him; and therefore they would not go on to any new action, without his knowledge, for fear of diſturbing him; and the rather becauſe *Don Diego*, and the Cardinal of *Trent* adviſed the ſame. 1545. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

Don Diego renewed his pretence, to preceed all but the Legates, alledging, that if, when the Pope and Emperour met, no Man could ſit between them, the ſame ought to be obſerved in thoſe that repreſented the one and the other; and ſaid he had the advice of Learned men herein. The Legates anſwered in general Terms only, that they were ready to give every man his place, expecting orders from *Rome*; which pleaſed *Don Diego*, hoping that Deciſions and Examples thereof would be found in the publick Records; ſhewing he was ready out of the Council, to give place to every petty Prieſt, but adding, that in the Council, none after the Pope, had more Authority than his Prince. Some that read this Relation may think it Superfluous becauſe it containeth matter of ſmall Weight: but, contrarily, the Writer of the Story hath thought neceſſary to make known, from how ſmall Rivers ſo great a Lake, which poſſeſſeth all *Europe*, hath been raiſed; and he that ſhall ſee how many Letters went to and fro before the opening was concluded, would wonder at the eſteem was made of it, and at the Surmiſes that did fly abroad. *Don Diego* renewеth his pretence for precedence.

In *Italy*, becauſe they ſaw the Council went on, and hoped that now it would be Celebrated, the Biſhops thought of their Journey. The Vice-Roy of *Naples* took care that all his ſhould not go. His will was to ſend four of his own Nomination, with Commiſſion from the reſt of the Kingdom, which are above an Hundred. Therefore the great Chaplain of the Kingdom aſſembled the Prelates in his Houſe, and intimated unto them, that they ſhould make a Proxy. Many oppoſed, and ſaid they would go in Perſon, becauſe they were ſo bound by Oath: but in caſe they could not, it was reaſonable that every one ſhould Name a Proctor, according to his own Conſcience, and not one for all. The Vice-Roy was angry, and gave order again to the great Chaplain to call them, and command them to make the Proxy, and ſent the like order to all the Governours of the Kingdom. This troubled the Pope and Legates very much, becauſe they knew not whether it came from the Vice-Roy his own Fantaſie, to ſhew himſelf a ſufficient Man, or from want of Wit, or whether ſome other had made him do it, and proceeded from a deeper Root. To diſcover from whence this motive came, the Pope made a ſevere Bull, that none, without Exception, ſhould appear by Proctor. This the Legates concealed, as being too ſevere, becauſe it contained all the Prelates of Chriſtendom, even the moſt remote, and thoſe that had lawful impediment, who could not poſſibly obſerve it: and alſo becauſe it was too Rigid, conſtituting that they incurred *ipſo facto*, the puniſhment of Suſpenſion from their Miniſtry. And they feared it would cauſe many Irregularities, Nullities of Acts, and undue receivings of Fruits, and that by this means ſome diſcontented Nation might be ſtirred up to appeal The Vice-Roy of *Naples* would ſend but four Biſhops to the Council, and thoſe of his own nomination, and is much oppoſed. The Pope maketh a ſevere Bull, that none ſhould appear in Council by Proctor.

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peal and conteſt for Juriſdiction. Wherefore they wrote, that they ought not to publiſh it without new Commiſſion, thinking the Rumor that the Bull was made would ſuffice, though it were not ſhewed. What end this Bull had, ſhall be declared in its fit place.

The Legates require money for the expences of the Council.

Another buſineſs remained, though of ſmaller Moment, yet no leſs troubleſome. The Legates, until then, had received but ſmall ſtore of Money for their Expences, and were too poor to ſupply out of their own, as was fit for them to do in ſome particular; in ſo much, that if they ſo continued, they ſhould not be able to maintain themſelves. Whereupon they did communicate it to *Farneſe*, and wrote to the Pope, that it was not for his Reputation to hold a Council without neceſſary and accuſtomed Ornaments, with that luſtre that ſo great an aſſembly required; for which it was neceſſary to ſend ſome Perſon, to undergo this Charge only: and therefore it would be good to appoint a Depoſitary, with a Sum of Money, to diſcharge the occurring expences, to aſſiſt ſome needy Prelate, and to cheriſh ſome man of account: a thing neceſſary to procure a good end of the Council.

The firſt Congregation ſpent in Ceremonies.

The third of *May*, Ten Biſhops being then arrived, they made a Congregation to eſtabliſh the things that ſhould go before; in which they publickly intimated the Pope's Commiſſion to open the Council, adding, that they would not determine of the day, until they had imparted it to the Emperour. This Congegation, for the moſt part, was ſpent in matters of Ceremony, that the Legates, though of divers Orders, one being a Biſhop, another a Prieſt, and the third a Deacon, ſhould notwithſtanding have the ſame Ornaments, wearing Rochets all three alike, as their Office and Authority was equal in one Legation and one Preſidency; that the place for the Seſſions ſhould be Beautified with Hangings of Arras, that it might not ſeem an Aſſembly of Mechanical Men. They propoſed whether it were fit to make Seats for the Pope and Emperour, which ſhould be adorned and remain empty: they Treated whether it were fit to give *Don Diego* a more Honorable place than the other Ambaſſadors. It was conſidered that the Biſhops of *Germany* who are Princes of the Empire do pretend right of preceding all other Prelates, even Archbiſhops, alledging that it is not only ſo obſerved in the Diets, but alſo that the Biſhops which are not Princes ſtand bare before them. It was remembred that the year before, there was a difference in the ſame City, where the Biſhop of *Heicſtat*, and the Archbiſhops of *Corſu* and *Ottranto* met together at a Maſs. Some alſo alledged, that in the Popes Chapel, the Biſhops that are Ambaſſadors for Dukes, and other Princes, do preceed the Archbiſhops, and and therefore that the Princes themſelves ſhould do it much more. And they concluded to reſolve nothing herein until the Council were more frequent, that they might ſee how the *French* men and *Spaniards* did underſtand it. They thought fit to renew the Decree of *Baſil*, and of *Julius* the Second, in the *Lateran* Council, that it ſhould prejudice no man to ſit out of his place. The reſolution to expect the advice of *Farneſe*, to determine the day of opening the Council, gave much Satisfaction to *Don Diego*; and thoſe few Biſhops ſhewed much devotion and obedience to the Pope, as did alſo the Biſhop of *Verſelli*, who arrived the ſame day after the Congregation ended, together with Cardinal *Poole* the third Legate.

While they met in *Trent* to convince Hereſies by a Council, in *France* they did the ſame by force of Arms, againſt a ſmall remainder of the *Waldenſes*, Inhabitants of the *Alpes* of *Provence*, who (as hath been ſaid before)

before) maintained a Separation from the See of *Rome*, with a diverſe Doctrine and Rights, very imperfect and rude. Theſe men, after the Reformations of *Zuinglius*, enlarged their Doctrine by his, and reduced their Rites unto ſome form, at the ſame time when *Geneva* embraced the Reformation. Sentence was pronounced againſt theſe many years before, by the Parliament of *Aix*, which had never been executed. The King now commanded to Execute the Sentence. The Preſident muſtered together as many Souldiers as he could in the places bordering upon them, and in the Pope's States of *Avignion*, and went with an Army againſt thoſe poor Creatures who neither had Weapons, nor thought, otherwiſe than by flight, to defend themſelves, thoſe that could. They went not about to teach them, or by threats to make them leave ther opinions and Rites; but firſt of all, filling all the Country with Rapes, flew as many as ſtood to their mercy, becauſe they could not fly, without ſparing old or young, of what age or condition ſoever. They deſtroyed, or rather razed the Countries of *Cabriers* in *Provence*, and of *Mernidolo* in the County of *Viinoiſin*, belonging to the Pope, and all other places in thoſe Precincts. It is certain that more than 4000. perſons were Slain, who without making defence, deſired mercy.

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A miſerable ſlaughter of the *Waldenſes* made by the *French* men.

But in *Germany*, the Emperour arrived in *Wormes* the 16. of *May*, and Cardinal *Farneſe* the day following, who treated with him, and with the King of the *Romans* apart. He delivered his Commiſſions particularly concerning the Council, declaring that the Pope had given the Legates power to open it: which they meant to do when they ſhould underſtand from him, what was done in the Diet. He told the Emperour, that it was not neceſſary to regard the oppoſitions of the Proteſtants, ſeeing that the impediment, alledged by them, was not new, but was foreſeen from the day the Council was firſt ſpoken of: that he might aſſure himſelf, that they, having caſt off the Yoke of obedience, the principal foundation of Religion, and proceeded to ſo impious and wicked innovations, againſt the Rites, obſerved many hundreds of years, by the approbation of ſo many famous Councils, they would, with the ſame boldneſs, ſpurn againſt the Council, which was to begin, though lawful, general and Chriſtian, aſſuring themſelves to be condemned by it. Therefore that nothing remained, but that his Majeſty ſhould induce them to obedience by Authority, or conſtrain them by force. Which, in caſe it were not done, and they ſo much regarded, as not to be condemned, or, after condemnation, not conſtrained to lay aſide their Errours, all the World would know that the Hereticks command, and the Pope and Emperour obey. That his Holineſs as he thought fit to uſe mildneſs at the firſt, ſo he thought it neceſſary to ſhew really, that after it would follow force of Arms. That he offered him a grant of part of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues of *Spain*, and power to ſell the Plate of thoſe Churches, to aſſiſt him with his own Money, and to ſend him out of *Italy* 12000. Foot, and 500. Horſe paid, and to endeavour that he might likewiſe be aſſiſted by other Princes of *Italy*, and to proceed, during the time of the Wars, with Spiritual and Temporal Arms, againſt whoſoever ſhould moleſt his Territories. *Farneſe* declared alſo to the Emperour the attempt of the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, who would have ſent four Proctors in the name of all the Biſhops of the Kingdom, ſhewing it was neither reaſonable nor lawful, and that it was a diſhonour to the Council: For if Biſhops, dwelling ſo near, and being ſo many, might be excuſed by ſending four, *France* and *Spain* might do it much rather, and ſo a general Council ſhould be held with

Cardinal *Farneſe* his Negotiation with the Emperour in *Wormes*.

He complaineth of the Vice Roy of *Naples*.

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twenty Biſhops. And he prayed the Emperour not to Tolerate a thing ſo contrary to the Authority of the Pope, and Dignity of the Council whereof himſelf is Protector, deſiring him to give ſome remedy herein. The Cardinal alſo treated with him concerning the promiſe made in his Majeſties name, in the propoſition ſent to the Diet; that is, that to determine the Controverſies of Religion, in caſe the Council did not proceed, another Diet ſhould be held; and deſired him to conſider, that if neither his Holineſs, nor his Legates and Miniſters, nor the Court of *Rome*, were in fault that the Council were not celebrated, nor proceeded, he could not by any means intimate in the *Receſs* another Diet, under this colour. And he inculcated this point exceedingly, becauſe he had ſtrait Commiſſion therein from *Rome*; and becauſe the Cardinal of *Monte*, a Man very free, not only ſpake but alſo wrote unto him thereof, in his own name and his Colleagues; after that he parted from *Trent*, ſaying in plain Terms, that this was the moſt important point at which he ſhould ever aim, without forgetting it in his whole Negotiation, taking care not to admit any excuſe, becauſe this only would produce any other good agreement. And for his own part, he would put his Holineſs in mind rather to abandon the See, and reſtore the Keys to Saint *Peter*, than ſuffer the Secular power to arrogate Authority to determine cauſes of Religion, under pretence and colour that the Eccleſiaſtical hath failed in celebrating a Council or otherwiſe.

The Emperors anſwer to the Legate.

Concerning the attempt of the Vice-Roy, the Emperour ſaid it proceeded from his own proper motion, from which in caſe he had not great reaſon to the contrary, he would be removed. For opening the Council he gave no reſolute anſwer, but ſpake diverſly, ſometimes that it would be good to begin it in a more fit place, ſometimes that it was neceſſary to make ſundry Proviſions firſt. Whereby the Cardinal ſaw plainly that his aim was only to hold the matter in Suſpence, and to govern himſelf as occaſion ſerved, either opening or diſſolving it. For not intimating another Diet to treat of Religion, he gave a general and unconcluding anſwer, that he would always make as much eſteem as was poſſible of the Pope's Authority. But to the propoſition of making War againſt the Lutherans, he anſwered that the Pope's Council was the beſt, and that the only way was propoſed by him, which he was reſolved to imbrace; yet that he would proceed with due caution, and firſt conclude a Truce with the *Turk*, which he then did mediate diligently, and moſt ſecretly, by the *French* King, and that he knew well, that the number and power of the Proteſtants was great, and inſuperable, and that in caſe they were not divided or ſurprized at unawares, the War would prove doubtful and dangerous. That his deſign was to conceal his purpoſe until opportunity ſerved, and then to treat with the Pope. In the mean while he accepted the offers made unto him.

The Legates private Negotiation concerning his own Family.

Beſide theſe publick buſineſſes, the Cardinal had one private for his own Houſe. The Pope thinking it too little to give to his Family the Dukedom of *Camerino*, and *Nepi*, thought to give them alſo *Parma* and *Piacenza*; which becauſe they were a little before in the poſſeſſion of the Dukes of *Milan*, he deſired the Emperours conſent, to eſtabliſh his Gift the better. The Cardinal treated with the Emperour hereof, ſhewing it were better for his Majeſty that thoſe Cities, ſo near to the Dutchy of *Milan*, were in the poſſeſſion of a Family, ſo devoted and allied unto him, than in the power of the Church, in which if an ill affected Pope ſhould ſucceed, divers inconveniences might ariſe; that this would not be an alienation of the Patrimony of the Church, becauſe

cauſe they firſt came into the Hands of *Julius* 2. neither was the poſſeſſion of them well confirmed but under *Leo*; that it would be more profitable for the Church, becauſe the Pope would give it *Camerino* in exchange; and that detracting the charge of maintaining the Garriſons of thoſe two Cities, and adding eight thouſand Crowns, which the new Duke would pay, the Church would receive more Rent by *Camerino*, than by them. To theſe Expoſitions the Cardinal joyned his Daughters Letters, who effectually prayed the Emperour for her own intereſt; unto whom the matter was not diſpleaſing, as well for the affection he bare to his Daughter and Nephews, as becauſe it would be more eaſie to recover them from a Duke, than from the Church. Yet he neither denied nor granted, but ſaid only he would not oppoſe.

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The Emperors anſwer.

The Legate treated with the Catholicks, and the Eccleſiaſticks eſpecially, incouraging them to defend the true Religion, and promiſing them all favour from the Pope. The Proteſtants ſuſpected the Negotiation of the War, though handled ſecretly, becauſe a Franciſcan Friar, Preaching before *Charles*, *Ferdinand*, and the Legate, after a great Invective againſt the Lutherans, turned to the Emperour, and ſaid it was his Office to defend the Church with Arms; that until then he had not performed that which was neceſſary to be effected; that ſo many Benefits which God hath beſtowed upon him, deſerved he ſhould make acknowledgement of them by ſetting himſelf againſt that Contagion of Men, who ought not to live any longer; and that he ought not to make any further delay, becauſe many Souls did daily Periſh by this means, for whom God would ask an account of him, if he gave not ſome ſudden remedy. This Sermon not only begat Suſpicion, but raiſed Diſcourſes alſo that it had been commanded by the Legate, and by the publick Exhortations, they concluded what the private were. To remedy which Rumor the Cardinal parted ſecretly by night, and returned quickly into *Italy*. Yet the Suſpicion of the Proteſtants increaſed, by the advices ſent from *Rome*, that the Pope, when he diſmiſſed ſome Captains, gave them hope he would imploy them the next year.

The Proteſtants ſuſpect that War would be made againſt them.

The Legate doth ſecretly and ſuddenly return into *Italy*.

But the B. of *Sidonium* arrived in *Trent* the 18. of *May*, with a Friar, a Divine, and a ſecular Doctor, as Proctors of the Elector Cardinal and Archbiſhop of *Mentz*. The B. made a ſhort Oration of the Electors obedience to the Pope, and Apoſtolick See, much commending the celebration of the Council, as the only neceſſary remedy to thoſe waverings of Faith, and Catholick Religion. The Legates, in their anſwer, commended the Piety and Devotion of that Prince; and for admiting his Commiſſion, they ſaid, it was neceſſary to ſee it firſt, becauſe his Holineſs had made a new Proviſion, that none could give Voice by Proxy, and that they were in doubt, whether it comprehended a Cardinal, and a Prince; that they well knew the Prerogative which his excellency deſerved, whereunto they were moſt ready to give all honour and reſpect. Theſe three men perceiving the difficulty, were in a confuſion, and thought to depart. The Legates repented them of the anſwer, knowing of what importance it would be if the prime Prince and Prelate of *Germany*, for Dignity and Riches, ſhould be aliened from the Council: And they wrought by way of mediation, Dexterouſly made by the Cardinal of *Trent*, by the Ambaſſadours and others, that they would remain, ſaying the Bull ſpake only of *Italian* Biſhops, and that the Legates were deceived: which imputation they were contented to bear, that they might withſtand ſo great a diſorder.

The Proctors of the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* are about to leave the Council.

Wherefore they wrote to *Rome*, giving an account of the Succeſs, and

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demanding whether they ſhould receive them while the Bull was in force; adding that it ſeemed hard to Repel the Proctors of ſo great a Perſonage, who ſhewed himſelf zealous and favourable to the Catholick party, who by this means might grow Luke-warm: they were inſtant to have an anſwer, becauſe the determination hereof would ſerve for a preſident, for that the other great Biſhops of *Germany* might ſend Proctors likewiſe, whom it were better they went not to *Trent* in Perſon, becauſe being accuſtomed to Ride with great Trains, the City would not be able to receive them all: and they wrote that, above all things, it was not fit to ſcorn the *Dutch-men*, who are naturally Suſpicious, and eaſily reſolve themſelves; and eſpecially thoſe that are loving and well-deſerving, as *Cooleus*, who is already in his Journey, as Proctor for the Biſhop of *Heicſtat*; who hath written ſo much againſt the Heretick, that one would be aſhamed to ſay that he could not have a Voice in the Council. The Pope thought it not fit to write preciſely hereof, conſidering the difficulties of *Naples*. For the Vice-Roy continuing in his reſolution, a Commiſſion was made to four to be preſent there, in the name of all. Theſe being prepared for their Journey, paſſed by *Rome*, concealing they were Elected for the reſt, ſaying they went for themſelves; and that the others would follow. But he wrote to the Legates to entertain the Proctors with good Words, until he gave another reſolution. The *Neapolitans* ſpake alſo in the ſame Tenor at their arrival in *Trent*, and as well the Pope as the Legates diſſembled the ſame, deferring to ſpeak of it until they were reſolved of the time to open the Council.

The Legates do earneſtly demand a reſolution about admitting Proctors.

The Pope knew not what to anſwer.

In the end of *May* 20. Biſhops, five Generals, and one Auditour of the *Rota* were come to *Trent*, all much wearied with expectation. Theſe commended the reſt, who, not caring to be haſty expected to ſee a more reaſonable occaſion to part from their Home, and were by them called, to their great diſtate, headlong Fools, for being ſo eaſily perſwaded. Therefore they asked the Legates leave to go for fifteen or twenty days to *Venice*, *Milain*, or elſe where, to avoid the incommodities of *Trent*; pretending want either of Health, or Apparel, or other reſpects. But the Legates, knowing how much it concerned the Reputation of the Council, entertained them, partly by ſaying they had not power to give leave, and partly by giving hope that the Council ſhould begin within few days. *Cæſar's* Ambaſſadour returned to his Ambaſſage at *Venice*, upon pretence of indiſpoſition, leaving the Legates doubtful whether it were by the Emperours Commiſſion upon ſome trick, or for being weary to be idle and incommodated. He promiſed a ſpeedy return, adding that in the mean while the Ambaſſadours of the King of the *Romans* remained there to aſſiſt the Service of God; and yet he deſired the Council ſhould not be opened until his return.

The Prelates deſire to depart from *Trent*.

And D. *Diego* returneth to *Venice*.

But in the end of the next Month the greater part of the Biſhops, moved, ſome by Poverty, and ſome by Incommodity, made grievous complaints, and raiſed as it were a Sedition amongſt themſelves, threatning that they would depart, and had recourſe to *Francis Caſtel-Alto*, Governour of *Trent*, whom *Ferdinand* had appointed to hold his place, together with *Anthony Gineta*. This Man came before the Legates, and deſired them in the name of his King, that now at laſt they would begin, it being plain how much good would enſue by the Celebration, and how much evil by Temporizing thus. The Legates held themſelves offended herewith, becauſe they thought it was to ſhew the World that

which

which was contrary to the truth, and to attribute to them the delay, which proceeded from the Emperour. And though they among themſelves reſolved to diſſemble, and to anſwer in general Terms, yet the Cardinal *Monte* could not bridle his Liberty, but in making anſwer, concluded in the end with perſwaſion to expect *Don Diego*, who had more particular Commiſſions than he. It was hard to entertain and comfort the Prelates, who ill endured that idle day, and eſpecially the poor ones, who wanted Money, and not Words. Wherefore they reſolved to give at the Popes charge, forty Ducats a year to the Biſhops of *Nobili*, *Bertinoro*, and *Chioza*, who complained more than the reſt; and fearing that the Munificence might give pretence hereafter, they declared themſelves that it was for a Subſidy, and not for Proviſion. They gave the Pope an account by Letter of what they had done, ſhewing him the neceſſity to aſſiſt them with ſome greater aid: but telling him withal, that it was not good to give it as a firm Proviſion, that the Fathers might not ſeem the Stipendaries of his Holineſs: which would cheriſh the Proteſtants excuſe, not to ſubmit themſelves to the Council, becauſe it was compoſed only of thoſe that depended on, and were obliged to the Pope.

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Money is given to the poor Biſhops.

At the ſame time the Emperour, in *Worms*, cited the Archbiſhop of *Collen* to appear before him within thirty days, or to ſend a Proctor, to anſwer to the Accuſations and Imputations laid upon him, commanding him in the mean ſpace not to make any innovation in Religion and Rites, but to reduce the things innovated to their former State. *Hermannus* Biſhop of *Collen*, deſiring to reform the Church, in the year 1536. called a Council of the Biſhops his Suffragans, where many Decrees were made, and a Book Printed, Compoſed by *John Groperus*, a Canoniſt, who, for Service done to his Church of *Rome*, was after created Cardinal by Pope *Paul* the fourth. But whether the Archbiſhop, and *Groperus* himſelf were not ſatisfied with the reformation, or whether he changed his opinion, he aſſembled the Clergy and Nobility, and chief men of his State in the year 1543. and eſtabliſhed another Reformation. This, though it were approved by many, pleaſed not the whole Clergy, yea, the Major part oppoſed it, and made *Groperus* their head, who before had given Council for it, and promoted it. They entreated the Archbiſhop to deſiſt, and expect a general Council, or at the leaſt, an Imperial Diet; which not being able to obtain, in the year 1545. they appealed to the Pope, and to the Emperour, as ſupream Advocate and protectour of the Church. The Archbiſhop publiſhed by a Writing, that the appeal was frivolous, and that he could not deſiſt from that which belonged to the Glory of God, and amendment of the Church; that he had not to do either with the Lutherans or others, but that he obſerved the Doctrine agreeable to the holy Scripture. The Arch-biſhop going on in his Reformation, and the Clergy of *Collen* inſiſting upon the contrary, the Emperour received the Clergy into his Protection, and cited the Archbiſhop, as hath been ſaid.

The Archbiſhop of *Collen* is cited by the Emperour to *Worms*.

This news coming to *Trent*, gave matter to paſs the time at the leaſt with Diſcourſes. The Legates were much moved, and amongſt the Prelates which were preſent, thoſe that were of any underſtanding blamed the Emperour, for making himſelf Judge of Faith and Reformation; the moſt gentle word they ſpake was, That the Emperours proceeding was very Scandalous. They began to know they were not eſteemed, and that to be idle, was to be ſcorned by the World. Therefore they did Diſcourſe that they were conſtrained to declare themſelves

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to be a Council lawfully called, and ſo begin the work of God, proceeding firſt againſt the foreſaid Archbiſhop, the Elector of *Saxo*, the Landgrave of *Haſſia*, and likewiſe againſt the King of *Engla*. They grew into ſo great Spirits that they ſeemed not the ſame, who a few days before thought themſelves confined in Priſon. The Miniſte of the Archbiſhop of *Mentz* abated this heat, putting them in mind of the greatneſs of thoſe Princes and their Adherents, and the danger to make them Unite themſelves with the King of *England*, and ſo to make a greater Fire in *Germany*: and the Cardinal of *Trent* ſpake in the ſame form. The *Italian* Biſhops, thinking it a great matter to meddle in ſuch eminent Subjects, ſaid it was true that all the World would be attentive at ſuch a Proceſs, yet that all the importance was to begin and ground it well: They incited one another, ſaying it was neceſſary to redeem the ſlowneſs paſt with Celerity hereafter. That they ſhould demand of the Pope, ſome man of worth to Perorate againſt the accuſed, as did *Melchior Baldaſſino*, againſt the Pragmatick, in the *Lateran* Council; being perſwaded that to deprive Princes of their States had no other difficulty, than to uſe well the forms of Proceſſes. But the Legates, as well for this as for other Occurrences, knew it to be neceſſary to have ſuch a Doctor, and wrote to *Rome* to be provided of one.

The Pope was wonderfully diſtaſted with the Citation.

The Pope underſtanding the Emperours action, was aſtoniſhed, and doubted whether to complain or be ſilent. To complain, when no effect would ſucceed he thought Frivolous, and a Demonſtration of his ſmall power. And this moved him exceedingly. But on the other ſide, conſidering well how much it imported him not to paſs over a matter of that Moment, he reſolved not to give Words, as they did in *Trent*, but to proceed to Facts, and anſwer the Emperour afterwards, if he ſhould ſpeak of it. Therefore he made another Citation againſt the Archbiſhop, the eighteenth of *July*, that within Sixty days he ſhould appear before him. He cited alſo the Dean of *Collen*, and five of the principal Canons; leaving the World to diſpute how the Archbiſhop could appear before two which cited him for the ſame cauſe, in divers places, at the ſame time, and how a diſpute of the Competency of the place of Judicature belonged to the honour of Chriſt. But how this ſucceeded, and what end the cauſe had, ſhall be ſaid in its place.

The Archbiſhop is cited by the Pope.

The Emperor demandeth aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks* of the Proteſtants, who give a conditional anſwer.

To return to that which more nearly concerneth the Council; the Emperour Eſſaied in the Diet divers ways, to make the Proteſtants grant him aſſiſtance againſt the *Turks*, not mentioning Religion. Whereunto they ſtill anſwered, that they could not reſolve without they were ſecured, that the peace ſhould be kept, and that, by the Convocation in *Trent* under the name of a Council, it was not underſtood that the time of the Peace was ended, according to the Decree of the former Diet, but declared that the Peace cannot be interrupted, nor themſelves enforced by any Decrees made in *Trent*; becauſe they cannot ſubmit themſelves to that Council, where the Pope, who hath condemned them already, hath free power. The Emperour ſaid, he could not give them peace which might exempt them from the Council, to whoſe Authority all are Subject; that he had no way to excuſe himſelf to other Kings and Princes, if it were granted to *Germany* alone not to obey the Council, aſſembled eſpecially for her ſake. But if, as they ſaid, they pretended a cauſe why they would not ſubmit, let them go to the Council, and alledge their reaſons why they ſuſpect it; that they ſhould

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be heard, and if it appeared they had wrong, they might then refuſe; that it was not pertinent, to prevent and to ſuſpect that which appeared not, pretending grievance of things to come, and judging of that which is not ſeen as yet. They replyed, they ſpake not of things to come but paſt, their Religion being condemned already, and perſecuted by the Pope and all his Adherents. Therefore they were not to expect any future Judgment, becauſe it was paſt already. That it was juſt that the Pope, and his Adherents of *Germany*, and of all other places, ſhould make one part in the Council and themſelves the other; and for the difficulty about the manner and order of proceeding, the Emperour, Kings, and Princes ſhould be Judges, but for the Merits of the cauſe, the Word of God only. 1545. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

They could not be removed from this reſolution, though the Ambaſſadour of *France*, there preſent, did very much and with Menacing Terms, entreat them to conſent to the Council; Which threats the Miniſters of that King the Popes Favourers, did dictate to the Ambaſſadour, when he parted from *France*. The Imperialiſts propoſed the tranſlation of the Council into *Germany*, under the Emperours promiſe to labour effectually, that the Pope ſhould condeſcend; which the others accepted, upon condition the Peace were eſtabliſhed until the Council were aſſembled there. But *Charles*, being ſure that the Pope would never agree, ſaw that this was to give them a perpetual Peace, and therefore he thought it better to leave things in Suſpence, granting it only until another Diet, ſeeing he was conſtrained, having not concluded Truce with the *Turks* as yet, and eſteeming more that War; thinking that by occaſion of a Colloquy, other reaſonable means would be offered hereafter to make them conſent anew to the Council of *Trent*, or, in caſe of refuſal, to hold them Contumacious, and to make War againſt them. Therefore the fourth of *Auguſt* he ended the Diet, and ordained another in *Ratiſbon*, for *January* next, whereat the Princes ſhould be Perſonally preſent, and inſtituted a Colloquy in matter of Religion, of four Doctors, and two Judges for a ſide. This was to begin at *December*, that the matter might be digeſted before the Diet. He confirmed and renewed the former Edicts of Peace, and ſet down a manner to pay the Contributions for the War. How the Colloquy did proceed, ſhall be ſaid in its place.

Another Diet is ordained in *Ratiſbon* for *January*.

The Proteſtants, being departed from *Wormes*, ſet forth a Book, where they ſaid in Sum, that they eſteemed not the Tridentine for a Council, being not aſſembled in *Germany*, as *Adrian* and the Emperour promiſed; whereunto to make ſhew of giving Satisfaction by making choice of *Trent*, was to mock the World, becauſe *Trent* cannot be ſaid to be in *Germany*, but only becauſe the Biſhop is a Prince of the Empire; but for ſecurity, that it was as well in *Italy*, and as much in the Popes Power as *Rome* it ſelf. And the rather they eſteemed it not Lawful, becauſe Pope *Paul* would be preſident in it, and propoſe by his Legates; that the Judges were tied unto him by Oath; that the Plea being againſt the Pope, himſelf ought not to be Judge; that it was neceſſary to treat firſt of the form of the Council, and of the Authorities, whereupon to ground. But the Emperours reſolution diſpleaſed alike in *Trent* and at *Rome*, as well becauſe a ſecular Prince medled in Religion, as becauſe, it ſeemed the Council was Caſhiered, in regard, that approaching, order was given to handle elſe-where the Controverſies of Doctrine. The Prelates in *Trent* blamed the Decree, as it were with one Voice, ſaying it was worſe than that of *Spira*, and marvelling that the

The Proteſtants do proteſt againſt the Tridentine Council.

The Emperor is taxed again for medling in Religion.

Pope

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Pope, who ſhewed himſelf ſo quick againſt that, had and did tolerat this, after that the Council was intimated, and already aſſembled. From this they drew a manifeſt Argument, that their remaining in *Tren* was vain and diſhonourable. The Legates tried their Wits to conſolate, and perſwade them, that all had been permitted by his Holineſs for a good end. But they replyed, that whatſoever the end was, and what thing ſoever doth follow, the blemiſh, not only of the Pope and Apoſtolick See, but of the Council and the whole Church will never be taken away. Neither could the Legates reſiſt their complaints, which ended in demanding leave to depart, ſome alledging neceſſary and important affairs of their own, and ſome to retire themſelves into ſome of the next Cities for Infirmity or Indiſpoſition. And though the Legates gave leave to none, yet ſome of them daily took it, ſo that before the end of the Month, there remained very few. But in *Rome*, though this Succeſs was foreſeen by the Negotiation of Cardinal *Farneſe*, yet after it happened they began to think more exactly of it. They conſidered that the Emperours ends were much different from the Popes; for he, holding things in ſuſpence, diſpatched his buſineſs well in *Germany*, giving the Proteſtants hope, that if they pleaſed him, he would not ſuffer the Council to be opened, and putting them in fear, that in caſe they did not, it ſhould begin and proceed againſt them. Therefore he ever cauſed ſome new Emergents to ariſe, which might hold things in ſuſpence, paſſing the time pleaſantly under divers colours, and ſometimes alſo propoſing that it were better to Transfer it to another place, giving hope he could be contented it were tranſlated into *Italy*, even unto *Rome*, that the Pope and the Prelates of that Nation might more eaſily hearken to the Propoſition, and draw the Council in length.

The Prelates in *Trent* are diſcontented, and moſt of them do depart.

The Emperor deſireth to hold the Council in ſuſpence.

The Pope is doubtful what courſe to take.

The Pope was in great ſtraits. Sometimes he had the ancient deſire of his Predeceſſors that the Council ſhould not be celebrated, and condemned himſelf for having proceeded ſo far; yet he ſaw that it was ſcandalous and dangerous to him, to ſhew openly that he would not have it, by diſſolving that ſmall Congregation which remained in *Trent*. He ſaw clearly that it was not a good remedy to extinguiſh Hereſies. For concerning that which belonged to *Italy*, it was better to provide againſt it by force, and by the Office of the Inquiſition, whereas the expectation of the Council hindereth that which is the only Remedy. For *Germany*, it appeared plainly that the Council did rather make difficult, than Facilitate thoſe things. Beſides, in caſe it were celebrated, he doubted whether he ſhould grant the Emperour the half Fruits and Vaſſallages of the Monaſteries in *Spain*. For if he did not, his Majeſty would be angry, and if he did it, he doubted that the *Spaniſh* Prelates would diſcover in the Council that they were alienated from him and the Apoſtolick See, or giving that to others which belonged to them. He ſaw likewiſe that the Prelates of the Kingdom were ill ſatisfied, who would think it intolerable to pay the Tenths, and be at charges in the Council. He thought that thoſe of *France* would joyn with them, and incourage them, not for Charity, but to hinder the Emperours profit. Therefore he began to incline to the tranſlation, ſo that it were not carried further into *Germany*, as was treated of in *Wormes*, whereunto he ſaid he would never conſent, though he had an 100. Hoſtages, and as many Pawns: and the rather becauſe by Transferring it more into *Italy*, into a place more Fertile, commodious and ſecure, he thought he avoided the inconvenience of continuing in that State, and letting the Council lye at Anchor, and be drawn in length from ſeaſon

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to Seaſon; the worſt reſolution that could be made, for infinite and perpetual Prejudices which might enſue. Beſides, by the time which the tranſlation required, the preſent miſchief was cured, which was to have Council, and a Colloquy, and Diet inſtituted for Religion concur together, not knowing what end the one or the other might have; a thing diſhonourable, and dangerous, and of bad example; and the Prelates would be ſatisfied by parting from *Trent*. Being thus reſolved, that he might be provided to put it fitly in execution, he ſent to the Legates the Bull of faculty to tranſlate it, dated *February* 22. of which it hath been ſpoken before.

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The Bull of tranſlation.

Theſe thoughts did not poſſeſs either the whole, or the principal part of the Popes mind, but he thought much more of infeoffing his Son in *Parma* and *Piacenza*, which he had imparted to *Cæſar*, and did effect it in the end of *Auguſt*, not reſpecting the general Murmuring, that while the Clergy was to be reformed, the head of it ſhould beſtow Principalities upon a Son of a damned Conjunction. This the whole College took ill, though only *John Dominicus de Cupis*, Cardinal of *Trani*, with ſome few more, oppoſed it; *John Vega*, the Emperours Ambaſſador, refuſed to be preſent, and *Margarite* of *Auſtria*, his Nephews Wife, ſhewed her ſelf diſcontented, becauſe ſhe deſired the inveſtiture in the perſon of her Husband, for that ſhe loſt the Title of the Dutcheſs of *Camerino*, and got nothing. Afterwards, being wholly imployed in freeing himſelf from the difficulties and dangers which the Council brought with it ſtanding thus, neither opened nor ſhut, but ſo as it might ſerve the Emperours turn againſt him, he reſolved to ſend the Biſhop of *Caſerta* to treat with his Majeſty, propoſing either to have it opened and begun, or ſuſpended for a time, and in caſe that pleaſed not, he was to propoſe the tranſlation of it into *Italy*, to give convenient time to what ſhould be handled in the Colloquy and Diet, or ſome other match, which were not ſo diſhonourable and dangerous for the Church, as to have the Council remaining ſtill on Foot, and the Legates and Prelates idle.

There is much murmuring at the donation of *Parma* and *Piacenza* to a Baſtard.

The Pope ſendeth a Nuncio to the Emperour.

This Negotiation had many rubs. For the Emperour was reſolute, not to conſent either to ſuſpenſion or tranſlation; not holding it good for his ends to begin it, he did not abſolutely deny any of the things propoſed; and having no other courſe to take, he knew not what to do, but to interpoſe difficulties to the three Propoſitions. Finally, in the middeſt of *October*, he found out a temper, that the Council ſhould be opened, and the reformation treated of, forbearing to ſpeak of Hereſies and points of Doctrine, leſt they ſhould provoke the Proteſtants. The Pope adviſed hereof by the *Nuncio* his Letters, was touched at the very Heart. For he ſaw plainly that this was to give the victory into the hands of the Lutherans, and to rob himſelf of all Authority, making him depend of Colloquies and Imperial Diets, ordaining in them Treaties of Religion, and forbidding the Council to meddle with them, and ſo to weaken him by alienating his Dependants, and to ſtrengthen the Lutherans, by ſupporting, or not condemning their Hereſies. And being aſſured that his and the Emperours intereſts were ſo contrary, as that they could not be united, he reſolved to conceal his own ends, and to proceed as beſt befitted his affairs. Therefore, without ſhewing any diſtaſte of the anſwer, he preſently replyed to *Caſerta*, that, for his Majeſties ſake he reſolved to open the Council immediately, commanding that the Acts thereof ſhould begin, and all ſhould proceed with full liberty, and in fit manner and order. This the Pope ſaid in ſuch general Terms, be-

The Pope is much offended with the Emperours anſwer.

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cauſe he would not expreſs himſelf, what ſhould be firſt, or wha or what treated of, or what wholly left out. For he was reſol handle the matter of Religion and Points of Doctrine principally, but alledging other reaſon, in caſe he ſhould be conſtrained to al any; but that to treat of Reformation only, was a thing never uſed be fore, contrary to the reputation both of himſelf and of the Council. Therefore, the laſt of *October*, having imparted all to the Cardinals, by their Council and advice, he ordained, and wrote alſo to *Trent*, that the Synod ſhould be opened the next Sunday, called *Gaudete* in Advent, which was to be the 13. of *December*.

He giveth order to begin the Council the 13. of *December*.

The Prelates ſhewed great joy for the news, ſeeing themſelves delivered from the imminent danger, to remain long in *Trent*, and do nothing. But a little after the Ambiguities were on Foot again. For Letters came from the *French* King to his Prelates, which were three, that they ſhould depart. This ſeemed to the Legates a thing of the greateſt importance, being as it were a Declaration, that *France* and the King approved not the Council. They uſed all means to hinder their departure, telling the Prelates, that the King gave that order when the caſe was otherwiſe, and that they ought to expect another, becauſe his Majeſty was now informed of the preſent State, putting them in mind of the Scandal that would enſue, in caſe they did otherwiſe, and of the offence which other Nations would take. The Cardinal of *Trent*, and the *Spaniſh* and *Italian* Prelates proteſted againſt their departure. Therefore in concluſion they took a middle courſe, which the King commended when he knew it, that the Lord of *Renes* ſhould go to give the King account, and the other two remain.

The 3. *French* Prelates are recalled, but two of them are perſwaded to remain.

The laſt of *November*, the time prefixed for the opening of the Council approaching, the Legates wrote to *Rome*, that, to preſerve the Authority of the Apoſtolick See, it were fit, in opening of it, to Read and Regiſter a Bull, which might command it to be done; and they made a Diſpatch in all diligence that it might come in time. The anſwer, together with the Bull, arrived the Eleventh of *December*. Therefore the Legates commanded a Faſt and Proceſſion the next day, and made a Congregation of all the Prelates, where firſt the Bull was read and then all treated of, which was to be done the next day, in the Seſſion. The Biſhop of *Eſtorga* propoſed after a pleaſing manner, that it was neceſſary to read in the Congregation the Brief of the Legation and Preſidency, that all might make profeſſion of their obedience, and ſubjection to the Apoſtolick See. The requeſt was approved by almoſt all the Congregation, and accompanied with the particular inſtance of every one. But the Legate *Sancta Croce*, conſidering how far the demand might reach, and that to publiſh the Authority of the Preſidency, might breed danger to have it limited, thinking it better by keeping it ſecret, to uſe it as occaſion ſerved, anſwered readily, that in the Council all were but one Body, and that it was equally neceſſary to read the Bulls of every Biſhop, to ſhew he was ſuch a one, inſtituted by the Apoſtolick See; which would be tedious, and, by reaſon of thoſe who daily will come, would ſpend the time of all the Congregations, and ſo he ſtopped the requeſt, and retained the dignity of the Legation, which conſiſted in being unlimited.

The Legates would not ſuffer the Bull of their Legation to be read.

The thirteenth of *December* came at laſt, when in *Rome* the Pope publiſhed a Bull of Jubile, where he declared that he had intimated a Council to heal the wounds of the Church, cauſed by impious Hereticks. Therefore he exhorted every one to aſſiſt the Fathers aſſembled therein,

The Council is opened in *Trent*, and a Jubile publiſhed in *Rome*.

therein, with their Prayers to God: which to do effectually and fruitfully, they ought to confeſs themſelves, and faſt three days, and during that time, to go in Proceſſions, and then to receive the moſt bleſſed Sacrament; granting pardon of all his Sins to whoſoever did ſo. The ſame day the Legates in *Trent*, with all the Prelates, in number 25. in Pontifical Habit, accompanied with the Divines, Clergy and People of Foreign parts, and of the City, made a ſolemn proceſſion, from *Trinity* Church to the Cathedral; where *Monte*, the prime Legate, did Sing the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, in which the Biſhop of *Bitonto* made a long copious eloquent Sermon. That being ended, the Legates cauſed a long written Admonition to be read, the Sum whereof was: that it was their charge during the whole courſe of the Council, to admoniſh the Prelates in Occurrences, and that it was fit to begin in that Seſſion, underſtanding that this admonition and all the reſt, were as well made to themſelves as to others, as being of the ſame condition with them; that the Council was aſſembled for three caſes; for the Extirpation of Hereſy, reſtitution of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and regaining of peace. To execute which things it was fit to have firſt a true and inward Senſe, what it was to be the cauſe of all thoſe three Calamities. Of Hereſies, not that they had raiſed them, but that they had not performed their duty in ſowing good Doctrine, and rooting out the Cockle. Of manners corrupted that there was no need to make mention, it being manifeſt, that the Clergy and Paſtours only were Corrupters, and corrupted. For which thing God had alſo ſent the third Plague which was the War, Foreign of the *Turks*, and Civil of the Chriſtians. That without this inward and true acknowledgement, their entrance into the Council, and calling upon the Holy Ghoſt were in vain. That the judgment of God was juſt to puniſh them ſo deeply, though it were leſs than they deſerved. Therefore they exhorted every one to know his own faults, to mitigate the wrath of God, replying that the Holy Ghoſt, which they had invocated, would not come, if they refuſed to hear of their own Sins, and like *Eſdras*, *Nehemiah*, and *Daniel*, confeſs them. He added that it was a great Bleſſing of God, that there was ſuch an occaſion given to begin a Council, for Reformation on all Hands. And though Contradictors will not be wanting, yet it was their duty conſtantly to go on, and, as Judges, to avoid paſſion, and aim only at the Glory of God, in regard they are to perform this duty before him, the Angels, and the whole Church. In fine, they admoniſhed the Biſhops ſent by the Princes, to do their Maſters Service with Faith and Diligence; yet preferring the honour of God before all. Afterwards the Bull of the intimation of the Council in the year 1542. was read, and a Brief of the ſimple Deputation of the Legates, together with a Bull of the opening of the Council; and immediately *Alfonſo Zorilla*, Secretary to *Don Diego*, ſtepped forward, and reproduced the Emperours Commiſſion preſented before to the Legates, and ſhewed a Letter of *Don Diego*, in which he excuſed his abſence, by reaſon of his indiſpoſition. For his excuſe the Legate ſaid it was worthy to be admitted. For the Commiſſion, though they might inſiſt upon the anſwer given before, yet they were pleaſed for greater reverence to receive it again, and examine it, and make anſwer afterwards.

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The Ceremonies uſed.

The Admonition of Card. *Monte*.

Theſe things being done, according to the Rite of the *Roman* Ceremonial, all kneeled down to pray ſoftly, as the uſe was in all the Seſſions, and then they ſaid aloud, *Adſumus Domine*, &c. *Sancte Spi-*

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ritus, &c. Which the Preſident ſpake with an high Voice, in the name of all. The Letany being Sung, the Goſpel was read by the Deacon, *Si peccaverit in te frater tuus*, &c. And laſtly the Hymn, *Veni Creator ſpiritus*, being Sung, and all ſate down in their places, the Cardinal of *Monte* pronounced the Decree, with Interrogatory Words; reading, whether it pleaſed the Fathers, for the praiſe of God, extirpation of Hereſies, reformation of Church and People, depreſſion of the Enemies of Chriſt, to determine and declare that the holy Tridentine and General Council ſhould begin, and be begun; whereunto all anſwered, firſt the Legates, then the Biſhops, and other Fathers by the Word *Placet*. He then added, whether in regard of the Feaſts of the old and new year, it pleaſed them that the next Seſſion ſhould be the ſeventh of *January*; and they anſwered likewiſe that it pleaſed them. This being done, *Hercules Severallo*, Speaker of the Council, deſired the Notaries to make an Inſtrument of all. The Hymn, *Te Deum laudamus*, was Sung, and the Fathers putting off their Pontifical Habits, and putting on their common, accompanied the Legates, the Croſs going before. Theſe Ceremonies being uſed in the Seſſions following, ſhall be repeated no more.

The decree for opening the Council, and holding the next Seſſion.

Germany and *Italy* were very curious to know the firſt actions of this aſſembly, which was begun with ſo many difficulties, and the Prelates in *Trent*, and thoſe of their Family, were charged by their Friends to adviſe them of it. Therefore immediately after the Seſſion, a Copy of the Legates admonition, and of the oration of *Bitonto* was ſent into every place; which were quickly Printed. Wherefore that I may the better tell what was commonly ſpoken, it is neceſſary to relate briefly the Contents of the Oration. It began with ſhewing the neceſſity of the Council, becauſe it is an hundred years ſince that of *Florence*, and becauſe things of difficulty belonging to the Church, cannot well be handled but in it. For in them the Creeds have been made, Hereſies condemned, Manners amended, Chriſtian Nations united, Armies ſent to Conquer the holy Land, Kings and Emperours depoſed, and Schiſms rooted out. And that for this cauſe the Poets introduce the Council of the Gods. And *Moſes* writeth that they were Conciliary Voices, the Decree to make man, and to confound the Tongues of the Giants. That Religion hath three Heads, Doctrine, the Sacraments, and Charity; and that all theſe three call for a Council. He declared the Corruptions entred into them, for Reſtauration of which, the Pope, by the favour of the Emperour, King of *France*, of the *Romans*, and of *Portugal*, and of Chriſtian Princes, hath aſſembled the Synod, and ſent his Legates. He made a long Digreſſion in commendation of the Pope, and another, not much ſhorter in praiſe of the Emperour; then he praiſed the three Legates, deriving their commendation from the Name and Surname of each of them; and added that the Council being aſſembled, all ought to meet in it, as in the *Trojan* Horſe. He invited the Woods of *Trent*, to ſound forth through the World, that all ſhould ſubmit themſelves to that Council; which if they do not, it will be juſtly ſaid, that the Pope's light is come into the World, and men have loved darkneſs better than the light. He lamented that the Emperour was not preſent, or, at the leaſt *Don Diego*, who repreſented him. He congratulated the Cardinal *Madruccio*, that the Pope had aſſembled in his City the diſperſed and wandring Fathers. He turned to the Prelates, and ſaid, that to open the Gates of the Council, was to open the Gates of Paradiſe, from whence would deſcend living Water to fill the

The Contents of the Oration, made by the Biſhop of *Bitonto*.

the Earth with the knowledge of the Lord. He exhorted the Fathers to amendment, and to open their Hearts, as dry ground, to receive it; adding, that if they do it not, yet the Holy Ghoſt will open their Mouths, though their minds be poſſeſſed with an evil Spirit, as he did the Mouths of *Caiaphas* and *Balaam*, leſt, if the Council ſhould Err, the Church ſhould Err alſo. He exhorteth them to lay aſide all Paſſion, that they may truly ſay, It ſeemed good to the Holy Ghoſt and to Us. He invited *Greece*, *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and all Chriſtian Nations to the Marriage. In fine, he turned himſelf to Chriſt, praying him by the interceſſion of Saint *Vigilius*, (the Tutelary Saint of the Valley of *Trent*) to aſſiſt that Council. 1545. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

The Legates admonition was accounted Pious, Chriſtian, Modeſt, and worthy of Cardinals, but the Sermon of the Biſhop was judged far otherwiſe. His Vanity and Oſtentation of Eloquence was noted by all. But men of underſtanding compared, as an holy Sentence to a wicked, thoſe ingenious and moſt true words of the Legates, that without a good inward acknowledgement, the Holy Ghoſt would be in vain called on, with the ſaying of the Biſhop quite contrary, that, without that, their Mouth ſhould be opened by the Holy Ghoſt, though their Heart remained repleniſhed with a wicked Spirit. It was thought Arrogancy to affirm, that in caſe thoſe few Prelates erred, all the Church would err; as if other Councils of ſeven hundred Biſhops had not erred, and the Church refuſed their Doctrine. Others added that this was not conformable to the Doctrine of the Romaniſts, who grant not infallibility but to the Pope, and to the Council by virtue of the Popes confirmation. But to compare the Council to the Trojan Horſe, an inſidious invention, was noted of folly, and reprehended for irreverence. To have Retorted the words of the Scripture, that Chriſt and his Doctrine, the light of the Father is come into the World, and men have preferred darkneſs before the light, making the Council and Doctrine thereof, to be the Popes light, appeared to the World, which if it were not received, it ſhould be ſaid, men have loved darkneſs more than light, was eſteemed a Blaſphemy, and it was wiſhed that at the leaſt he had not taken the formal Words of the holy Scripture, that he might not have ſhewed ſo openly to have diſeſteemed it. The cenſure of the Oration.

But in *Trent*, the beginning being made, neither the Prelates, nor Legates themſelves knew what ſhould be handled, nor what order obſerved. Therefore the Legates wrote to *Rome* a Letter, worthy to be repeated at large, to give an account of what was done before. Firſt they ſaid they had appointed the next Seſſion the day after the Epiphany, as a Term which could not be Taxed neither of too long delay, nor too much Brevity, that in the mean time they might be adviſed how to govern themſelves in the other Seſſions, wherein they deſire to have light; and becauſe they might every Hour be interrogated of divers things, for which they could not have ſpace to adviſe and expect an anſwer, they deſired that as particular an inſtruction, as was poſſible, ſhould be ſent them. Above all they deſired Advertiſement concerning the manner and form to proceed, to propoſe, to reſolve, and what Matter ſhould be handled. They demanded eſpecially if the cauſe of Hereſies ſhould be the firſt, or ſhould be treated of in general, or in particular, condemning the falſe Doctrine, or the Perſons of the principal Hereticks, or the one and the other together: if the Prelates propoſe an Article of reformation, whereat all ſeem to aim, whether it ſhould be handled together with the Article of Religion, or before or after: The Legates not knowing how to proceed, write to *Rome*.

if

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if the Council ought to intimate its beginning to all People and Nations, inviting the Prelates and Princes, and exhorting the faithful to pray God for it, or if his Holineſs will do it himſelf; when there ſhall be occaſion to write ſome Letter, Miſſive or Reſponſive, what form is to be uſed and what Seal; likewiſe what form is to be uſed in the extenſion of the Decrees; if they ſhould take notice of the Colloquy and Diet which will be held in *Germany*, or diſſemble it; if they ſhall proceed ſlowly or ſwiftly, as well in determining the Seſſions, as in propoſing the matters. They informed that ſome Prelates thought fit to proceed by Nations; which they held to be Seditious; that it would make the Prelates of every one to Mutiny, and that the greater number of *Italians*, who are moſt faithful to the See of *Rome*, would help nothing, when the Suffrage of them all together would be of equal value with the Suffrage of a few *French-men*, or *Spaniards*, or *Dutch-men*. They ſent advice alſo that it was perceived that ſome had a deſign to diſpute of the Authority of the Council, and Pope; a thing dangerous to raiſe a Schiſm amongſt the Catholicks themſelves; and that in the Congregation of the 12. all the Prelates joyntly and earneſtly deſire to ſee the Commiſſion of their Faculty, which they were conſtrained artificially to avoid, not knowing as yet how their Preſidency ought to be underſtood, and how far his Holineſs would have it extended. They demanded alſo that order might be taken for the Roads, that every day and hour they might ſend and receive advice, as occaſion ſerved; they deſired ſome order about the Precedency of Ambaſſadors of the Princes, and proviſion of Money, in regard thoſe 2000. Crowns, ſent them a little before, were ſpent upon ſome poor Biſhops.

The Prelates were earneſt that the work might begin; wherefore the Legates to give them ſome ſatisfaction, and to ſhew they were not idle, called a Congregation the 18. day, without propoſing any thing but the manner of living, and converſing, and governing their Families. Much was ſaid againſt the uſe brought in, eſpecially in *Rome*, to wear the Habit of a Prelate in the Ceremony only, and at other times of a Secular. Sumptuous apparel, as alſo baſe and ſordid, were equally reprehended; and much was ſaid of the Age of their Servants, but all was referred to be reſolved in another Congregation, which was held the two and twentieth, and was wholly ſpent in diſcourſing upon ſuch Ceremonies, concluding that a good Reformation of the mind was principally neceſſary: wherefore aiming at the ſeemlineſs which belongeth to their degree, and edification of the People, every one will ſee what he hath to redreſs in himſelf, and his Family.

The Pope, underſtanding the Council was begun, deputed a Congregation of Cardinals and Courtiers to ſuperintend, and adviſe concerning the affairs of *Trent*. Conſulting with theſe, he reſolved that things were not as yet ripe enough to ſee clearly what matters were to be handled, and in what order. He cauſed an anſwer to be ſent to the Legates that it beſeemed not the Synod to invite either Princes or Prelates, and leaſt of all to deſire any one to aſſiſt them with Prayers, becauſe this he had ſufficiently done himſelf by the Bull of the Jubile, and that by the Letters for the Convocation of the Council: that they ought not to think that the Synod ſhould write to any, the Legates having power to ſupply that, by their own Letters written in all their Names. Concerning the extenſion of the Decrees, the Title ought to be, The moſt holy Oecumenical and general Synod of *Trent*, the Apoſtolical

The Pope's anſwer.

ſtolical Legates being Preſidents. But for the form of giving Voices, that their reaſons were very good not to do it by Nations; the rather becauſe it was never uſed in ancient times, but was introduced by the Council of *Conſtance*, and followed by that of *Baſil*; which are not to be imitated. But the form uſed in the laſt *Lateran* Council being the beſt and moſt decent, they ſhould follow that, by which late example, which ſucceeded well, they might ſtop the Mouth of whoſoever propoſed any to the contrary. And concerning the condemnation of the Hereticks, and Matters to be handled, and other things demanded by them, order ſhould be given in time convenient: in the mean ſpace they ſhould ſpend the time in Preambulary things, according to the cuſtom of other Councils. That they ſhould maintain their Preſidency with that comelineſs that beſeemeth the Legates of the Apoſtolick See, yet ſo as that they may give Satisfaction unto all; but, above all, ſhould uſe diligence that the Prelates ſhould not exceed the bounds of honeſt liberty, and reverence towards the Apoſtolick See. It was a matter of greater importance to aſſiſt the Prelates that they might be able to maintain themſelves. Therefore he ſent a Brief, by which he exempted all the Prelates of the Council from payments of Tenths, and granted them the participation of all Fruits, as well in abſence as preſence: he ſent alſo two thouſand Crowns to help the needy Biſhops, giving order they ſhould not care to have it publiſhed; becauſe, in caſe it were known, it could not be expounded but for a loving Courteſy of the head of the Council.

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This place requireth, by reaſon of that which hath been, and will be ſpoken in divers occaſions, about the manner of ſpeaking their opinions in the Council called, *Giving of Voices*, that it ſhould be declared, what the Cuſtom was of old, and how this which is uſed in theſe times, came firſt up. The aſſembling of a whole Church, to handle in the Name of God the Occurrences of Doctrine and Diſcipline, is a thing moſt profitable, uſed by the holy Apoſtles in the choice of *Matthias*, and the ſeven Deacons: and the *Dioceſan* Councils are much like to this. But of the meeting of Chriſtians from many remote places to conſult together, there is a famous example in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, when *Paul* and *Barnabas*, with others of *Syria*, met the Apoſtles and other Diſciples in *Jeruſalem*, who were aſſembled about the queſtion of keeping the Law. And though it may be ſaid that it was a recourſe of the new Churches of the Gentiles, unto the old Mother Church, from whence their Faith was derived, a cuſtom much uſed in thoſe firſt Ages, and often rehearſed by *Ireny* and *Tertullian*, and though the Letter were written by the Apoſtles, Elders, and Brethren of *Jeruſalem* only, yet in regard that not they only, but *Paul* and *Barnabas* alſo did ſpeak, it may well be called a Council; by example whereof the ſucceeding Biſhops thought all Chriſtian Churches to be but one, and likewiſe all Biſhopricks to be but only one, ſo framed, that every Biſhop held a part thereof, not as his own, but ſo as that all ought to govern the whole, and every one to employ himſelf moſt in that which was particularly recommended to him; as S. *Cyprian*, in his little golden Book of the Unity of the Church, doth piouſly demonſtrate. In caſe of neceſſity of any particular Church, though the Perſecutions ſometimes waxed warm, as many as could, aſſembled themſelves, to make Proviſion in common. In which aſſemblies CHRIST and the Holy Ghoſt being preſident, and Charity chaſing away all humane paſſion, they adviſed and reſolved of what was fit, without Ceremonies

The manner of giving Voices in the Council in all Ages.

or

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or forms preſcribed. But after a certain time, paſſions of men and charity being mingled together, and there being a neceſſity to govern them with ſome order, the chiefeſt man amongſt thoſe that were aſſembled in Council, either for learning, or for greatneſs of the City or Church whereof he was, or ſome other reſpect of Eminency, took upon him the charge to propoſe and guide the Action, and collect the Voices. But after that it pleaſed God to give peace to the Chriſtians, and that the *Roman* Emperours received the holy Faith, there happening more difficulties in Doctrine and Diſcipline, which by reaſon of the ambition or other bad affections of thoſe that had followers and credit, troubled the publick quiet, another ſort of Epiſcopal Aſſemblies had beginning, Congregated by Princes or their Lieutenants, to remedy their troubles. In theſe the action was guided by thoſe Princes or Magiſtrates which did call them together, who alſo were perſonally preſent, propoſing and governing the Treaty, and decreeing Interlocutorily, the occurring differences, but leaving the Deciſion of the principal point, for which the Council was Congregated, to the common opinion of the aſſembly. This form appeareth in the Councils, whoſe Acts do remain. The Colloquy of Catholicks and Donatiſts before *Marcellinus* and many others may ſerve for Example. But to ſpeak only of general Councils, this was done in the firſt Council of *Epheſus* before the Earl *Candidianus*, ſent Preſident by the Emperour; and more clearly in that of *Chalcedon* before *Martianus* and the Judges by him appointed, in that of *Conſtantinople* in *Trullo* before *Conſtantine* ſurnamed *Poganatus*, where the Prince or Magiſtrate that was Preſident, commanded what ſhould be handled, what order obſerved, who ſhould ſpeak and who be ſilent, and did decide and accommodate the differences in theſe things. And in the other general Council, the Acts whereof are not extant, as of the firſt of *Nice*, and the ſecond of *Conſtantinople*, the Hiſtorians of that Age do witneſs, that *Conſtantine* and *Theodoſius* did the like. Yet in thoſe times, when the Biſhops themſelves did aſſemble of their own accord and others medled not, the action was governed as hath been ſaid, by one of them, and the reſolution taken according to the common conſent. Sometimes the matter was ſo eaſie, that it was diſpatched in one meeting. Sometimes, by reaſon of the difficulty or multiplicity thereof, it was neceſſary to reiterate the buſineſs, whence proceeded the many Seſſions in the ſame Council. Not one of them was about Ceremony, or only to publiſh what was digeſted elſewhere, but to underſtand the opinion of every one, and the Colloquies, diſcuſſions, diſputes, and whatſoever was done or ſpoken, were called the Acts of the Council. It is a new opinion, and ſeldom practiſed, though eſtabliſhed in *Trent*, that the Decrees only are called Acts of the Council, and ought only to be publiſhed; but in the ancient Councils all was given unto all. Notaries were preſent to collect the Voices, who, when a Biſhop ſpake and was not contradicted, wrote not his proper name, but thus, The Holy Synod ſaith. And when many ſaid the ſame thing, it was written, The Biſhops acclaimed, or affirmed, and the things ſo ſpoken were taken for Deciſions; if they ſpake in a contrary Senſe, the contrary opinions were noted, and the Names of the Authors, and the Judges or Preſidents did pronounce. Sometimes ſome impertinency did undoubtedly happen by reaſon of ſome mans imperfection; but Charity, which excuſeth the defects of ones Brother, did cover it. A greater number of the Province, where the Council was held, and of the borders

ders was preſent; but without emulation, every one rather deſiring to obey, than to give a Law unto others. After the Eaſtern and Weſtern Empires were ſeparated, there remained ſtill in the Weſt ſome marks of the ancient Councils, and many were celebrated in *France* and *Germany*, under the poſterity of *Charles* the Great, and not a few in *Spain*, under the Kings of the *Gothes*. At laſt, Princes being abſolutely debarred to intermedle in Eccleſiaſtical matters, that kind of Council grew in diſuſe, and that alone remained which was called by the Eccleſiaſticks themſelves; the Convocation of which Provincial Councils was almoſt wholly aſſumed by the Pope, by ſending his Legates to be Preſidents; whereſoever he heard there was a Treaty to hold a Council. And after a certain time he took that power to himſelf which the *Roman* Emperours uſed, to convocate a Council of the whole Empire, and to be Preſident himſelf, if he were preſent, or in his abſence, to ſend Legates to be Preſidents, and to govern the action. But the Prelates, aſſembled in the Synod, being delivered from the fear of a Secular Prince, which kept them in awe, as worldly reſpects, the cauſes of all Miſchiefs, did exceedingly increaſe, which cauſed alſo the multiplying of many indecencies, they began to digeſt and order the matters in private, that they might obſerve a decency in the publick meeting. Afterwards this was obſerved for a form, and in the Councils, beſides the Seſſions, they began to make Congregations of ſome Deputies, to ſet in order the matters to be treated of, which in the beginning, if they were many, were divided, and a proper Congregation aſſigned to every one. And this being not ſufficient to remove all the indecencies, becauſe thoſe that were not preſent, having different intereſts, made difficulties in publick, beſides the particular Congregation, they made a general before the Seſſion, where all were preſent; which according to the ancient Rite, is the Conciliary action, becauſe the Seſſion, every thing being done before, remaineth but a pure Ceremony. But a little more than one Age being paſt, private intereſts cauſed a contention to ariſe amongſt the Biſhops of divers Nations. Whereupon thoſe that were remote being few, and not willing to be overcome by the Borderers, who were more in number, to make the Balance equal, it was neceſſary that every Nation ſhould aſſemble by itſelf, and reſolve according to the number of Voices, and that the general deciſion ſhould be eſtabliſhed, not by the Suffrages of particular men, but by the plurality of the Voices of the Nations. So it was obſerved in the Councils of *Conſtance*, and *Baſil*: which uſe as it was good where the government was free, as it was when the World had no Pope, ſo it ill befitted *Trent*, where they deſired a Council ſubject unto him. And this was the reaſon, why the Legates at *Trent*, and the Court of *Rome*, made ſo great a matter of the form of proceeding, and of the quality and Authority of the Preſidency.

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Councils governed by Princes.

Why the Romaniſts made ſo great a matter of the form of proceeding.

But the anſwer being come from *Rome*, they called the Congregation the fifth of *January* 1546. where the Cardinal of *Monte* having ſaluted and bleſſed them all in the Popes name, cauſed the ſaid Brief of exemption from paiment of tenths to be read. The three Legates made as it were three Encomiaſtical Orations, one after another, declaring the Pope's good affection towards the Fathers. But ſome *Spaniards* ſaid that this favour of the Pope brought greater damage than benefit, becauſe the accepting of it implied a confeſſion that the Pope might lay burthens upon other Churches, and that the Council had not Authority to hinder him, nor to exempt thoſe who by right were not to be in-

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cluded. The Legates were not only diſpleaſed at this, but returned it ſo ſome biting Terms. Some of the Prelates demanded that the Grace might be extended to thoſe of their Families alſo, and to as many as were preſent in the Council. The Generals of the religious Orders demanded likewiſe the ſame exemption, alledging the charge of the Monaſteries for the Friars which they brought to the Council. *Catalanus Triultius*, Biſhop of *Piacenza*, who arrived two days before, related publickly that he was rifled as he paſſed near to *Mirandula*, and deſired an order ſhould be made in the Council againſt thoſe that hindred or moleſted the Prelates, or others that went to the Council. The Legates joyning this propoſe with the foreſaid pretence of exemption, conſidering of what importance it might be, if the Council ſhould meddle in ſuch a buſineſs, making Edicts for their own exaltation, and that this was to touch the ſecrets of the Eccleſiaſtical Hierarchy, put it aſide with much Dexterity, alledging it would ſeem ſtrange to the World, and too great a deſire of revenge, offering to labour with the Pope, that he would provide for the ſecurity of their Perſons, and have conſideration of the Families of the Prelates, and of the Friars. And ſo they appeaſed all.

And going on to the Conciliary actions, the Cardinal of *Monte* related what form was obſerved in the laſt *Lateran* Council, where himſelf was preſent, as Archbiſhop of *Siponto*. He ſaid, that treating then of the *French* Pragmatick, of the Schiſm againſt *Julius* 2. and of the War between Chriſtian Princes, three Deputations of Prelates were made for thoſe matters, that each Congregation being employed in one only, it might better digeſt it; that the Decrees being framed, a general Congregation was called, where every one ſpake his opinion, and that by thoſe the reſolutions were better reformed, ſo that all things paſſed in the Seſſion with great concord and comelineſs; that the buſineſs to be handled by them was more various, the Lutherans having moved every Stone, to overthrow the building of Faith; therefore that it will be neceſſary to divide the matters, and for every one to ordain a particular Congregation to diſpute it, to cauſe the Deputies to frame the Decrees which are to be propoſed in the general Congregation, where every one ſhall deliver his opinion: which that it might be abſolutely free, themſelves the Legates did reſolve to be propoſers only, and not to give their Suffrage but in the Seſſion. That all ſhould bethink themſelves what was neceſſary to be handled, that ſome beginning might be made in the Seſſion which approached.

Card. *Monte* preſcribeth an order for diſcuſſing matters in Council.

A great difference about the Title of the Counell.

They propoſed then, whether they were pleaſed that a Decree already framed, concerning Chriſtian converſation while the Council laſted in *Trent*, ſhould be publiſhed in the Seſſion. Which being read with the Title, *The moſt Holy*, as the Commandment from *Rome* was, the *Frenchmen* deſired this addition, *Repreſenting the Church Univerſal*: which opinion many Biſhops did follow with a joynt conſent. But the Legates conſidering that that Title was uſed only in the Council of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*, and that to imitate them, was to renew their Memory, and to give them ſome Authority, and to open a Gap to the difficulties which then troubled the Church of *Rome*; and which imported more, conſidering that after they had ſaid (*Repreſenting the Church Univerſal*) ſome alſo might think to add the words following, that is, which hath power immediately from CHRIST, whereunto every one, though of Papal dignity, is bound to obey, they oppoſed ſtrongly, and (as they wrote to *Rome* in plain Terms) they whetted themſelves againſt it without

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without declaring to the Fathers the true cauſes, but only ſaying they were frothy and invidious words, and that the Hereticks would have made a bad interpretation of them. And they alſo laboured, without diſcovering the ſecret, firſt by art, then by ſaying plainly they would not permit it, that they appeaſed the general commotion, though the *French-men* and ſome few more remained firm in their propoſition.

And *John de Salazzar*, Biſhop of *Lanciano*, a *Spaniard* by Nation, aſſiſted the Legates very much, who having commended in ample terms the firſt Councils of the Church, for Antiquity and Sanctity of thoſe that aſſiſted, he deſired they ſhould be imitated in the Title uſed by them, which was very plain, without expreſſing Repreſentation, or what, or how great Authority the Council had. But he pleaſed them not, when he ſaid, that, by their example, the name of Preſidents ought to be laid aſide, becauſe it was never uſed by any ancient Council, but begun only by that of *Conſtance*, which by reaſon of Schiſm, changed Preſidents often: adding that if that example were to be followed, it would alſo be neceſſary to nominate the Emperours Ambaſſadour. For then the King of the *Romans* was named, and the Princes with him. But this pride was far remote from Chriſtian Humility: and he repeated the diſcourſe of the Cardinal *Santa Croce*, which he made the twelfth of *December*, by which alſo he concluded, that they ſhould deſiſt to make mention of Precedency. This propoſition troubled the Legates more than the former; yet the Cardinal *Monte* ſuddenly anſwered, that Councils have ſpoken diverſly, according to the occurrences of the times: that formerly the Pope hath always been acknowledged for Head of the Church, nor ever any Council hath been demanded, with condition it ſhould not depend on the Pope, as the *Dutch-men* now do with great boldneſs; unto which Heretical Temerity it was fit to reſiſt in every action, ſhewing they were joyned with the head, which is the Pope, by making mentions of his Legates. He ſpake much in this matter, and knowing he could better maintain it by diverſion, than perſwaſions, he was a means they ſhould paſs to another thing. The contents of the Decree was approved by all; but there being one particle in it, in which every one was exhorted to pray to God for the Pope, Emperour, and Kings, the *French* Prelates deſired there ſhould ſpecial mention be made of the *French* King. This the Cardinal *Santa Croce* commended, but added, that the like Specification would be expected by all in their place, which would prove a long buſineſs, and full of danger, by reaſon of Precedency. The *French-men* replied, that in the Bull of the Convocation, the Pope had made mention only of the Emperour and *French* King, and therefore by that example they ſhould name them both, or neither. The Legates took time to think of it, being deſirous to give every one Satisfaction.

The name of Preſidents was never uſed in Council before the Council of *Conſtance*.

The ſeventh of *January* all the Prelates, clad in their ordinary habit, aſſembled themſelves in the Houſe of the prime Legate, from whence they went to the Cathedral Church with the Croſs before them. Out of the Country of *Trent* were collected into the City three hundred Foot, armed partly with Pikes, and partly with Harquebuſſes, and ſome Horſe. Theſe put themſelves in File on either ſide the way, from the Houſe of the Church; where the Legates and Prelates being entred, the Souldiers returned to the Market-place, and diſcharged their Harquebuſſes, and remained there to guard the Seſſion. Beſides the Legates and Cardinal of *Trent*, there were preſent four Arch-biſhops, twenty eight Biſhops, three Abbots of the Congregation of *Caſſina*, and four

The Seſſion *January* 7.

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Generals, who ſate in the place of the Seſſion. Theſe forty three ſons made the general Council. Of the Archbiſhops, two were Tit r only, never ſeen in the Churches, from which they had their name, which the Pope gave them, only to do them honour; the one was *Olaus Magnus*, Archbiſhop of *Upſala* in *Gothland*, the other *Robert Venante*, a *Scottiſh-man*, Archbiſhop of *Armagh* in *Ireland*; who, though he were pore-blind, was commended for his vertue, to ride Poſt the beſt in the World. Theſe two men, having been relieved certain years in *Rome*, by the Pope's Alms, were ſent to *Trent* to increaſe the number, and to depend on the Legates. About the number of twenty Divines ſtood on their Feet; the Ambaſſadour of the King of the *Romans*, and the Proctor of the Cardinal of *Ausburg* were preſent, and ſate upon the Ambaſſadours Bench, and near unto them, upon the ſame Bench, ſate Ten Gentlemen, choſen out of the Bordering places by the Cardinal of *Trent*. *John Fonſeca*, Biſhop of *Caſtelamare* ſaid Maſs, and *Coriolanus Martiranus*, Biſhop of S. *Mark*, made the Sermon.

When the Maſs was ended, the Prelates put on their Pontifical Habits, and then the Letany and Prayers were ſaid, as in the firſt Seſſion. After this all ſate down, and the Biſhop that ſaid Maſs, mounting into the Pulpit, read the forenamed Bull, againſt admitting to give Voice the Proctors of thoſe that were abſent, without mentioning the other, where thoſe of *Germany* were excepted. Then he read the Decree, in which the Synod exhorted all the faithful aſſembled in *Trent*, to live in the fear of God, and daily to pray for the peace of Princes; and unity of the Church, and thoſe of the Council to ſay Maſs, at the leaſt on Sundaies, and to pray for the Pope, Emperour, Kings, and Princes, and all to faſt, give Alms, to be ſober, and to inſtruct their Families. It exhorted alſo all men, eſpecially the learned, to bethink themſelves exactly how to reſiſt Hereſies, and in the Aſſemblies to uſe modeſty in ſpeaking. And it ordained beſide, that if any ſate not in their place, or gave not Voice, or was not preſent in their Congregations, he ſhould not receive any prejudice, or gain any new right. The Fathers being interrogated, after this was read, they anſwered, *it pleaſed them.* But the *French-men* added, that they approved not ſo bare a Title, and required an addition of *Repreſenting the Univerſal Church.* In fine, the next Seſſion was appointed the fourth of *February*, and the Fathers had leave to depart; who putting off their Pontifical Habits, did, in their ordinary apparel, accompany the Legates home in the ſame order they came to Church; which was obſerved in all the Seſſions afterward.

After the Seſſion there was no Congregation held until the thirtee l of *January*, becauſe *Peter Pacceco*, Biſhop of *Jaben*, lately crea Cardinal, who expected the Hat from *Rome*, without which the Ce - mony gave him not leave to go abroad, had a deſire to be there, bec order was to be taken therein, that no inconveniences ſhould hap in the Seſſion. The Congregation being aſſembled, the Legates c n plained of thoſe, who in the Seſſion had oppoſed the Title; they ſhew d it was not ſeemly to cauſe diverſity of opinions to appear in that publick place; that the Congregations were made that every one might deliver his mind more privately, and all agree in that which was to be publiſhed; that nothing would more daunt the Heretiques, and encourage the Catholicks, than the ſame of Union. They deſcended to the matter of the Title, and ſaid, that none was more fit than that which the Pope had given in the Convocation, and in ſo many other

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Bulls, where it was called, Oecumenical and Univerſal; unto which it was ſuperfluous to add (*Repreſentation*) in regard whole Books declare what a Council lawfully called, and begun, is, and doth repreſent; that by doing otherwiſe they ſhould ſeem to make doubt of the Authority thereof, and reſemble it to ſome other Council, unto which they gave that Title, being willing to ſupply with words the lawful Authority which they knew it wanted, glancing at that of *Baſil* and *Conſtance*; but to make a firm reſolution they would have every one deliver his opinion. 1546. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

The Cardinal *Pacceco* began to ſay, the Council was adorned with very many Titles, which if they were uſed in all occaſions, the expreſſion of them would be greater than the body of the Decree. But as a great Emperour poſſeſſour of many Kingdoms and States, uſeth in his Edicts the Title only from whence they have force, and often putteth his own name to them without any Title at all, ſo this Council, according to the Subjects that ſhall be handled, ought to uſe many Titles to expreſs its Authority; but now that they are in the Preparatories, there is no neceſſity to uſe any of them at all. The Biſhop of *Feltre* put them in mind, that the Proteſtants deſired a Council where themſelves might have a deciſive Voice; ſo that if this Title be given to the Council, that it repreſenteth the Church Univerſal, they will draw an argument from hence, that ſome of every order of the Univerſal Church ought to be preſent. Theſe being two, the Clergy and the Laity, it cannot be intirely repreſented, if the Laity be excluded. But for the reſt, thoſe alſo of the Council who aſſented to the ſimple Title, were of opinion that it ought to be ſupplied. The Biſhop of Saint *Mark* ſaid that the Laicks are moſt improperly called the Church. For the Canons determine that they have no Authority to command, but neceſſity to obey, and that this is one of the things which the Council ought to Decree, that the Seculars ought humbly to receive that Doctrine of Faith which is given them by the Church, without diſputing or thinking further on it; and therefore that it is very meet to uſe the Title, that the Synod repreſenteth the Church Univerſal, to make them underſtand that they are not the Church, but ought to hearken to, and obey the Church. Many things were ſpoken and they went on without any firm concluſion, but only that the ſimple Title ſhould be uſed in the next Seſſion, as it was in the laſt. A diſpute about the Title of the Council.

When this was ended, becauſe certain Prelates deſired, that at the laſt they might come to matters ſubſtantial, the Legates, to give them Satisfaction, propoſed that they ſhould conſider of the three heads contained in the Pope's Bulls; that is, the extirpation of Hereſies, reformation of Diſcipline, and eſtabliſhing of peace; how they ſhould begin theſe Treaties, what courſe they ſhould hold, and how proceed; that they ſhould pray God to illuminate them all, and every one ſhould ſpeak his opinion in the firſt Congregation. In the end ſome Commiſſions from abſent Biſhops were preſented; and the Archbiſhop of *Aix*, the Biſhops of *Feltre* and *Aſtorga* were deputed to conſider of their excuſe, and relate in the Congregation.

The next day the Legates wrote to *Rome*, that it appeared that the amplification of the Title, with addition of *Repreſenting the Church Univerſal*, was a thing ſo popular and ſo pleaſed all, that it might eaſily be ſpoken of again: and therefore they deſired to know his Holineſs pleaſure if they ſhould perſiſt in denying it, or yield unto them, eſpecially upon occaſion of making ſome Decree of importance, as to condemn

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condemn Hereſies, or the like. They gave advice alſo, that they had made the Propoſition for the next Congregation ſo general, that the might yield to the deſire of the Prelates, which was to enter into the ſubſtantial points, and yet interpoſe time that they might receive inſtruction from his Holineſs. They added that the Cardinal *Pacceco* had advice, that the Emperour had given order to many *Spaniſh* Biſhops, men of exemplary lives, and learning, to go to the Council. Therefore they thought it neceſſary, that his Holineſs ſhould ſend Ten or Twelve Prelates, whom he might truſt, men fit to appear for their other qualities, that the number of the *Oltramontans* increaſing, eſpecially men rare, of exemplarity, and learning, they might in ſome part be encountred. For amongſt thoſe that until then were in *Trent*, thoſe that had good minds had little learning, and leſs diſcretion; and thoſe that had underſtanding, were diſcovered to have deſigns, and hard to be governed.

The Legates deſire to make their party ſtrong.

The Imperialiſts deſire to begin with reformation.

In the next Congregation, aſſembled the eighteenth, to underſtand the minds of all, concerning the Propoſitions made in the laſt, the opinions were four. The *Imperialiſts* ſaid, that the points of Doctrine could not be touched, with hope of any Fruit, becauſe it was firſt neceſſary to remove the tranſgreſſions, from whence the Hereſies aroſe, by a good reformation, enlarging themſelves very much in this Field, and concluding that ſo long as the ſcandal which the World receiveth, by the deformation of the Clergy, ceaſeth not, nothing that they can ſay or preach will ever be believed, all being perſwaded that deeds ought to be regarded, and not Words. And that they ought not to take example by the ancient Councils, becauſe in them either there was not corruption of manners, or that was not cauſe of Hereſie; and in fine, that to defer the Treaty of the reformation, was to ſhew themſelves incorrigible.

Some few others thought fit to begin with Doctrine, and then to paſs to Reformation, alledging that Faith is the ground and foundation of Chriſtian life; that no man begins to build from the Roof, but from the Foundations; that it is a greater Sin to err in Faith than in other humane actions; and that the point of rooting out Hereſies was put firſt in the Popes Bulls. A third opinion was that the points of reformation and Faith might ill be ſeparated, becauſe there was no Doctrine without abuſe, nor abuſe which drawed not after it the bad interpretation and bad ſenſe of ſome Doctrine. Therefore it was neceſſary to handle them at the ſame time, for that the World having their Eyes fixed upon this Council, and expecting a remedy as well in matters of Faith as Manners, it would be ſatisfied better by handling them both together, than one after another: eſpecially if according to the propoſition of the Cardinal of *Monte*, divers deputations were made, and one handled this matter, and the other that, which ſhould be done quickly, conſidering, that the time preſent, when Chriſtendom had peace, was precious, and not to be loſt, not knowing what impediments the time to come might bring. And the rather, becauſe they ſhould ſtudy to make the Council as ſhort as they could, that the Churches the leſs while might remain deprived of their Paſtours, and for many other reſpects, intimating that which might ariſe in length of time, to the diſtaſte of the Pope and Court of *Rome*.

Some others, among whom were the *French-men*, demanded, that that of the peace might be the firſt: that they ſhould write unto the Emperour, the moſt Chriſtian King, and other Princes, giving them thanks for the Convocation of the Council, for continuance whereof that they ſhould eſtabliſh peace, and help the work forward, by ſending their

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their Ambaſſadours and Prelates; and likewiſe ſhould write friendly to the Lutherans, inviting them charitably to come to the Council, and joyn themſelves with the reſt of Chriſtendom. The Legates, underſtanding the opinions of them all, and commending their Wiſdom, ſaid, that becauſe it was late, and the conſultation of Weight, and the opinions various, they would think of what every one had ſaid, and, in the firſt Congregation, propoſe the points to be determined.

Two Congregations every week, without intimation.

Order was taken that there ſhould be two Congregations every week, on Munday and Fryday, without warning; and in the end the Archbiſhop of *Aix*, having received Letters from the moſt Chriſtian King, ſaluted the Synod in his Name, and promiſed that his Majeſty would ſuddenly ſend an Ambaſſadour, and many Prelates of his Kingdom; and ſo the Congregation ended.

The Legates ſent advice of all to *Rome*, and wrote that they had drawn in length the reſolution of the things that were handled, under the pretences before related, but in truth to gain more time, that they might receive inſtructions and orders how to govern themſelves; beſeeching his Holineſs again to make his will known, and to conſider above all, that to prolong the Council, and hold it open, when he might make it ſhort, was not good for the Apoſtolique See; adding that they were conſtrained to hold two Congregations every Week, to keep the Prelates in exerciſe, and to take occaſion from them to make them by themſelves. But they ſaid that this would draw on the buſineſs very faſt, and therefore that it was neceſſary to take ſome courſe to reſolve their propoſes quickly, and not to defer to anſwer them, as hitherto hath been done, but to adviſe them what they ought to do preſently, and to foreſee, as much as might be, what could happen. And ſeeing they had written oftentimes, that many poor Biſhops came to the Council, for the hope and good promiſes which his Holineſs and Cardinal *Farneſe* had given them, they then repeated it, adding, it was an errour to think to uſe them as homely in *Trent*, as in *Rome*, where, having no Authority, they are humble and in ſubjection; but when they are in the Council, they think they ſhould be eſteemed and maintained, which if it be not done, it were Letter not to have them in that place, than to have them there ill ſatisfied, and diſtaſted; concluding that that enterprize could not ſucceed well, without diligence and coſt.

The Pope is more intent upon the War againſt the Proteſtants, than upon the Council.

It may generally ſeem ſtrange, that the Pope, a wiſe man, and skilful in the affairs of the World, ſhould not give anſwer unto two particulars, of ſuch importance and neceſſity, in ſo long a time, after ſo many inſtances of his Miniſters. But his Holineſs grounded not his hopes upon the Council; all his Cogitations were turned toward the War, which the Cardinal *Farneſe* treated with the Emperour the year before, and could not forbear to make demonſtration thereof: neither did the Emperour deſire the Council ſhould proceed, it being ſufficient for his ends that it was opened only.

A controverſie how to begin, whether with reformation or doctrine, or with both together.

But the Prelates, who deſired to begin with reformation, and leave the Doctrine behind, aſſiſted by the Emperours Miniſters, aſſayed to draw the others to them: which thing being very eaſie, becauſe the reformation was generally deſired, and not much believed, their number grew ſo great, that the Legates were confounded. Therefore by themſelves and their Friends they often dealt privately with divers, and laſtly, in the Congregation of the 22. day, all three one after another ſet themſelves to ruine the Foundations which were laid in favour of the Reformation.

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tion. One reason, drawn from the Emperours proposition in the Diet of *Wormes* the last *May*, made a great impression, when he said they ought to expect what the Council would do in the definitions of Doctrine, and in the Reformation; and, that if nothing were done, he would intimate another Diet, to accommodate the differences of Religion, and correct the abuses: arguing from hence, that if they handled not the points of Doctrine, the determinations of the future Colloquy and Diet would be Canonized; neither could they with reason hinder them to treat of Religion in *Germany*, which themselves refused to do in the Council.

There was a great rich Prelate in the Congregation, who, with a premeditated Speech, went about to shew, that they ought only to aim at the Reformation, aggravating much the common deformation of the whole Clergy, and inculcating, that so long as our Vessels were not cleansed, the Holy Ghost would not dwell in them, and by consequence, that no right judgment could be expected in matters of Faith.

But the Cardinal *Santa Croce* taking from hence occasion to speak, said, that there was no reason to defer the Reformation of themselves, who were to manage the Council; but that was easie and ready, and might suddenly be executed, without delaying the points of Doctrine, which were intricate of themselves, and of long digestion. He much commended that Prelate for making mention of a thing so holy, and of so good example: for beginning from themselves, they might easily reform all the rest of the World; and he earnestly exhorted all to come to the practice thereof. This opinion was much commended by all, but not followed; for many said, the reformation ought to be general, without losing time in that particular. Therefore they all concluded, except two, that the Articles of Religion and Reformation should be handled together, as they are alike desired, and deemed necessary by the whole World, and joyntly proposed in the Pope's Bulls. The Legates were content with this resolution, though they rather desired to treat of Faith, and leave the Reformation. But so great was their fear that they should be constrained to handle Reformation alone, that they thought it a great Victory to joyn them together. And they thought also that their opinion to leave the Reformation was dangerous, because they should resist all the Prelates and States of Christendom, who desired it, which they could not do without much Scandal, and Infamy. If this course which they took, being constrained thereunto by meer necessity, should not please those at *Rome*, they could not complain of any but themselves, who were so often solicited to answer the Letters, and send necessary instructions.

A resolution made to handle doctrine and reformation together.

Afterwards it was resolved to write to the Pope to thank him for calling and opening the Council, and to desire him to maintain and favour it, and to be a means unto Christian Princes to continue peace among themselves, and excite them to send Ambassadours to the Council. They resolved also to write to the Emperour, the *French* King, Kings of the *Romans*, of *Portugal*, and other Catholick Princes, to preserve Peace, to send Ambassadours, secure the ways, to move their Prelates to appear personally in the Council. The care of writing these Letters was committed to the Bishop of Saint *Mark*, and were to be read and sealed in the next Congregation.

The Legates published two points to be considered of by the Fathers, whereof they were to give their Voices. The first, whether in the next Session the heads of Faith, and those of Reformation which were

correspondent

correſpondent, ſhould be handled together. The ſecond how to proceed in making choice of the two heads, and in handling and examining them. The Legates thought they had by theſe propoſitions diſburthened themſelves of the importunate queſt made by ſome, to eſtabliſh ſome ſubſtantial point in every Congregation, and withal to have ſhewed that they held the Prelates in eſteem. 1546. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

The next Congregation was ſpent in reading many Letters, and diſputing what Seal to uſe. Some propoſed they ſhould be Sealed in Lead, with a Bull proper to the Synod, in which ſome would have on the one ſide the Image of the Holy Ghoſt in the form of a Dove, and the name of the Synod on the other, and ſome deſired other forms, all which were Glorious. But the Legates, who had another order from *Rome*, ſuffering the Fathers to diſpute hereon, diverted the propoſition by ſaying it ſavoured of Pride, and protracted the time, becauſe they muſt ſend to *Venice* to make the form of it, in regard no Artiſan in *Trent* was able to do it; adding that it might be better thought of afterwards, and that it was neceſſary to diſpatch the Letters now, which might be done by the name and Seal of the prime Legate. That which remained was put off until the next Congregation. A Congregation.

In the which, the two points before propoſed were diſcuſſed; and concerning the firſt there were two opinions. One that the Decree ſhould be framed and publiſhed: the other that it was not good to tye themſelves with a Decree, but to keep their liberty, and reſolve as occaſion ſhould ſerve. They took a middle courſe; to make mention only that the Synod was principally aſſembled for theſe two cauſes, without going any further. But for the ſecond point the major part were of opinion, that they being aſſembled to condemn the Lutheran Hereſie, they ſhould follow the order of their confeſſion; which others contradicted, becauſe it was an imitation of the Colloquies in *Germany*, which would debaſe the dignity of the Council. And the two firſt heads of the *Auguſtan* confeſſion being of the Trinity, and incarnation, in which there was no ſubſtantial difference, though they were expreſſed after a new manner, and unuſual in the Schools, if they ſhould be approved, reputation would be given them, and they could not ſo well condemn the reſt; and in caſe they would neither approve nor condemn them, and ſpeak of them not with the terms of that confeſſion, but of the Schools or others, there was danger to raiſe new diſputes and new Schiſms. The Legates, who aimed at nothing but to drive out the time, were glad to hear the difficulties, and did carefully cheriſh them, ſometimes incouraging one, and ſometimes another. A Congregation.

The time prefixed for the Seſſion approaching, the Legates, having received no inſtruction from *Rome*, were much perplexed. For to paſs that Seſſion, as the former, in Ceremonies only, was to loſe all Reputation; and to handle any matter was dangerous, becauſe they had not their mark prefixed whereat to aim. That which ſeemed to have leaſt peril, was to frame a Decree upon the reſolution taken in the Congregation, to handle the points of Faith and Reformation together: whereunto oppoſition was made, that it was to bind themſelves, and to determine that in the Congregation, which was undecided by the Pope. In this ambiguity it was propoſed that they ſhould make a dilatory Decree, under pretence that many Prelates were in their Journey, and would ſhortly come thither. Cardinal *Pool* told them, that in regard a confeſſion of Faith hath been made in all the ancient Councils, the ſame ſhould be done in that Seſſion, publiſhing that of the Church of *Rome*. At the laſt it was reſolved The Legates were perplexed for want of Inſtruction.

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to make the Decree with a ſimple Title, and to make mention therein that they ought to treat of Religion and Reformation; but in ſuch general terms, that the Creed might be recited and paſſed over, making another Decree to defer the material points until another Seſſion, alledging for a reaſon that ſome Prelates were ready to ſet forward, and ſome in their Journey already; and to prolong the Term of the next Seſſion as long as they could, for fear of being brought into the like ſtraits; yet ſo as not to put it off until after *Eaſter*.

When this was framed, they imparted it to the Prelates they truſted moſt, amongſt whom the Biſhop of *Bitonto* put to their conſideration, that to make a Seſſion to eſtabliſh a Creed, made 1200 years before, and continually believed, and now abſolutely accepted by all, might be laughed at by thoſe that were envious, and ill expounded by others. That they cannot ſay they follow the Fathers example in this: becauſe they have either made a confeſſion againſt the Hereſies they did condemn, or repeated the former made againſt the Hereſies already condemned, to give them greater Authority, adding ſomething for declaration, or to reduce it into Memory, or to ſecure it againſt Oblivion. But now neither a new Confeſſion was compoſed, nor a Declaration adjoined. To give them more Authority belonged not to them, nor to that Age. To recall it into Memory, in regard it was repeated every Week in all Churches, and was in the freſh memory of every one, was a thing ſuperfluous, and affected. That the Hereticks ought to be convinced by the Confeſſion, was true of thoſe who erred againſt it: But it was not ſo of the Lutherans, who believed it as the Catholicks. If when this Preparation ſhall be made, the Confeſſion be never uſed to this purpoſe, it will be thought to be done to no other end than to entertain the time, and to ſprinkle Court-holy water, not daring to touch the points of Doctrine, nor being willing to meddle with the Reformation. He thought it better to interpoſe delay, in regard of the expectation of the Prelates, and ſo to end the Seſſion.

The Biſhop of *Chioza* added, that the reaſons alledged might ſerve the Hereticks turns, by ſaying, that if the confeſſion can ſerve to convert Infidels, overcome the Hereticks, and confirm the faithful, they could not enforce them to believe any thing beſides. The Legate judged not theſe reaſons to be ſo ſtrong as the contrary, that not to make a Decree was loſs of reputation. Therefore they reſolved on that ſide, and fitted ſome words better, according to the Advertiſements of the Prelates, and propoſed the Decree in the Congregation of the firſt of *February*. Of this many things were ſaid; and though it was approved by the major part, yet in the end of the Congregation it gave diſtaſt, and ſome of the Prelates ſaid, reaſoning among themſelves, it will be ſaid, that by a work of twenty years time, it hath been concluded, that we ſhould be brought to hear the Creed repeated.

The Seſſion.

The fourth day, deſtinated for the Seſſion, they went to Church with the ſame Ceremonies and Company; in which *Peter Tragliavia*, Archbiſhop of *Palermo*, Sang Maſs, *Ambroſe Catarin* of *Siena*, a Dominican Friar, Archbiſhop of *Torre*, read the Decree: the ſubſtance whereof was, That the Synod, conſidering the importance of the two points to be treated of, that is, the extirpation of Hereſies, and reformation of manners, exhorteth all to truſt in God, and arm themſelves with ſpiritual Weapons, and that their diligence may have both beginning and progreſs from the Grace of God, it determineth to begin from the confeſſion of Faith, imitating the examples of the Fathers, who in the principal

The Decree is read.

Councils,

Councils, in the beginning of the actions, have oppoſed that Buckler againſt the Hereſies, and ſometimes have converted the Infidels, and overcome the Hereticks with that alone; in which all that profeſs Chriſtianity do agree. And here the whole was repeated word by word, without adding any other concluſion. And the Archbiſhop asked the Fathers, whether the Decree pleaſed them. All anſwered affirmatively, but ſome with conditions and additions of no great moment, yet ſuch as diſpleaſed the Cardinal of *Monte*; who liked not they ſhould deſcend to particulars in the Seſſions, fearing that when ſome matter of weight was to be treated of, ſome inconvenience might ariſe. Afterwards the other Decree was read, intimating the Seſſion for the eighth of *April*, alledging for a cauſe of the delay, that many Prelates were in readineſs to come, and ſome were in the Journey, and for that the deliberations of the Synod will be more eſteemed when they ſhall be ſtrengthened by the Counſel and preſence of more Fathers; yet ſo as that they would not defer the diſcuſſion and examination of what ſeemed fit to be handled preſently.

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The eighth of *April* is appointed for the next Seſſion.

The Court of *Rome*, who ſtood all amazed at the very name of reformation, was well pleaſed to hear that the Council entertained it ſelf in preambles, hoping that time would bring forth ſome Remedy. And the Courtiers that had intemperate Tongues, exerciſed their Gibing, publiſhing divers bitter Paſquins, as then the cuſtom was in all accidents, ſome commending the Prelates aſſembled in *Trent*, for making a moſt noble Decree, worthy of a General Council, and ſome exhorting them to underſtand their own worth and knowledge.

Paſquins made againſt the Seſſion.

The Legates in giving the Pope an account of the Seſſion held, ſent alſo advice, that it would be hard to oppoſe, and overcome thoſe who deſired to finiſh the Title, with the repreſentation of the Church Univerſal; yet they would endeavour to remove the difficulties. But that it was impoſſible to entertain the Prelates any more without coming to, and doing ſome eſſential matter; and therefore that they expected the order and inſtruction which they ſo often had demanded. That for their parts they thought it fit to handle thoſe points of the holy Scripture, which were in controverſie between them and the Lutherans, and the abuſe brought into the Church in that matter; which things would much ſatisfie the World, and offend no man: and they would expect an anſwer for this, there being ſpace enough to examine thoſe matters, and many occaſions to drive out the time until the beginning of Lent.

The Legates give the Pope an account of the Seſſion.

But though the Council was then opened, and ſtill celebrated, the Aſſairs of *Germany* continued the ſame. In the beginning of the year the Elector *Palatine* brought in the uſe of the Chalice, the popular Tongue in publick Prayers, the marriage of Prieſts, and other things which were reformed before in other places. And thoſe that were appointed by the Emperour to be preſent in the meeting, to find out a way to compoſe the differences of Religion, met together at a Colloquy in *Ratisbon*. The Emperour deputed for Preſidents the Biſhop of *Eicſtat*, and the *Conte* of *Furſtemberg*: but no good Fruit grew thereof, by reaſon of the Suſpicions which one part conceived againſt the other, and becauſe the Catholicks omitted no occaſions to give greater jealouſies to the other ſide, and to feign them of their own, which finally made the Colloquy to diſſolve.

The affairs of *Germany* continue the ſame, and the *Palatine* embraceth the reformed Religion.

The fifteenth of *February Martin Luther* died alſo. Theſe news being ſent to *Trent* and *Rome*, there was not ſo much grief for the change of Religion in the *Palatinate*, as joy that the Colloquy ſucceeded not

Martin Luther dieth.

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well, but tended to diſſolution, and that *Luther* was dead. The Colloquy ſeemed another Council, and gave great jealouſie; becauſe, if any thing had been accorded, they ſaw not how the Council could after reject it, and, if it had been accepted, it would ſeem that the Council received Laws from another place. And by all means the Colloquy being on foot, and the Emperours Miniſters there preſent, it brought ſmall reputation to the Council and the Pope. The Fathers in *Trent*, and the Court in *Rome* conceived great hope, ſeeing that ſo potent an inſtrument, to contradict the Doctrine and Rites of the Church of *Rome*, was dead, who was the principal, and almoſt the total cauſe of the diviſions and innovations introduced, and held it for a preſage of the good ſucceſs of the Council; and the rather becauſe that death was divulged throughout *Italy*, with many prodigious and fabulous circumſtances, which were aſcribed to Miracle, and the vengeance of God, though there were but the uſual accidents, which do ordinarily happen in the Deaths of men of ſixty three years of Age: for in that age *Martin Luther* died. But thoſe things that happened afterwards even until our Age, have declared that *Martin* was only one of the means, and that the cauſes were more potent and ſecret.

The Romaniſts rejoyce at his death and at the diſſolution of the Colloquy without Fruit.

Fables raiſed upon *Luther's* Death.

The Emperour being arrived in *Ratisbon*, complained grievouſly that the Colloquy was diſſolved, and wrote Letters thereof throughout all *Germany*; which were laughed at, becauſe it was too much known that the Separation was wrought by the *Spaniards* and Friars, and by the Biſhop of *Eicſtat*, whom he had ſent. And when the Workmen are known, it is not hard to judge whence the beginning of the motion doth proceed. But the wiſe Emperour was willing to uſe the ſame thing to ſatisfie the Pope and the Council, and to find an occaſion againſt the Proteſtants; which the Event ſhewed to be true. For the ſame complaints being renewed in the Diet, and means of agreement being ſought by thoſe that were aſſembled, the Miniſters of *Ments* and *Triers* ſeparating themſelves from the other Electors, and adhering to the other Biſhops, approved the Council, and deſired the Emperour to protect it, and to cauſe the Proteſtants to be there and ſubmit themſelves to it. But they did reſiſt and remonſtrate that that Council had not thoſe qualities and conditions ſo often promiſed, and deſired that the peace might be kept, and the differences in Religion accorded in a lawful Council in *Germany*, or in an Imperial Diet. But in the end the Masks were removed, and the Proviſions for War could no longer be hid; whereof mention ſhall be made in its proper place. The Pope conſidered very much of the Letter written from *Trent*, weighing the inconveniences that would follow, if he kept the Council at Anchor, with the ill ſatisfaction of the Biſhops that were there, and the miſchief that might ariſe if the reformation ſhould begin. In fine, perceiving that it was neceſſary to put ſomething to the hazard, and that it was Wiſdom to avoid the greater Evil, he reſolved to write back to *Trent*, to begin the action as they had adviſed, admoniſhing them not to broach any new difficulties in matter of Faith, nor to determine any of the things controverted amongſt the Catholicks, and to proceed ſlowly in the Reformation. The Legates, who until then had in the Congregations entertained themſelves in general matters, having received power to go on, propoſed in the Congregation of the 22. of *February*, that the firſt foundation of Faith being eſtabliſhed, they ought in the next place to handle another more ample, which is the Holy Scripture, wherein are points belonging to the Doctrines controverted with the Lutherans,

The Emperors Letters concerning the Colloquy were laughed at.

The proviſions for War were known.

rans, and others, for reformation of thoſe abuſes which are moſt principal, and neceſſary to be amended; and ſo many, that perhaps the time until the next Seſſion will not be ſufficient to find a remedy for all. They diſcourſed of the Controverſies with the Lutherans in this Subject, and of the abuſes, and much was ſpoken hereof by divers Prelates. 1546. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

The Divines who were thirty in number, and almoſt all Friars, had until then ſerved in the Council only to make Sermons on Holy-days, in exaltation of the Council and the Pope, and to make light Skirmiſhes with the Lutherans; but now that controverted Doctrines were to be decided, and the abuſes of learned men rather than of others to be reformed, their worth began to appear. And order was taken that in the points of Doctrine to be decided, Articles ſhould be extracted out of the Books of the Lutherans contrary to the Orthodox Faith, to be ſtudied and cenſured by the Divines, that every one ſpeaking his opinion of them, the matter might be prepared to frame the Decrees, which being propoſed in the Congregation, and examined by the Fathers, when every mans Voice was known, that might be eſtabliſhed which was to be publiſhed in the Seſſion. And for the abuſes, every one ſhould call to mind what he thought worthy of amendment, together with the remedy fit for it. The Divines begin to be eſteemed.

The Articles for matter of Doctrine, drawn out of the Lutherans Books, were,

1. That the neceſſary Doctrine of Chriſtian Faith, is wholly contained in the holy Scripture, and that it is an humane invention, to add unto them unwritten Traditions, as left unto the holy Church by Chriſt and his Apoſtles, derived unto us by means of the continual Succeſſion of Biſhops, and that it is Sacrilege to defend that they are of equal Authority with the old and new Teſtament.

2. That amongſt the Books of the old Teſtament, none ſhould be reckoned but thoſe that have been received by the Jews, and in the New the ſix Epiſtles, that is, that under the name of S. *Paul* to the *Hebrews*, that of S. *James*, the 2 of S. *Peter*, the 2. and 3. of S. *John*, one of S. *Jude*, and the *Apocalypſe*.

3. That to underſtand the Scripture well, or to alledge the proper words, it is neceſſary to have recourſe to the Texts of the Original Tongue in which it is written, and to reprove the Latin tranſlation as full of errours.

4. That the divine Scripture is moſt eaſie and perſpicuous, and that to underſtand it, neither gloſs nor comment is neceſſary, but only to have the Spirit of a Sheep of Chriſts Paſture.

5. Whether Canons, with Anathematiſms adjoined, ſhould be framed againſt all theſe Articles.

Upon the two firſt, the Divines diſcourſed in four Congregations; and in the firſt all agreed, that the Chriſtian Faith is contained partly in the Scripture, and partly in Traditions; and much time was ſpent in alledging for this places of *Tertullian*, who often ſpeaks of them; and many were numbred out of *Ireny*, *Cyprian*, *Baſil*, *Auſtin*, and others; yea ſome ſaid more, that Tradition was the only foundation of the Catholick Doctrine. For the Scripture it ſelf is not believed but by Tradition. But there was ſome difference how this matter might fitly be handled.

Vicenzo Lunello, a Franciſcan Friar, was of opinion, that, in regard the holy Scripture and Traditions were to be eſtabliſhed for ground of Faith,

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Faith, they ought firſt to treat of the Church, which is a more principal foundation. For the Scripture receiveth Authority from it, according to the famous ſaying of Saint *Auguſtine*: I would not have believed the Goſpel if the Authority of the Church had not compelled me; and no uſe can be made of Traditions, but by grounding them upon the ſame Authority. For if a Controverſie ariſe about a Tradition, it will be neceſſary to decide it either by the Teſtimony, or by the determination of the Church. But this foundation being laid, that every Chriſtian is bound to believe the Church, one may ſecurely build thereon. He added, that they ſhould take example from all thoſe that have ſubſtantially written againſt the Lutherans, as Friar *Silveſter*, and *Ecchius*, who have more alledged the Authority of the Church than any other Argument; neither is it poſſible to convince the Lutherans otherwiſe. That it is contrary to the end propoſed, (that is to lay all the foundations of Chriſtian Doctrine) to leave out the principal, and perhaps the only ground, but certainly that without the which, the reſidue cannot ſubſiſt. This opinion had no followers. Some oppoſed againſt it, that it was ſubject to the ſame difficulties which it made to others. For the Synagogues of the Hereticks alſo would arrogate to be the true Church, unto whom this Authority was given. Others holding it to be a thing moſt known and undoubted, that by the name of the Church the Clergy ought to be underſtood, and more properly the Council and the Pope as head, ſaid they ought to maintain, that the Authority of the Church is already decided, and that to treat of it now were to ſhew there was difficulty, or at the leaſt, that it was a thing newly cleared, and not moſt ancient, ever believed ſince Chriſtianity began.

Diſcourſes about the authority of traditions.

But *Anthonius Marinarus*, a Carmelite Friar, thought fit to refrain ſpeaking of Traditions, and ſaid, that for deciſion of the firſt Article in this matter, it was meet firſt to determine whether the queſtion were *facti*, or *juris*: that is, if the Chriſtian Doctrine have two parts, one which was written by the will of God, and the other which was forbidden to be writ, but only taught by word of mouth; or if in the whole body of Doctrine it hath accidentally happened, that all having been taught, ſome part hath not been committed to writting. He added, that it was a clear caſe that the Majeſty of God ordaining the Law of the Old Teſtament, appointed it ſhould be neceſſary to have it in writing; and therefore wrote the Decalogue in Stone with his own Finger, commanding it ſhould be laid up in the Cabinet, called the Ark of the Covenant. That he often commanded *Moſes* to write the Precepts in a Book, and that one Copy ſhould be kept in the Ark, and the King have another to read it continually.

This fell not out in the Goſpel, which the Son of God wrote in the Hearts, for which neither Tables, nor Cheſt, nor Book is neceſſary: yea, the Church was moſt perfect before any of the Apoſtles wrote; and though they had writ nothing, the Church would have wanted nothing of its perfection. But as Chriſt founded the Doctrine of the New Teſtament in the Hearts; ſo he forbad it not to be written, as in ſome falſe Religions, where the Myſteries were kept ſecret, nor was lawful to write them, but only to teach them by word of mouth. And therefore that it is an undoubted truth, that whatſoever the Apoſtles have written, and whatſoever they have taught by word of mouth, is of equal Authority, becauſe they wrote and ſpake by the inſtinct of the Holy Ghoſt, which notwithſtanding, as, by aſſiſting them, it hath directed them to write and preach the truth, ſo it cannot be ſaid it hath forbid-

forbidden them to write any thing, to the end to hold it in myſtery; wherefore the Articles of Faith cannot be diſtinguiſhed into two kinds, ſome publiſhed by writing, others commanded to be communicated only by Voice. He ſaid, that whoſoever thought otherwiſe, muſt fight againſt two great difficulties; the one, to tell wherein the difference is, the other, how the Apoſtles Succeſſors have been able to write that which was forbidden by God: adding, that it was as hard to maintain the third, that is, how it hath accidentally happened, that ſome particulars have not been written, becauſe it would derogate from the Providence of God in directing the holy Apoſtles to compoſe the Scriptures of the New Teſtament. Therefore he concluded, that to enter into this Treaty, was to Sail between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, and that it was better to imitate the Fathers, who ſerved themſelves of this place, only in caſe of neceſſity, never thinking to make of it an Article of Competition againſt the holy Scripture. He added, that it was not neceſſary to proceed now to any new determination, becauſe the Lutherans, though they ſaid they would be convinced by the Scripture only, have not made a Controverſie in this Article, and that it is good to keep themſelves only to the Controverſies which they have promoted, without ſetting new on Foot, expoſing themſelves to the danger of making a great diviſion in Chriſtendom.

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The Fathers never made traditions of equal authority with the Scripture.

The Friars opinion pleaſed but few; yea, Cardinal *Pool* reprehended it, and ſaid, it better beſeemed a Colloquy in *Germany*, than a Council of the Univerſal Church: that in this they ſhould aim at the ſincere verity it ſelf, not as there, where nothing is handled but the according of the parties, though to the prejudice of the truth; that to perſerve the Church, it was neceſſary that the Lutherans ſhould receive all the Roman Doctrine, or that as many of their errours as was poſſible might be diſcovered, the more to make manifeſt to the World, that there was no agreement to be made with them. Therefore if they have framed no Controverſie concerning Traditions, it was neceſſary to frame it now, and to condemn their opinions, and to ſhew, that that Doctrine not only differeth from the true, in that wherein it doth purpoſely contradict it, but in all other parts: that they ſhould endeavour to condemn as many Abſurdities as can be drawn out of their Writings, and that the fear was vain to daſh againſt *Scylla* or *Charybdis* for that captious Reaſon, whereunto whoſoever gave Ear, would conclude there was no Tradition at all.

The opinion of *Marinarus* was very diſtaſtful.

In the ſecond Article they all agreed in this, that a Catalogue ſhould be made, (as it was in former times) of the Canonical Books, in which all ſhould be Regiſtred which are read in the *Roman* Church, even thoſe of the Old Teſtament, which were never received by the *Hebrews*. And for proof of this, they all alledged the Council of *Laodicea*, Pope *Innocence* the firſt, the third Council of *Carthage*, and Pope *Gelaſius*. But there were four opinions. Some would have two Ranks made; in the firſt only thoſe ſhould be put, which without Contradiction have been received by all: in the other thoſe, which ſometimes have been rejected, or have had doubt made of them; and it was ſaid, though formerly this was never done by any Council or Pope, yet always it was ſo underſtood. For *Auſtin* maketh ſuch a diſtinction, and his Authority hath been Canonized in the Chapter *In Canonicis*. And Saint *Gregory*, who was after *Gelaſius*, writing upon *Job*, ſaith of the *Maccabees*, that they are written for edification, though they be not Canonical.

Concerning the Canonical Books of the Scripture.

Aloiſius

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Aloisius of *Catanea*, a Dominican Friar, said that this distinction was made by Saint *Hierom*, who was received by the Church, as a rule and direction, to appoint the Canon of the Scriptures; and he alledged Cardinal *Cajetan* who had distinguished them, following Saint *Hierom*, as an infallible rule, given us by the Church; and so he wrote to Pope *Clement* the Seventh, when he sent him his Exposition upon the Historical Books of the Old Testament. Some thought fit to establish three ranks. The first of those which always have been held for Divine; the second of those whereof sometimes doubt hath been made, but by use have obtained Canonical Authority, in which number are the six Epistles, and the Apocalypse of the New Testament, and some small parts of the Evangelists. The third, of those whereof there hath never been any assurance; as are the seven of the Old Testament, and some Chapters of *Daniel* and *Hester*. Some thought it better to make no distinction at all, but to imitate the Council of *Carthage* and others, making the Catalogue, and saying no more. Another opinion was that all of them should be declared to be in all parts, as they are in the Latine Bible, of divine and equal Authority. The Book of *Baruc* troubled them most, which is not put in the number, neither by the *Laodiceans*, nor by those of *Carthage*, nor by the Pope, and therefore should be left out, as well for this reason, as because the beginning of it cannot be found. But because it was read in the Church, the Congregation (esteeming this a potent reason) resolved, that it was by the Ancients accounted a part of *Jeremy*, and comprised with him.

The Bishop of *Bitonto*, assisting in Council, is in danger of Excommunication in *Rome* for not paying his Pensionaries:

In the Congregation on *Friday* the fifth of *March*, advice being come that the Pensionaries of the Bishop of *Bitonto* had demanded in *Rome* to be paid, and for this cause had cited him before the Auditor, requiring he should be compelled by Excommunications and other censures, according to the Stile of the Court, to make payment, he lamented his case, and said that his Pensioners were in the right, and yet himself was not in the wrong. For so long as he was in the Council he could not spend less than six hundred Crowns by the year, and that his Pensions being detracted, he had left but four hundred: wherefore it was necessary that he should be disburthened or assisted with the other two hundred. The poor Prelates laboured herein, as in a common cause, and some of them passed to high words, and said it was an infamy to the Council, that an Officer of the Court of *Rome* should be suffered to use Censures against a Bishop assisting in the Council; that it was a thing monstrous, and would make the World say that the Council was not free; that the honour of that Assembly required that the Auditor should be cited to *Trent*, or some revenge taken against him, that the dignity of the Synod might be preserved. Some also proceeded so far as to condemn the imposition of Pensions, saying, that it was just and anciently observed, that the rich Churches should assist the poor, not by constraint, but by Charity, without taking things necessary from themselves, and that S. *Paul* taught so. But that poor Prelates should be constrained to give to the rich, some of that which is necessary for their own Sustenance, was a thing intolerable; and that this was one of the points of Reformation to be handled in the Council, reducing it to the ancient, and truly Christian use. But the Legates, considering how just the complaints were, and whither they might tend, appeased all, and promised they would write to *Rome*, and cause the judicial Process to Surcease, and to endeavour that the Bishop should in some sort be provided for, that he might maintain himself in the Council.

All

All the Divines having made an end of ſpeaking the eighth day, a Congregation was intimated for the next, though it was no ordinary day, not ſo much to eſtabliſh quickly a Decree upon the diſputed Articles, as for a grace of the Council, that in that day, dedicated to a profane Feaſt of the *Carnoval*, the Fathers ſhould buſie themſelves in the Affairs of the Council. And then it was approved by all, that the Traditions ſhould be received as of equal Authority with the Scriptures. But they agreed not in the manner of making the Catalogue of the Divine Books; and there were three opinions: One, not to deſcend to particular Books; another, to diſtinguiſh the Catalogue into three parts; a third, to make only one, and to make all the Books of equal Authority. And not being all well reſolved, three Draughts were made, and order given that they ſhould exactly conſider which of them ſhould be received in the next Congregation; which was not held the twelfth day, by reaſon of the arrival of *Don Francis* of *Toledo*, ſent Ambaſſadour by the Emperour, to aſſiſt in the Council, as Colleague to *Don Diego*: who was met on the way by the major part of the Biſhops, and Families of the Cardinals.

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A Decree made on the day of *Carnoval*, that Traditions are of equal authority with the Scriptures.

Don Francis of *Toledo* arriveth in *Trent*, Ambaſſadour to the Emperour.

At this time *Vergerius*, who often hath been named before, came to *Trent*, not ſo much with deſire to aſſiſt in the Council, as to fly the rage of his people raiſed againſt him, as cauſe of the barrenneſs of the Land; by the Inquiſitor, Friar *Hannibal*, a *Griſon*. For he knew not where to remain with more dignity, nor to have greater commodity to juſtifie himſelf againſt the imputations of the Friar, who publiſhed him for a Lutheran, not only in *Iſtria*, but before the Nuncio of *Venice*, and the Pope. Whereof the Legates of the Council being advertiſed, ſuffered him not to be preſent at the publick Acts, as a Prelate, if firſt he were not juſtified before the Pope, to whom they effectually exhorted him to go; and if they had not feared to raiſe talk againſt the liberty of the Council, they would have gone beyond exhortation. This Biſhop, ſeeing he was more diſgraced in *Trent*, departed a little after, with purpoſe to return to his Biſhoprick, hoping the popular ſedition was appeaſed. But when he came to *Venice*, he was forbidden by the Nuncio, to go thither, who had order from *Rome* to make his Proceſs; for diſdain whereof, or for fear, or for ſome other cauſe, he quitted *Italy* within a few months after.

Vergerius flyeth to the Council for refuge, but findeth none.

Vergerius forſaketh *Italy*.

The fifteenth day, the three Draughts being propoſed, though every one was maintained by ſome, yet the third was approved by the major part. In the Congregations after, the Divines diſcourſed upon the other Articles, and in the third there was much difference about the Latin Tranſlation of the Scripture, between ſome few who had good knowledge of the Latin, and ſome taſte of the Greek, and others who were ignorant in the Tongues. Friar *Aloiſius* of *Catanea*, ſaid that, for reſolution of this Article, nothing could be brought more to the purpoſe, or more fit for the preſent times and occaſions, than the judgment of Cardinal *Cajetan*, a man very well read in Divinity, having ſtudied it even from a Child; who for the happineſs of his Wit, and for his laborious diligence, became the prime Divine of that and many more Ages, unto whom there was no Prelate or perſon in the Council who would not yield in Learning, or thought himſelf too good to learn of him. This Cardinal, going Legate into *Germany*, in the year 1523. ſtudying exactly how thoſe that erred might be reduced to the Church, and the Arch-Hereticks convinced, found out the true remedy, which was the litteral meaning of the Text of the Scripture in the original

Diſcourſes about the Latin tranſlation.

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Tongue in which it is written, and all the reſidue of his life, which was 11. years, he gave himſelf only to the ſtudy of the Scripture, expounding not the Latine tranſlation, but the Hebrew roots of the old, and the Greek of the new Teſtament. In which Tongues, having no knowledge himſelf, he imployed men of underſtanding, who made conſtruction of the Text unto him word by word, as his works upon the holy Books do ſhew. That good Cardinal was wont to ſay, that to underſtand the Latine Text, was not to underſtand the infallible word of God, but the word of the Tranſlator, ſubject and obnoxious unto errours. That *Hierom* ſpake well, that to propheſie and write holy Books proceeded from the holy Ghoſt, but to tranſlate them into another Tongue, was a work of humane skill. And he complained and ſaid; Would to God the Doctors of the former Age had done ſo, and then the Lutheran Hereſie would never have found place. He added that no tranſlation could be approved without rejecting the Canon, *Ut Veterum*, *d.* 9. which commandeth to have the Hebrew Text to examine the reality of the Books of the old Teſtament, and the Greek for a direction in thoſe of the new. To approve a tranſlation as Authentical, was to condemn S. *Hierom*, and all thoſe who have tranſlated. If any be Authentical, to what end ſerve the reſt which are not? it would be a great vanity to produce uncertain Copies, when there are ſome infallible. That they ſhould be of the opinion of S. *Hierom* and *Cajetan*, that every Interpreter may err, though he have uſed all Art not to vary from the Original. But ſure it is, that if the holy Council ſhould examine, or correct an interpretation according to the true Text, the holy Ghoſt, which aſſiſteth Synods in matters of Faith, would keep them from erring; and ſuch a tranſlation, ſo examined and approved, might be called Authentical. But that any could be approved without ſuch an examinatron, with aſſurance of the aſſiſtance of the holy Ghoſt, he durſt not ſay, except the Synod did determine it, ſeeing that in the Council of the holy Apoſtles a great inquiſition was made before. But this being a work of Ten years, and impoſſible to be undertaken, it ſeemed better to leave things as they had remained 1500. years, that the Latine tranſlations ſhould be verified by the original Texts.

On the contrary, the major part of the Divines ſaid, that it was neceſſary to account that Tranſlation, which formerly hath been read in the Churches, and uſed in the Schools, to be divine and authentical; otherwiſe they ſhould yield the cauſe to the Lutherans, and open a Gate to innumerable Hereſies hereafter, and continually trouble the Peace of Chriſtendom. That the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, Mother and Miſtreſs of all the reſt, is, in a great part, founded by the Popes, and by School Divines, upon ſome paſſage of the Scripture, which if every one had liberty to examine whether it were well Tranſlated, running to other Tranſlations, or ſeeking how it was in the Greek or Hebrew, theſe new Grammarians would confound all, and would be made Judges and Arbiters of Faith: and inſtead of Divines and Canoniſts, Pedanties ſhould be preferred to be Biſhops and Cardinals. The Inquiſitors will not be able to proceed againſt the Lutherans, in caſe they know not Hebrew and Greek, becauſe they will ſuddenly anſwer, the Text is not ſo, and that the Tranſlation is falſe: and every Novity, or Toy, that ſhall come into the Head of any Grammarian, either for malice, or want of knowledg in Divinity, ſo that he may but find ſome grammatical Trick in thoſe Tongues to confirm it, will be ſufficient to ground himſelf thereon

and he will never make an end. That it doth appear, ſince *Luther* began to tranſlate the Scripture, how many divers and contrary tranſlations have ſeen the light, which deſerve to be buried in perpetual darkneſs, and how often *Martin* himſelf hath changed his own tranſlation; that never any hath been reprinted without ſome notable change, not of one or two paſſages, but of an hundred in a Breath: that if this liberty be given to all, Chriſtianity will ſoon be brought to that paſs that no man will know what to believe.

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To theſe reaſons, which the major part applauded, others added alſo, that if the Providence of God hath given an authentical Scripture to the Synagogue, and an authentical New Teſtament to the *Grecians*, it cannot be ſaid, without Derogation, that the Church of *Rome*, more beloved than the reſt, hath wanted this great benefit, and therefore that the ſame holy Ghoſt, who did dictate the holy Books, hath dictated alſo that tranſlation which ought to be accepted by the Church of *Rome*. Some thought it hard to make a Prophet or Apoſtle only to tranſlate a Book; therefore they moderated the aſſertion, and ſaid, that he had not a Prophetical or Apoſtolical Spirit, but one very near. And if any ſhould make dainty to give the Spirit of God to the Interpreter, yet he cannot deny it to the Council; and when the vulgar Edition ſhall be approved, and an Anathema thundred againſt whoſoever will not receive it: this will be without errour, not by the Spirit of him that wrote it, but of the Synod that hath received it for ſuch.

D. Iſidorus Clarus, a *Breſcian*, and a Benedictine Abbat, a man well ſeen in his Study, went about to remove this opinion by an Hiſtorical Narration; and ſaid in ſubſtance, that in the Primitive Church there were many Greek Tranſlations of the Old Teſtament, which *Origen* gathered into one Volume, confronting them in ſix Columns; the chief of theſe is called of the *Septuagint*; from whence divers in Latine were taken: and many were taken from the Greek Text of the new Teſtament, one of which, moſt followed and read in the Church, and eſteemed the beſt by S. *Auſtin*, is called *Itala*; yet ſo as that the Greek Text ought undoubtedly to be preferred. But Saint *Hierom*, a man (as all do know) skilful in the knowledge of Tongues, ſeeing that of the Old Teſtament to ſwerve from the Hebrew truth, by the fault partly of the Greek Interpreter, and partly of the Latine, made one immediately out of the Hebrew, and amended that of the new Teſtament according to the truth of the Greek Text. *Hierom's* credit made his Tranſlation to be received by many; but was rejected by ſome, either becauſe they loved more the Errours of Antiquity, than new Truths, or, as himſelf complaineth, by reaſon of Emulation. But a few years after, when envy was laid aſide, that of Saint *Hierom* was received by all the Latines; and ſo they were both in uſe, one being called the old, and the other the new. Saint *Gregory*, writing to *Leander* upon *Job*, teſtifieth that the Apoſtolick See uſeth them both, and that himſelf, in the Expoſition of that Book made choice to follow the new, as conformable to the Hebrew Text; yet in the allegations he would uſe ſometimes one, ſometimes another, as it beſt befitted his purpoſe. The times following, by the uſe of them both, compoſed one, taking part of the new, and part of the old, according as the accidents required, and to this the name of the vulgar Edition was given. The Pſalms were all of the old; becauſe, being daily Sung in the Churches, they could not be changed. The leſſer Prophets are all of the new, and the greater mixt of both. This is very true that all hath happened by the Ordinance of God, without

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which nothing can ſucceed. But yet it cannot be ſaid that there was in it greater knowledge than humane. Saint *Hierom* ſaith plainly that no Interpreter hath ſpoken by the Holy Ghoſt. The Edition which we have is this for the moſt part: it would be ſtrange to attribute the aſſiſtance of God to him that knoweth and affirmeth he hath it not. Wherefore no tranſlation can be compared to the Text in the original Tongue. Therefore his opinion was that the Vulgar edition ſhould be preferred before all, and allowed, yet ſo as that it ſhould be corrected by the original, and all men forbid to make any other: only that ſhould be amended, and the others extinguiſhed: and ſo all inconveniences cauſed by new Interpretations, which have judiciouſly been noted, and reprehended in the Congregations would ceaſe.

S. Hierom ſaith that no interpreter hath ſpoken by the holy Ghoſt.

Andrew de Vega, a Franciſcan Friar, going as a Mediator between theſe two opinions, approved that of Saint *Hierom*, that the qualities of an Interpreter are not any Prophetical, or other ſpecial divine Spirit, which giveth them infallibility, and the opinion of the ſame Saint, and of Saint *Auſtin*, to correct the Tranſlations by the Texts of the original Tongue. But added that it was not contrary to this to ſay withal, that the Latine Church holdeth the vulgar Edition for Authentical, becauſe it is thus to be underſtood, that concerning Faith and Manners there is no errour in it, though in ſome ſmall matter, or expreſſion of words there may be a miſtaking, it being impoſſible that all the words of one language ſhould be Tranſplanted into another, but that there will be ſome reſtriction or inlargement of Significations or Metaphor, or other Figure. That the vulgar Edition hath been examined heretofore by the whole Church during the ſpace of 1000 years, and known that there is no errour in it, in matter of Faith or Manners; and in this account it hath been held and uſed by the ancient Councils, and ſo ought ſtill to be held and approved, and declared as Authentical; that is, that it may be read without danger, not hindring thoſe that are more diligent to have recourſe unto the Hebrew and Greek originals, but forbidding ſo great a number of whole Tranſlations, which beget confuſion.

Diſcourſes about the expoſition of the Scripture.

About the Article of the Senſe of the holy Scripture, the Doctrine of Cardinal *Cajetan* gave occaſion to ſpeak diverſly; who taught and practiſed the ſame himſelf, that new Conceits, when they agree to the Text, and are not aliene from other places of the Scripture, and Doctrine of Faith, are not to be rejected, though the ſtream of the Doctors run another way, in regard the Majeſty of God hath not tied the ſenſe of the Scripture to the old Doctors: otherwiſe there would remain no more power to thoſe that live now, nor to poſterity, than to Tranſcribe the ſame things again; which ſome of the Divines and Fathers approved, and ſome oppoſed.

To the firſt it ſeemed a ſpiritual Tyranny to forbid the Faithful to make uſe of their proper ingenuity, according to the grace which God hath given them: and that this was juſt a prohibition to exerciſe the Talent given us by God. That men ought to be inticed, with all Allurements, to the reading of the holy Writ, from which when that pleaſure, which Novity bringeth, ſhall be removed, all men will ever abhor it, and ſuch ſtrictneſs will make men apply themſelves to other Studies, and abandon this, and by conſequence all Study and Care of Piety. That this variety of ſpiritual Gifts belongeth to the perfection of the Church, and is found amongſt the Fathers, in whoſe Writings there is great diverſity, and oftentimes Contrariety, yet joined with aſſured Charity.

Why

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Why ſhould not that liberty be granted to this Age which others have enjoyed with ſpiritual Fruit? The School-men though, in the Doctrine of Theology, they have no diſputes about the meaning of the Scripture, yet they have as many differences in points of Religion, and no leſs dangerous. That it is better to imitate antiquity, which hath not reſtrained the expoſition of Scripture, but left it free.

Thoſe of the contrary opinion ſaid, that popular licence being worſe than Tyranny, it was then fit to curb the unbridled Wits, otherwiſe they could not hope to ſee an end of the preſent contentions. That anciently it was allowed to write upon the holy Books; becauſe there was need, in regard there were but few Expoſitions. And the men of thoſe times were of an holy life, and ſetled mind, from whom no confuſions could be feared, as now. And therefore the School-men, ſeeing there was no more need of other Expoſitions in the Church, and that the Scripture was not only ſufficiently, but abundantly declared, they took another courſe to treat of holy Myſteries; and ſeeing that men were inclined to diſputings, they thought good to buſie them rather in examining of the reaſons and ſayings of *Ariſtotle* to keep the holy Scripture in reverence; from which much is derogated, when it is handled after a common faſhion, and is the ſubject of the Studies and Exerciſes of curious men. And this opinion went on ſo far, that *Richard* of *Mans*, a Franciſcan Friar, ſaid, that the Doctrines of Faith were now ſo cleared, that we ought no more to learn them out of Scripture: which, it is true, was read heretofore in the Church for inſtruction of the people, whereas now it is read in the Church only to pray, and ought to ſerve every one for this end only, and not to Study. And this ſhould be the reverence and worſhip due from every one to the Word of God. But, at the leaſt, the ſtudying of it ſhould be prohibited to every one that is not firſt confirmed in School-Divinity; neither do the *Lutherans* gain upon any but thoſe that ſtudy the Scripture. Which opinion wanted not adherents.

Between theſe opinions there went two others in the middle: One, that it was not good to reſtrain the underſtanding of the Scripture, to the Fathers only, in regard their expoſitions are allegorical for the moſt part, and ſeldom literal; and thoſe that follow the Letter, fit themſelves to their own time, ſo that, the expoſition agreeth not to our Age. That Cardinal *Cuſanus*, a man excellently learned and honeſt, ſaid judicially, that the underſtanding of the Scripture muſt be fitted to the time, and expounded according to the current Rites: and that it is not to be marvelled at, if the Church at one time expoundeth in one faſhion, at another in another. And this was the meaning of the *Lateran* Council, when it decreed that the Scripture ſhould be expounded according to the Doctors of the Church, or as long uſe hath approved, that new expoſitions ſhould not be forbidden, but when they vary from the common ſenſe.

The opinion of *Cuſanus*, that the expoſition of the Scripture muſt be fitted to the time.

But *Dominicus Soto*, a Dominican Friar, diſtinguiſhed the matter of faith and manners from the others, ſaying, it was meet in that only to keep every wit within limits, but in others it was not inconvenient to let every one, ſo that Piety and Charity be preſerved, to abound in his own ſenſe. That the Fathers deſired not to be followed of neceſſity, but only in things neceſſary to believe and to do. Neither did the Popes, when in their Decretals they expounded ſome paſſage of the Scripture in one ſenſe, mean to Canonize that, ſo that it ſhould not be lawful to underſtand it otherwiſe, though with reaſon. And Saint *Paul* meant

ſo,

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ſo, when he ſaid, that Prophecying, that is, interpretation of the Scripture, ſhould be uſed according to the Analogy of Faith, that is, with reference to the Articles thereof. And if this diſtinction were not made, they muſt needs fall into notable inconveniences, by reaſon of the contrarieties which are found in the divers expoſitions of the ancient Fathers, which do oppugn one another.

The vulgar edition is approved.

The difficulties were not ſo great, but that the vulgar Edition was approved, almoſt by a general conſent, the diſcourſe having made deep impreſſion in their minds, that Grammarians would take upon them to teach Biſhops and Divines. Some few thought it fit, in regard of the reaſons brought by the Divines, to leave the point for that time, but ſeeing the reſolution was otherwiſe, they deſired them to conſider, that having approved it, they ſhould command it to be printed and corrected, and in that caſe, that it was neceſſary to frame a Copy by which to make the impreſſion. Whereupon ſix were deputed by common conſent, and commanded to be diligent in making that correction, that it might be publiſhed before the end of the Council, reſerving power to themſelves, to augment the number, if amongſt thoſe that were to come any were fit for the work.

But in giving Voices upon the fourth Article, after Cardinal *Pacceco* had ſaid, that the Scripture was expounded by ſo many and ſo excellent men in goodneſs and learning, that there was no hope to add any good thing more, and that all the new Hereſies ſprang from the new Expoſitions of the Scripture, and therefore that it was neceſſary to bridle the faucineſs of modern Wits, and to make them content to be governed by the Ancients, and by the Church, and that if any had ſome ſingular Spirit, he ſhould be enforced to conceal it, and not to confound the World by publiſhing it, almoſt all run into the ſame opinion.

The Congregation of the 29. was all ſpent in the fifth Article. For the Divines having ſpoken irreſolutely, and with reference to the Synod, to which it belongeth to make Statutes, the Fathers were doubtful alſo. To leave out the Anathema wholly, was to make no Decree of Faith, and in the very beginning to break the order ſet down, to handle the two heads together. To condemn every one for an Heretick who would not accept the vulgar Edition in ſome particular place, perhaps of none importance, or ſhould publiſh ſome invention of his own upon the Scripture, through vanity of mind, ſeemed too rigorous. After long Diſcuſſion they found a temper, which was to frame the firſt Decree, and comprehend in it that only which concerneth the Catalogue of the holy Books, and the Traditions, and to conclude that with an Anathema. Then in the ſecond, which belongeth to reformation, to comprehend the tranſlation and ſenſe of the Scripture, as if the Decree were a remedy againſt the abuſe of ſo many interpretations, and impertinent expoſitions.

The abuſes are ſpoken of.

It remained to ſpeak of the other abuſes, of which every one had collected a great number, and many ways to redreſs them, as humane weakneſs and ſuperſtition uſeth holy things, not only beyond, but alſo contrary to that for which they are appointed. Of inchantments to find Treaſures, and to bring laſcivious deſigns to paſs, or to obtain things unlawful, much was ſaid, and many remedies propoſed to root them out. Amongſt Inchantments ſome put, carrying the Goſpel about one; names of God to prevent infirmities; or to be healed of them, or to be kept from evils and miſchiefs, or to be proſperous; likewiſe to read them for the ſame ends, and to write them with obſervation

of

of times. In this Catalogue were numbred Maſſes, ſaid in ſome Countries upon red hot Iron, upon boiling Waters, or upon cold, or other matters for vulgar Purgations; to recite the Goſpel over Arms, that they may have more force againſt the Enemies. In this rank were put the Conjurations of Dogs to make them not bite, of Serpents to make them not offend, of harmful Beaſts in the Field, of Tempeſts, and other cauſes of the barrenneſs of the Land, requiring that all theſe obſervations might be condemned, forbid, and puniſhed as abuſes. But in divers particulars there were contradictions and diſputes. For ſome defended things as devout and religious, or, at the leaſt, permitted, and not damnable, which others did condemn for wicked and Superſtitious. The like happened ſpeaking of the Word of God by caſting of Lots, or Divinations, or extracting Schedules with Verſes of the Scripture, or obſerving thoſe they met, when they opened the Book. To uſe ſacred words in ſcandalous Libels, and other Detractions, was generally condemned, and much was ſaid of the means how to remove the *Paſquins* of *Rome*; wherein the Cardinal of *Monte* ſhewed great paſſion in deſiring a remedy, becauſe he was often made a Subject of the ſaucineſs of the Courtiers Tongues, by reaſon of his natural liberty and pleaſantneſs of Wit. All agreed, that the Word of God could never be reverenced enough, and that to uſe it to mens commendations, though Princes and Prelates, is not ſeemly, and generally that all vain uſe of it is a Sin. But yet the Council ought not to buſie it ſelf in this, in regard they were not aſſembled to provide againſt all faults; neither was it to be forbid abſolutely, to draw the words of the Scripture to humane matters, becauſe S. *Antoninus*, in his Story, condemned not the Sicilian Ambaſſadours, who, asking pardon of *Martin* the Fourth, delivered their Ambaſſage in no other Terms, but ſaying three times, *Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miſerere nobis.* Nor the Popes anſwer who likewiſe ſaid thrice, *Ave Rex Judæorum, Et dabant illi alapas.* Therefore that it was the malice of the Lutherans to reprehend the Biſhop of *Bitonto*, who in his Sermon made in the publick Seſſion, ſaid that to him that refuſed the Council, it might be replied, *Papæ lux venit in mundum, & dilexerunt homines magis tenebras quam lucem.* So many Congregations were ſpent herein, and the number ſo increaſed, and the weakneſs of the remedies propoſed did ſo much appear, that the common opinion inclined to make no particular mention of any of them, nor to deſcend to the proper remedies, or particular puniſhments, but only to forbid them under general Heads, and leave the Penalties to the diſcretion of the Biſhops. Of the abuſes of the Prints there was not much to be ſpoken; for all agreed that the Printers ſhould be Bridled, and prohibited to print any ſacred thing before it was allowed; but for this the Decree of the laſt *Lateran* Council was ſufficient.

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A great contention between the Regulars and Prelates, about readings and preachings.

But about readings and preachings there were terrible Controverſies. The Regulars being already in poſſeſſion of them, as well by the Popes privileges, as by the practice of 300. years, laboured to preſerve them with all their might: and the Prelates alledging that they belonged to them, and were uſurped, pretended reſtitution. And becauſe the contention was here, not of opinions, but of profit, they uſed on both ſides not only reaſons, but deeds alſo. Which differences were ſet on foot that at the time of the Seſſion nothing might be decided. Therefore the Legates reſolved, to defer theſe two points until another Seſſion. Two Decrees were framed, as formerly was reſolved, and were read in the laſt Congregation, and approved; yet with ſome exceptions in the

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the point of the Vulgar Edition. In the end hereof the Cardinal of *Monte*, after he had commended the Learning and Wiſdom of them all, admoniſhed them of the ſeemly behaviour which was fit to uſe in the publick Seſſion, ſhewing one heart, and one mind, in regard the points were ſufficiently examined in the Congregations; and the Congregation being ended, the Cardinal *Santa Croce* aſſembled thoſe that had oppoſed the Vulgar Edition, and ſhewed they could not complain, becauſe it was not prohibited but left free to correct it, and to have recourſe to the original; but that only it was forbid to ſay there were in it errours of Faith, for which it ought to be rejected.

No errours of faith in the vulgar edition.

The eighth of *April*, appointed for the Seſſion, being come, the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt was ſaid by *Salvator Alepus*, Archbiſhop of *Torre* in *Sardinia*, and the Sermon was made by Friar *Auſtin* of *Aretium*, General of the *Servi*, the Pontifical habiliments put on, the accuſtomed Letanies and Prayers made, and the Decrees read by the Archbiſhop that ſaid Maſs. The firſt contained in ſubſtance; that the Synod, aiming to preſerve the purity of the Goſpel, promiſed by the Prophets, publiſhed by Chriſt, and preached by the Apoſtles, as the fountain of all truth, and diſcipline of manners (which truth and diſcipline are contained in the Books and unwritten Traditions, received by the Apoſtles, from the mouth of Chriſt, and dictated to them by the holy Ghoſt, and paſſed from one to another) doth according to the example of the Fathers, receive with equal reverence, all the Books of the old and new Teſtament, and the Traditions belonging to faith and manners, as proceeding from the mouth of Chriſt, or dictated by the holy Ghoſt, and preſerved in the Catholick Church. And ſetting down the Catalogue of the Books, concludeth, that if any will not receive them all, as Sacred and Canonical, in all parts, as they are read in the Catholick Church, and contained in the Vulgar Edition, or ſhall wittingly and purpoſely deſpiſe the Traditions, let him be Anathema; that every one may know what ground the Synod will uſe in confirming the points of Doctrine, and reforming of manners in the Church. The ſubſtance of the ſecond Decree was; that the Vulgar Edition ſhould be held for authentical in publick Lectures, Diſputations, Sermons, and Expoſitions, and that none ſhould dare to refuſe it. That the holy Scripture cannot be expounded againſt the ſenſe held by the holy Mother the Church, nor againſt the common conſent of the Fathers, though with purpoſe to conceal thoſe Expoſitions, and that the offenders ſhould be puniſhed by the Ordinaries: that the Vulgar Edition ſhould be moſt exactly printed. That no Books of Religion be printed, ſold, or kept, without the Authors name, and that the approbation appear in the Frontiſpiece of the Book, upon pain of Excommunication, and pecuniary puniſhment, conſtituted by the laſt *Lateran* Council. That none ſhould dare to uſe the words of the holy Scripture in ſcurrility, fables, vanity, flatteries, detractions, ſuperſtitions, inchantments, divinations, caſtings of Lots, Libels, and that the tranſgreſſors ſhould be puniſhed at the diſcretion of the Biſhops. And it was determined to hold the next Seſſion the 17. of *June*.

Two Decrees read in the Seſſion.

The Contents of the former.

The ſubſtance of the ſecond Decree.

The next Seſſion is to be held the 17. of *June*.

Afterwards the Commiſſion of *Don Diego de Mendoza*, and *Francis de Toledo*, the Emperours Ambaſſadors, was read by the Secretary of the Council. *Don Diego* was abſent, and the other, having, in the Emperours name, ſaluted the Fathers in few words, ſaid in ſubſtance; That all the World knew that the Emperour thought nothing to befit him more, than not only to defend the flock of *Chriſt* from enemies, but to free it from Tumults and Seditions; therefore that he rejoyced to ſee the

The commiſſion of the Emperours Ambaſſadors is read.

the day when the Council, publiſhed by the Pope, was opened, and being willing to favour that occaſion with his Power and Authority, he had ſent thither *Mendoza*, unto whom, in regard of his indiſpoſition, himſelf was joyned. So that nothing remained but to pray God uniformly, that he would favour the enterprize of the Council, and which is the Principal, would preſerve peace between the Pope and Emperour, for the eſtabliſhing of the truth of the Goſpel, reſtoring the Church to her purity, and weeding the Cockle out of the Lord's Field. Anſwer was made by the Council, that his Lordſhips coming was moſt acceptable; both for the duty they did owe the Emperour, and for the favour he promiſed them, having alſo much hope in the realty and Religion of his Lordſhip. That they imbraced him with all their heart, and did admit, as far as they could with reaſon, the mandates of *Cæſar*. That they were ſorry for the indiſpoſition of his Colleague, and thanked God for the peace between the Pope and the Emperour, praying him to favour the deſires of them both, for the increaſe of Chriſtian Religion, and peace of the Church. Theſe things being done, with the uſual Ceremonies, the Seſſion ended; the Decrees whereof were ſent to *Rome* by the Legates, and a little after printed.

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But after they were ſeen, eſpecially in *Germany*, they miniſtred great matter of diſcourſe. Some thought it ſtrange that five Cardinals, and 48. Biſhops, ſhould ſo eaſily define the moſt principal and important points of Religion, never decided before, giving Canonical Authority to Books held for uncertain and Apocryphal, making authentical a tranſlation differing from the original, preſcribing and reſtraining the manner to underſtand the word of God; neither was there amongſt theſe Prelates any one remarkable for learning; ſome of them were Lawyers, perhaps learned in that profeſſion, but of little underſtanding in Religion; few Divines, but of leſs than ordinary ſufficiency; the greater number Gentlemen or Courtiers; and for their dignities ſome were only Titular, and the major part Biſhops of ſo ſmall Cities, that ſuppoſing every one to repreſent his people, it could not be ſaid that one of a thouſand in Chriſtendom was repreſented. But particularly of *Germany*, there was not ſo much as one Biſhop or Divine. Was it poſſible that amongſt ſo many no man ſhould be ſent! Why did not the Emperour cauſe ſome of them to go, who aſſiſted in the Colloquy, and were informed in the differences? Amongſt the Prelates of *Germany* only the Cardinal of *Ausburg* had ſent a Proctor, and him a Savoyard. For the Proctors of the Cardinal and Elector of *Ments*, underſtanding their Maſters death, went away two Months before.

A few Prelates and not learned, do decide the greateſt points of Religion.

Others ſaid, that the things decided were not of ſo great moment as they ſeemed. For the point of Traditions, which ſeemed moſt important, was of no conſequence. Firſt becauſe it was nothing to ordain they ſhould be received, if it were not declared which they were, and how they ſhould be known: then becauſe there was no Commandment to receive them, but only a prohibition to contemn them wittingly and deliberately. So that he that rejected them with reverend terms, contradicted not; and the rather, becauſe there is an example of the adherents of the Church of *Rome*, who receive not the ordination of Deaconeſſes, grant not to the people the Election of the Miniſter, which certainly was an Apoſtolical inſtitution, continued more than eight hundred years, and which more importeth, obſerve not the Communion of the Chalice, inſtituted by Chriſt, preached by the Apoſtles, obſerved

Nothing is certainly defined concerning traditions.

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by the whole Church, until within two hundred years, and now alſo by all Chriſtian Nations but the Latine; that if this be not a Tradition, it is impoſſible to ſhew what other is. And for the vulgar edition declared authentical, nothing at all was done, becauſe among ſo many copies, it cannot be known which is the true. But this laſt oppoſition was made, becauſe the deputation to make a corrected Copy of the vulgar Edition, was not known. The which, for what cauſe it was not effected, ſhall be ſaid in its place.

Not concerning the vulgar edition.

But the Decrees of the Seſſion being ſeen in *Rome*, and the importance of the things treated of conſidered, the Pope began to think he ought more to regard the buſineſs of the Council, than until that time he had done; and he enlarged the Congregation of Cardinals and Prelates, who were to conſider of the occurrences of the Synod, and to relate them. By the advice of theſe, after their firſt aſſembling, he admoniſhed the Legates of three things. One, not to publiſh hereafter in Seſſion any Decree, before they had communicated it at *Rome*, and to avoid too much ſlowneſs in proceeding, but to beware much more of too much Celerity, which might make them reſolve of ſome indigeſted matter, and want time to receive orders from him, what they ſhould propoſe, deliberate, and conclude. The ſecond, not to ſpend time in matters not controverſed, as they had done in thoſe that were handled for the laſt Seſſion; wherein all agree, that they are undoubted principles. The third, to take heed that by no means the Popes Authority be diſputed on.

The Pope admoniſheth the Legates of three things.

Whereunto they readily anſwered that they would obey his Holineſs Commandment; but that it ſeemed to them, that in the things defined, there is ſmall difference between Catholiques and Heretiques, and that ſome of the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament, received by the third Council of *Carthage* by *Innocentius* the firſt, by *Gelatius* by the ſixth Synod of *Trullus*, and the *Florentine* Council are called into queſtion by the Hereticks, and which is worſe, by ſome Catholicks and Cardinals, and alſo that the unwritten Traditions are impugned by the Lutherans, who intend nothing more than to annihilate them, declaring that all things neceſſary to Salvation, are written. And therefore though theſe two heads be principles, yet they are the moſt controverſed concluſions which are to be decided in the Council, and of the greateſt importance. They added that until then there was no occaſion to ſpeak of the Popes Authority, or of the Council, but in treating of the Title, when the addition of *Repreſentation of the Univerſal Church* was required. That many deſire it ſtill, but that they will avoid it as much as poſſibly they can. And in caſe they ſhall be brought to it by force, they will deſire (thinking it will not be denied them) to expound the manner how it doth repreſent, that is, by means of the head, and not otherwiſe; whereby there will be rather gain than loſs. For the reſt becauſe they think the major part will always bear all reverence to his Holineſs, being united, as Head, with the body of the Council, (which will be ſo long, as they ſhall agree in the reformation) he may ſet his heart at reſt that his Authority ſhall not be queſtioned.

To whom the Legates make a ready anſwer.

After this the Pope ſent *Jeronimo Franco Nuncio* to the Swiſſes, giving him Letters to the Biſhops of *Sion* and *Coira*, to the Abbat of S. *Gallo*, and other Abbats of thoſe Nations; to whom he wrote, that, having called all the Prelates of Chriſtendom to the general Council of *Trent*, it was fit that they, who repreſent the Helvetian Church, ſhould aſſiſt

The Pope ſendeth a *Nuncio* to the *Swiſſes*.

assist also, in regard he much loved that Nation, as especially Sons of the Apostolick See, and maintainers of the Ecclesiastical liberty. That Prelates out of *Italy*, *France*, and *Spain* were arrived already, and the number increased daily. That it was not seemly, that they, being borderers, should be prevented by those that dwelt further off. That their Country was infected with Heresies, and therefore had more need of a Council. In fine he commanded them, upon their allegiance and Oath, and pains prescribed by the Laws, to go thither as soon as was possible; referring the rest to be told them by his *Nuncio.* 1546. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

And at the many instances of the Clergy and University of *Collen*, assisted by the Bishops of *Liege*, and *Utrecht*, and University of *Lovaine*, he pronounced Sentence against the Archbishop and Elector of *Collen*, declaring him Excommunicated, depriving him of all Benefices and privileges Ecclesiastical, absolving his Subjects from their Oath of Fidelity, and commanding them not to obey him, because he had incurred the censures of the Bull of *Leo* the tenth, published against *Luther* and his adherents, as having held, defended and published that Doctrine against the Ecclesiastical rules, traditions of the Apostles, and usual rites of Christian Religion. And the Sentence was after printed in *Rome*. He made also another Bull, giving order that *Adolphus* Count of *Scavemburg*, assumed before by the Archbishop for his Coadjutor, should be obeyed. And giveth Sentence against the Archbishop of *Collen*. The Pope maketh a Bull in favour of *Adolphus*.

And he earnestly desired the Emperour, that the Sentence might be executed; who thought not this Novity fit for his purpose, because it would make the Archbishop, who until then had absolutely obeyed him, to unite himself with those that were combined against him. And therefore he held him still for an Archbishop and treated with him, and wrote to him, without regard of the Pope's Sentence. This vexed the Pope at the heart, but seeing there was no remedy he thought it folly to complain in vain. That Sentence produced another bad effect, because the Protestants took occasion to confirm their opinion that the Council was intimated only to insnare them. For if the controversed Doctrine of Faith ought to be examined in the Council, how could the Pope, before the definition thereof, proceed to Sentence, and condemn the Archbishop of Heresy? Therefore it appeareth that in vain they should go to that Council, where the Pope domineereth, who cannot dissemble, though he would, that he esteemeth them as men condemned. That it was manifest also that the Pope made no account of that Council, because, after it was begun, he proceeded definitively in that which belongeth to the Council, without imparting any thing unto it. The Duke of *Saxony* signified this to the Emperour by his Ambassadours, and after said unto him, that the Popes mind being now made manifest, it would be high time to provide for *Germany*, by a National Council, or by handling seriously the points of Religion in a Diet. The Emperor will not execute the Popes Sentence. The Protestants are confirmed in their opinion by this Sentence.

But to return to the Business of the Council, there remained (as hath been said) remnants of the things handled before in the last Session, the two points, to provide for the Lectures of the holy Scripture, and preaching of the Word of God. For this was handled in the first Congregation; and (to begin the matter of Faith) it was proposed to treat likewise of original Sin. Whereunto the *Spanish* Prelates opposed, and said, that to provide against the abuses of Preaching and Reading, was matter enough for one Session. Which opinion also was

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was followed by the *Italian* Prelates who were on the Emperours ſide. And the Legates thought they had diſcovered that this was plotted by *Cæſar*'s Miniſters, who at the very inſtant had ſeriouſly treated with thoſe Prelates. Therefore they ſent advice thereof to the Pope, from whom they had anſwer, that they ſhould take heed to go on warily, until he were able to give them a reſolution. Therefore they uſed artificial diligence, entertaining themſelves with part of the Abuſes, without coming to the concluſion of them, and without making demonſtration whether they would proceed in the matter of original Sin. And thus the caſe ſtood until *Eaſter*.

Don Francis of *Toledo* perſwadeth that the reformation ſhould be handled without doctrine.

Which being paſt, the Pope wrote they ſhould proceed, and propoſe that matter. This being delivered the ſecond of *May*, came to the knowledge of *Don Francis*; who going to viſit the Legates uſed much art, ſometimes making ſhew to give them Counſel, ſometimes propoſing his opinion for the proſecuting of the Reformation only, to know their minds, and to perſwade them obliquely to embrace his deſign. But ſeeing that did no good, he began to ſpeak as plainly as was needful, that he had Letters from the Emperour, by which he was charged to be a means that they ſhould not enter into the points of Doctrine, but ſhould handle the Reformation only. The Legates brought many reaſons to the contrary; and amongſt others they ſaid, they could not do it without contradicting the Pope's Bulls, which propoſed theſe two things together; and that which was eſtabliſhed in the Council, that they ſhould go forward cheek by jowl; adding, that they had written to his Holineſs, that they would begin eight days after *Eaſter*. Divers Diſcourſes and Replies were made on both ſides, and in concluſion the Legates ſaid they were commanded by the Pope, and could not be wanting to their Duty. *Don Francis* ſaid, it was the duty of good Miniſters to maintain Amity between Princes, and ſometimes to expect the ſecond Commiſſion. This was not denied by the Legates; but they anſwered that more was not to be expected from them than they were able to do with their Honour. They gave the Pope an account of all this, adding, that the Cardinal of *Trent* told them, that if the Article of original Sin were propoſed, the Emperour would be diſcontented; and therefore on the one ſide being deſirous to make Peace and Concord, and on the other to obey his Holineſs Commandments, they thought good to ſend away this advice in diligence, beſeeching him not to let them err; adding that if no other advice came, they would follow his laſt Commandment, and would labour to perſwade *Don Francis* and the Cardinal of *Trent*, that this Article of original Sin was no more queſtioned in *Germany*, but accorded, as was manifeſted by the laſt Colloquy of *Ratisbon*, where his Majeſty for the firſt Article to be accorded, cauſed that of juſtification to be taken. But to give as much more time as is poſſible, they will entertain themſelves, as many days as they honeſtly can, in diſpatching that which remaineth of the laſt Seſſion.

A Congregation was made for this only, to give a better form how they ſhould more orderly proceed than they formerly had done, as well in handling the Doctrine of Faith, as the matter of Reformation. And they diſtinguiſhed two ſorts of Congregations; one for Divines, to diſcourſe on the matter of Faith which ſhould be propoſed, whoſe opinions ſhould be written by one of the Notaries of the Council, to whom ſhould be added Canoniſts, which Reformation was ſpoken of: (which

A form to proceed in Council is ſet down.

Congregations

Congregations were to be held in the preſence of the Legates, in which any of the Fathers that would might be preſent.) Another ſort of Congregations ſhould conſiſt of Prelates to frame the heads of Doctrine and Reformation, which, being examined, and ſet in order, according to the moſt common opinion, ſhould be propoſed in the general Congregation, to underſtand every ones Voice; that by the determination of the Major part, the decrees might be eſtabliſhed, which are to be publiſhed in the Seſſion. 1546. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

According to this order, they treated of Lectures and Sermons, framing and reforming divers Draughts of Decrees; neither was it poſſible to find a way to pleaſe all, becauſe the Prelates were much intereſſed to deſire that all might depend upon the Epiſcopal Power, without exemption of any. But on the other ſide, the Legates deſired to maintain the Privileges given by the Pope, eſpecially to the Mendicants and Univerſities. And after many diſputes, when the matter was ſufficiently debated, they thought that, in the Congregation of the tenth of *May*, all would agree. But it proved to the contrary, for though it laſted till night, yet in ſome points, they could come to no concluſion, for the diverſity of opinions amongſt the Prelates themſelves, and in others, becauſe the Legates would not yield to the general opinion, to remove, or at the leaſt, to moderate the Privileges. They alledged againſt the Biſhops, that they were more moved by their proper intereſt, than by reaſon; that they made no account to prejudice the Regulars; that they were too bold in correcting the former Councils, and in medling with the priviſeges granted by the Pope. And they could not agree, not only for the variety of Opinions and intereſts of the Biſhops, but alſo becauſe the Imperialiſts did endeavour to make a difference, to hinder the propoſing of the points of Doctrine. Neither was this temporizing ungrateful to the Legates, who were reſolute, if they were not forbid in the anſwer, which they expected from *Rome*, to propoſe the Doctrines, and, as their inward Friends ſaid, to clear themſelves afterwards of whatſoever ſhould enſue. The difference between the Prelates and Regulars, about Lectures and Sermons doth return.

But to make ſome end of the things handled, they cauſed a brief of the opinions of the Divines and Canoniſts, delivered in divers preceeding Congregations to be read; ſaying, that in regard the Voices were long, they had collected the Sum of them, that they may examine them, and ſpeak their opinion thereon. But *Bracius Martellus*, Biſhop of *Fieſole*, hearing the extract read, oppoſed it in a continued Speech, and ſaid it was neceſſary that the general Congregation ſhould know the Voices and reaſons of all, without reading Collections and Sums; and inlarging himſelf by amplifying the Authority of the Council, and the neceſſity to inform it well, and the ſmall conveniency, that ſome few ſhould be Judges of the determinations, or that the reſolutions ſhould come from any other place: whereat the Legates were much offended, and reprehended the Biſhop with affected modeſty, but bitingly enough. And ſo the Congregation brake up. The Biſhop of *Fieſole* oppoſeth the Legates.

The next day the Legates ſent to the B. to demand a Copy of his Diſcourſe, and ſent it to *Rome*, taxing it as irreverent and ſeditious; adding, that they had modeſtly and ſeverely reprehended him, and would have gone further (becauſe he deſerved no leſs) but that they feared to move ſome unſeaſonable diſpute, which might make a rent; But that he ought not to eſcape unpuniſhed, leſt he ſhould be emboldened to the like in every Congegation, or worſe: repreſenting to his Holi- Who complain to the Pope both of him and of the Biſhop of *Chioza*.

neſs,

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neſs, that by all means he ſhould be chaſed out of *Trent*, and order taken that the Biſhop of *Chioza*, (not much unlike unto him, though in another courſe) ſhould never return. This Biſhop parted immediately after the Seſſion, upon pretence of indiſpoſition, but in truth by reaſon of words which paſſed between him and Cardinal *Pool* in Congregation, in the matter of Traditions. For having ſpoken in defence of Friar *Antonius Marinarus*, and thereupon conteſted with the Cardinal, and ſo having complained that the Council was not free, he ſaw he was not in the Legates favour, and obnoxious to danger. The Legates not content with what they had done, to mortify the Biſhop of *Fieſole*, and to keep the matter intire until there came advice from *Rome*, that they might go on with it, or diſſemble, as they ſhould be commanded, in the next Congregation. *Monte* gave him a nip by the way, and concluded that he left him then to conſider of his own affairs, becauſe himſelf was to be imployed in matters of greater importance.

The Popes anſwer to the Legates.

The Pope anſwered concerning the two Biſhops, that he would give a remedy in time convenient. But for the matters to be handled, he ſaid, that if they regarded the deſires of Princes, they would make the Council more tumultuous, and the Reſolutions more long and hard, becauſe every one ſought to croſs what liked him not, and by putting difficulty in one thing, to promote another. Therefore that without any more to do, they ſhould begin with original Sin, adviſing them to omit the excuſe which they purpoſed to uſe to *D. Francis*, that is, that the Article of original Sin is not queſtioned in *Germany*; but ſhould rather uſe general Terms, and all reverence to the Emperour.

The Council in *Trent* is governed by certain Deputies in *Rome*.

He further commanded them that concerning the correction of the Vulgar Edition, they ſhould proceed no further, until the Deputies over the Council in *Rome*, had determined what courſe ſhould be held. The Legates reſolving, for execution of thoſe Orders, to propoſe original Sin, made a Congregation two days together, to determine of the two heads of Reading and Preaching, before they publiſhed their purpoſe to handle matters of Faith, leſt thoſe two points, being undecided, might cauſe the Imperialiſts to divert from this. And they cauſed the Deputies for the Vulgar Edition, to bring to them all they had done, charging them to proceed no further until they had received new order. Such was the liberty of the Council depending on the Pope, in leaving of things begun, and beginning new.

A complaint againſt the regular orders.

In treating of the Lectures and Sermons, there was a general complaint of the Biſhops, eſpecially Spaniſh; that, CHRIST having commanded that his Doctrine ſhould be taught, which is exerciſed in the Church by preaching, and reading to the more capacious, that they ma be fit to teach the People, the care to ſuperintend, over all that exerciſe theſe Functions, ought to be proper to the Biſhop. That the Apoſtles have ſo inſtituted, and the holy Fathers ſo practiſed. That how this Office is abſolutely taken from the Biſhops by privileges, ſo that no jot thereof remaineth. That this is the cauſe why all is out of order, becauſe the order inſtituted by CHRIST is changed. The Univerſities are withdrawn with Exemptions, that the Biſhop cannot know what they teach; the Sermons are by Privilege given to the Friars, who by no means acknowledge the Biſhop, nor ſuffer him to meddle: ſo that the Office of a Paſtour is quite taken from the Biſhops. And on the contrary, thoſe

thoſe who anciently were appointed to weep for Sins, and expreſly and ſeverely forbid to Preach and Teach, have aſſumed this power unto them, or, at the leaſt, it is given them for their proper function. And ſo the Flock remaineth without either Shepherd or Hireling, becauſe theſe ambulatory Preachers, who to day are in one City, to morrow in another, know neither the need, nor the capacity of the people, and leaſt of all the occaſions to teach and edify them, as doth the proper Paſtour, who liveth always with the Flock, and knoweth the neceſſities and infirmities of it. Beſides the end of thoſe Preachers, is not to edify, but to take Almes either for themſelves or their Cloiſters; which that they may the better obtain, they aim not to benefit the Soul, but to delight the Ear, and ſooth men in their pleaſures, that thereby they may draw more profit; and the people, in ſtead of learning the Doctrine of CHRIST, learneth either Novity, or Vanity at the leaſt. *Luther* was one of theſe; who if he had remained weeping in his Cell, the Church of CHRIST had not ſtood in theſe Terms. That the abuſe of the Pardoners was more manifeſt, who go about preaching Indulgences, whoſe Scandals, formerly given, cannot be related without Tears. That it is a clear caſe, that they exhort the people to nothing but to give Money. The only remedy for theſe diſorders, is to take away all the privileges, and to reſtore to the Biſhops the charge to teach and preach, and to elect thoſe for their fellow Labourers whom they ſhall know worthy of that Miniſtery, and diſpoſed to exerciſe it with Charity.

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On the contrary ſide, the Generals of the Regulars, and others ſaid, that the Biſhops and Curates having wholly abandoned the Office of a Paſtour, ſo that for many hundreds of years the People remained without Sermons in the Church, and without the Doctrine of Divinity in Schools, God hath raiſed the begging orders to ſupply theſe neceſſary Miniſteries; into which notwithſtanding they intruded not themſelves, but entered by the grant of the Supream Paſtour; unto whom it principally appertaining to feed all the Flock of CHRIST, it cannot be ſaid that men deputed by him, to ſupply the defects of him that had the care of the Flock and did abandon it, have uſurped the Office of another. But it may be ſaid, that if they had not uſed that Charity, there had now remained no ſign of Chriſtianity. Now that they have applyed themſelves more than three hundred years to that holy work, with ſuch Fruit as appeareth, they have preſcribed thoſe functions, and made them their own, by a lawful Title, given by the chief Paſtour, the Biſhop of *Rome*; and that the Biſhops have no lawful right unto them, nor can alledge the uſe of Antiquity to regain that Office, which ſo many hundred years ſince they have forſaken. That they have a deſire of gaining for themſelves or their Monaſteries is a meer calumny, becauſe the Almes are gathered only for their neceſſary Food, and Apparel, and the reſidue being ſpent for the worſhip of God, in Maſſes, Buildings, and ornaments of Churches, turneth to the benefit and edification of the People, and not to their own profit; that the Services done by their orders to the holy Church, and Doctrine of Divinity (which is no where to be found but in their Cloiſters) deſerve the continuance of that charge which others are not able to exerciſe.

An Apology of the regular orders.

The Legates, importuned by both parties, by the Counſel of their moſt inward Friends reſolved to relate to *Rome*, and expect an anſwer. The Pope referred it to the Congregation; where preſently it was ſeen

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ſeen whither the pretence of the Biſhops tended; that is, to make themſelves ſo many Popes in their Dioceſſes. For when the Pope privilege and exemption ſhould be removed, and every one ſhould depend on them, and none on the Pope, all cauſe of going to *Rome* would ceaſe. They conſidered that the Popes have anciently had for a principal ſecret to preſerve the Primacy given them by CHRIST, to exempt the Biſhops from the Archbiſhop, the Abbats from the Biſhops, and ſo to oblige men to defend him. That it is a clear caſe, that after the ſix hundredth year, the Primacy of the Apoſtolick See hath been upheld by the Benedictine Monks exempted, and after by the Congregations of *Cluny*, and *Ciſtercium*, and other Monaſtical aſſemblies, until God raiſed the *Mendicant* Orders, by which it hath been maintained until now. Wherefore to take away their privileges, were directly to oppugn the Papacy, and not thoſe Orders; to remove the Exemptions, were a manifeſt depreſſion of the Court of *Rome*, becauſe they ſhould want means to keep a Biſhop within compaſs, that he exalt not himſelf too high. Therefore that the Pope and Court were compelled by neceſſity to maintain the Friars cauſe. But to do theſe things ſmoothly, they conſidered alſo that it was neceſſary to conceal this reaſon; and they reſolved to anſwer the Legates, that by all means they ſhould preſerve the State of Regulars, and cauſe the Biſhops to ſurceaſe, ſetting before them the exceſſive number of Friars, and the credit which they have with the people, and adviſe them to take a moderate courſe, and not make a Schiſm, by deſiring too much. That it was juſt they ſhould receive ſome ſatisfaction, but they ſhould alſo be content to give it; and when they came to the point, they ſhould grant any thing concerning the Pardoners, but ſhould do nothing concerning the Friars, without Communicating it to the Generals, and ſhould give the Biſhops ſome ſatisfaction which might not take away the Privileges. That they ſhould do the like for the Univerſities; becauſe it was neceſſary that both theſe and thoſe ſhould depend on the Pope, and not on the Biſhops.

The Deputies in *Rome* take part with the Mendicants, for reaſons of Policy.

The Popes anſwer.

After theſe Letters came to *Trent*, thoſe of the Council had three divers ends. For the other particulars propoſed in theſe two matters, by thoſe who were not intereſted either to favour or diſfavour the Exemptions, were but little conſidered of. For the Lectures, ſome propoſed the reſtitution of the ancient uſe when Monaſteries and Canons Cloiſters were but Colleges and Schools. Whereof ſome remainder appeareth in many Cathedral Churches, where there is the dignity of a Schoolman, Head of the readers, with a Prebend. Theſe men now do not perform the duty, and indeed are unable. All thought it honeſt and profitable to reſtore the Divinity Lecture in Cathedral Churches, and Monaſteries. For the former they thought it eaſy to make Proviſion, by committing the care of the Execution thereof to the Biſhops; but for the latter very difficult. The Legates oppoſed the Superintendency of Biſhops, even in this alſo, though it were over Monks only, not Mendicants, for fear of leaving a Gate open to them, to meddle with privileges granted by the Pope. But *Sebaſtianus Pighius*, Auditor of the *Rota*, found a temper for this, that the Superintendency ſhould be given to the Biſhops, as Delegates of the Apoſtolick See. The invention pleaſed, becauſe it was in favour of the Biſhops, without derogation of the privilege; for the Biſhop was to ſuperintend, not as Biſhop, but as the Popes Delegate. And this gave a pattern to accommodate other difficulties; one in giving Authority

rity to the Metropolitans, over Pariſhes united to Monaſteries, not ſubject to any Dioceſs; another, in giving power to Biſhops over exempted Preachers, who fail; and ſerved alſo very much in the Decrees of the Seſſions that were after. 1546. *Paul* III. *Charles* V.

The Canoniſt propoſed that the School ſubtilty was not fit in theſe times, and that it beſeemed rather natural things, and Philoſophy, that theſe new Lectures ſhould be introduced to handle the Sacraments, and the Authority of the Church, as *Turrecremata*, *Auguſtinus Triumphus*, and after them Saint *Antoninus*, and others have done with great Fruit. But the Friars contradicting, and oppoſing that his Doctrine was as neceſſary as that, they found a temper, and order that the Lecture ſhould be for expoſition of the Scripture, and that the matter ſhould be fitted to the exigence of the Text read, and the capacity of the Auditors. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I. Politique reaſons to uphold the Popes authority.

After many Diſcourſes in many Congregations, they came to eſtabliſh the Decrees for the Sermons; and to overcome the difficulties they cauſed the Prelates, who were their aſſured Friends, to negotiate with the *Italian* Biſhops, wiſhing them to conſider how much they were bound, for the honour of their Nation, to uphold the dignity of the Papacy, whoſe Authority was treated of by medling with the priviledges, and what they might hope for from the Pope and Legates, applying themſelves to that which is juſt, and not depriving the Friars of that they have enjoyed ſo long. That it was dangerous to deſpiſe ſo many learned men, now when Hereſies do trouble the Church. That the Authority of Biſhops ſhould be enlarged, by granting them power to allow or diſallow the Preachers when they preach out of Churches of their Order; and when they preach in them, by making them acknowledge the Prelate, firſt asking his Benediction. That the Biſhops might puniſh the Preachers for Hereſy, and forbid them to preach, to avoid ſcandal. That they ſhould be contented with this, and that other things ſhould be added, as occaſion ſerved. By this means they gained ſo many, that they were ſecure to eſtabliſh the Decree with thoſe conditions. But there remained another difficulty; becauſe the Friars and Generals were not ſatisfied, and to diſtate them was not ſecure, and expreſly forbid by the Pope. They endeavoured to ſhew them, that the grant made to the Biſhops, was juſt and neceſſary, whereof themſelves were cauſe, by extending their privileges too much, and by paſſing the bounds of honeſty. In fine, by admoniſhing the Biſhops to proceed ſo, that the Friars might not have cauſe to complain, the Generals alſo were paciſied.

When they made known their reſolution to condemn in the ſame Seſſion the Lutheran opinions of original Sin, they alledged, that, to keep the order of putting both the matters together, it was neceſſary to handle ſome point of Faith, and that they could not begin from any other point. And they propoſed the Articles extracted out of the Proteſtants Doctrine in that matter, to be examined and diſcuſſed by the Divines in the Congregations, whether they ought to be condemned for Heretical. Cardinal *Pacceco* ſaid, that the Council was to handle Articles of Faith, only to reduce *Germany*, the which he that would do out of ſeaſon, ſhould not only fail of his end, but make matters worſe. When there is opportunity to do it, it cannot be known to thoſe in *Trent*, but only to him that ſitteth at the Stern of that Country, who, ſeeing all particulars, knoweth when to apply the Medicine. Therefore he adviſed that they

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ſhould crave by Letters the opinion of the principal Prelates of the Nation, before they went any further, or that the Popes *Nuncio* ſhould ſpeak thereof with the Emperour. To which opinion the Emperours Prelates, induced by the Ambaſſadour, did adhere. But the Legates, commending their judgment, and promiſing to write to the *Nuncio*, added, that, notwithſtanding this, the Articles might be diſputed by the Divines, to gain time; whereunto the Cardinal alſo, and the others, adhered, hopping that many difficulties might come acroſs, to cauſe a delay, and the Ambaſſadour *Toledo* was contented, ſo that the Summer might be paſt before the definition were made.

The points of original Sin to be diſcuſſed.

The Articles propoſed, were

1. That *Adam*, by tranſgreſſing the Precept, hath loſt juſtice, and incurred the wrath of God, and mortality; and though he be impaired both in Soul and Body, yet no Sin is transferred from him to poſterity, but only corporal puniſhments.

2. That *Adam*'s Sin is called original, becauſe it is derived from him to poſterity, not by tranſmiſſion, but by imitation.

3. That original Sin is ignorance, or contempt of God, or want of fear, without confidence in his Majeſty, without divine love, and with Concupiſcence, and bad deſires; and generally a corruption of the whole man in his will, Soul, and Body.

4. That in Children there is an inclination to evil, proceeding from the corrupted nature, ſo that after the uſe of reaſon, it bringeth forth a loathing of divine things, and an immerſion in matters of the World; and that this is original Sin.

5. That Children, at the leaſt Born of faithful Parents, though they are Baptized into the remiſſion of Sins, yet they have no Sin but by deſcending from *Adam*.

6. That original Sin is not cancelled in Baptiſm, but not imputed, or ſo razed, that it beginneth to diminiſh in this life, and is wholly rooted out in that to come.

7. That the Sin remaining in the Baptized, hindreth his entrance into heaven.

8. That Concupiſcence which cheriſheth Sin, and remaineth after Baptiſm, is truly Sin.

9. That the principal puniſhment due to original Sin, is Hell fire, beſides corporal death, and other imperfections, unto which man is ſubject in this life.

The diſcuſſion of original Sin.

The Divines in the Congregation agreed, that to diſcuſs thoſe Articles, it was neceſſary not to proceed in that order, but to examine all the matter methodically, and ſee what was Sin in *Adam*, and what, derived from him to poſterity, is Sin in all men, called original, how it is tranſmitted, and how remitted.

In the firſt point alſo they agreed, that *Adam* being deprived of righteouſneſs, his affections rebelled againſt reaſon; which the Scripture uſeth to expreſs, ſaying, the Fleſh rebelleth againſt the Spirit, and by one only name, calleth his defect Concupiſcence. That he incurred the wrath of God, and corporal mortality, threatned by God, together with the ſpiritual death of the Soul; and yet that none of theſe defects can be called Sin, but puniſhments that follow. For Sin is formally the tranſgreſſion of a Divine precept. And here many enlarged themſelves, to find out the kind of this fault. Some ſaid it was pride, ſome gluttony, ſome infidelity, and ſome more ſoundly, that it might be drawn to all theſe, and more. But he that will take S. *Paul*'s words for his ground;

ground, can put it in no other kind, but of pure diſobedience. But ſeeking to know what thing derived from *Adam* is Sin in us, the opinions were more divers. For S. *Auſtin*, who firſt ſought into the Eſſence thereof, following S. *Paul*, ſaid it is concupiſcence. And S. *Anſelmus*, many hundred years after, holding that Sin is cancelled in the Baptized, concupiſcence ſtill remaining, maintained that it is the privation of original righteouſneſs, which in Baptiſm is renewed, by a thing equivalent, which is Grace. But S. *Thomas*, and S. *Bonaventure* deſiring to reconcile theſe two opinions, conſidered that in our corrupted nature there are two Rebellions; one of the Soul againſt God, the other of the Senſes againſt the Soul; and that this is Concupiſcence, and that Unrighteouſneſs, and therefore both together are the Sin. And S. *Bonaventure* gave the firſt place to Concupiſcence, ſaying that this is poſitive, and the other negative. And S. *Thomas* contrarily made Concupiſcence the material part, and the privation of righteouſneſs the formal. Whereupon he ſaid, that this Sin in us is Concupiſcence, deſtitute of original Righteouſneſs. The Maſter of the Sentences, and the old School-men followed S. *Auſtin*'s opinion, which was maintained in the Council by two Hermite Friars. But becauſe *John Scotus* defended the opinion of his Country-man *Anſelmus*, the Franciſcans maintained it in the Council, and the greater part of the Dominicans that of S. *Thomas*. So it was declared what was the Sin of *Adam*, and what original Sin in other men.

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How original ſin is tranſmitted to poſterity.

But they were more troubled to diſcourſe how it was tranſmitted from him to poſterity, and ſucceſſively from Father to Son. For Saint *Auſtin*, who opened the way unto others, preſſed with the objection of *Julianus* the Pelagian, who asked him of the manner of tranſmitting original Sin when man is conceived, ſeeing that Matrimony and the uſe thereof is holy, neither God the firſt Author ſinning, nor the Parents, nor he that is Born, by what chink Sin entred, anſwered only, that Chinks were not to be ſought where a Gate ſtood wide open, the Apoſtle ſaying, that by *Adam* Sin entred into the World. And in many places where he was to ſpeak hereof, he ſhewed himſelf doubtful, and was irreſolute whether as the body of the Child is derived from the body of the Father, ſo the Soul from the Soul. For the Fountain being infected, the River muſt needs be defiled. The modeſty of this Saint, was not imitated by the Schoolmen; who being reſolved that every Soul is created immediatly by God, ſaid, that the infection was principally in the Fleſh, contracted by our fore-fathers in the earthly Paradiſe, either from the poyſoned quality of the Fruit, or the venemous Breath of the Serpent. Which Contamination is derived into the Fleſh of the Children, which is a part of their parents Fleſh, and is contracted by the Soul in the infuſion, as a liquor contracteth the ill quality of an infected Veſſel; and the infection is cauſed in the Fleſh, by the Luſt of the Parents in the Generation. But the variety of opinions made no difference in the cenſure of the Articles: For every one cleaving to his own, ſhewed that it was decided by it, that the firſt Article was Heretical, which undoubtedly was condemned for ſuch in the Council of *Paleſtina*, and in many of *Africa* againſt *Pelagius*. And it was re-examined in *Trent*, not as it was found in the writings of *Luther*, or his followers, but as it was averred by *Zuinglius*: who, notwithſtanding ſeemed to ſome of the Divines, who diſcuſſed his words well, to think rather that in the poſterity of *Adam* it was no Sin of action, but a corruption and tranſformation of nature, which he called a Sin in the kind of ſubſtance.

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The ſecond Article was eſteemed Heretical by all, and was by the ſame *Pelagius* long ſince invented; who, becauſe he was not condemned in the Council of *Paleſtina*, for ſaying that *Adam* had not hurt his poſterity, he recanted, and confeſſed the contrary, and after, together with his Followers, declared himſelf that *Adam* had damnified his poſterity, not by tranſmiſſion of Sin, but by giving them a bad example, which hurteth thoſe that do imitate it. And *Eraſmus* was noted to have renewed the ſame aſſertion, interpreting the place of Saint *Paul*, That by *Adam* Sin entred into the World, and paſſed into all, in regard all have imitated, and do imitate his Tranſgreſſion.

The third Article for the firſt part, was cenſured in *Trent*, as alſo in many Colloquies in *Germany*, by ſaying that thoſe actions could not be original Sin, ſeeing they are not in Children, nor always in thoſe of ripe Age: ſo that to ſay there was no Sin but that, was wholly to deny it, and not to ſatisfy the excuſe of thoſe in *Germany*, who under the name of actions, underſtand a natural inclination to ill, and an inability to good. For, if they underſtood it ſo: it was fit to ſay it, and not to ſpeak evil, but ſo as that others may underſtand them well. And though Saint *Auſtin* ſpake thus when he ſaid, that original Righteouſneſs was to obey God, and not to have Concupiſcence, he would alter his Speech if he had been in theſe times, becauſe it is very lawful to name the cauſe for the effect, and the effect for the cauſe, when they are proper and adequate. But it is not ſo in this caſe, for original Sin is not the cauſe of thoſe bad actions, except a bad will, as principal, be added. But for the ſecond part of the Article, they ſaid, that if the Proteſtants underſtood a privative corruption, the opinion may be tolerated; but they underſtand a corrupted ſubſtance, as if the proper nature of a man were changed into another form, than that in which it was created, and reprehend the Catholicks, when they call the Sin a privation of Juſtice, as a Fountain without Water; but they call it a Fountain from whence corrupted Waters do iſſue, which are the acts of incredulity, diſtruſt, hatred, contumacy, an inordinate love of ones ſelf, and worldly things: and therefore that it was fit abſolutely to condemn the Article. And the fourth alſo was cenſured by the ſame reaſon, ſaying that inclination to be the puniſhment of Sin, and not Sin formally, and without alledging ought elſe, it was abſolutely denied to be a Sin.

The Franciſcans exempt the Virgin *Mary* from Sin, and are oppoſed by the Dominicans.

It muſt not be omitted that in this point, the *Franciſcans* could not contain themſelves from exempting the Virgin, the Mother of GOD, from this Law by a ſpecial privilege, endeavouring to enlarge themſelves in the queſtion, and to prove it; and the *Dominicans* labqured to comprehend her by name, under the common-Law, though the Cardinal of *Monte* omitted no occaſion to make them leave that Controverſie, ſaying, they were aſſembled to condemn the Hereſies, not the opinions of the Catholicks.

The opinion of *Catarinus*.

No man reſiſted the condemnation of the Articles. But Friar *Ambroſius Catarinus* noted the reaſons for unſufficient, in that they declared not the true nature of this Sin; and ſhewed it in a long diſcourſe. The ſubſtance whereof was; that it is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh the Sin from the puniſhment; that Concupiſcence and Privation of Righteouſneſs, is the puniſhment of Sin; therefore that it is neceſſary the Sin ſhould be another thing. He added that which was not a Sin in *Adam*, it is impoſſible it ſhould be a Sin in us: but neither of theſe two were Sin in *Adam*, becauſe neither privation of Righteouſneſs,

nor

nor Concupiſcence were his actions; therefore neither are they in us; and if they were effects of Sin in him, of neceſſity they muſt be ſo in others alſo. By which reaſon, it cannot be ſaid that Sin is the enmity of GOD againſt the ſinner, nor the ſinners enmity againſt GOD, ſeeing they are things that follow Sin, and come after it. He oppugned alſo the tranſmiſſion of Sin, by means of the Seed and Generation, ſaying, That as, if *Adam* had not ſinned, righteouſneſs would have been tranſuſed, not by virtue of the Generation, but only by the will of God, ſo it is fit to find another means to transfuſe ſin. And he explained his opinion in this form; that as God made a Covenant with *Abraham* and all his poſterity, when he made him Father of the faithful; ſo when he gave original righteouſneſs to *Adam* and all mankind, he made him Seal an obligation in the name of all, to keep it for himſelf and them, obſerving the Commandments; which becauſe he tranſgreſſed, he loſt it as well for others as himſelf, and incurred the puniſhments alſo for them; the which as they are derived into every one, ſo the very trangreſſion of *Adam* belonged to every one; to him as the cauſe, to others by virtue of the Covenant; ſo that the action of *Adam* is actual Sin in him, and imputed to others, is original; becauſe when he ſinned, all mankind did Sin with him. *Catarinus* grounded himſelf principally, for that a true and proper Sin muſt needs be a voluntary act, and no other thing can be voluntary but the trangreſſion of *Adam* imputed unto all. And *Paul* ſaying that all have ſinned in *Adam*, it muſt be underſtood that they have all committed the ſame Sin with him. He alledged for Example, that S. *Paul* to the *Hebrews* affirmeth, that *Levi* paid Tithe to *Melchiſedec*, when he paid it in his great Grandfather *Abraham*, by which reaſon it muſt be ſaid, that the poſterity violated the Commandment of GOD, when *Adam* did it, and that they were ſinners in him, as in him they received righteouſneſs. And ſo there is no need to run to Luſt which infecteth the Fleſh, whence the Soul receiveth infection. For it cannot be underſtood, how a Spirit can receive a Corporal paſſion; and if Sin were a ſpiritual blemiſh in the Soul, it could not firſt be in the Fleſh, and if it be corporal in the Fleſh, it can work none effect in the Spirit. That the Soul, by joyning it ſelf with an infected Body, doth receive ſpiritual infection, is an unconceiveable Tranſcendency. He proved the Covenant of God with *Adam*, by a place of the Prophet *Oſea*, by another of *Eccleſiaſticus*, and by many places of Saint *Auſtin*. That the Sin of every one is the act only of the tranſgreſſion of *Adam*, he proved by Saint *Paul*, when he ſaith, That by the diſobedience of one man, many are made ſinners; and becauſe the Church hath ever underſtood that Sin is nothing elſe but a voluntary action againſt the Law, of which kind there was none but that of *Adam*, and becauſe Saint *Paul* ſaith, That Death entred by original Sin, which entred only by actual tranſgreſſion. And he brought for the principal proof, that though *Eve* did Eat the Apple before *Adam*, yet ſhe knew not ſhe was Naked, nor that ſhe had incurred the puniſhment, but only after *Adam* had ſinned. Therefore *Adam*'s Sin, as it was not his alone, but of *Eve* too, ſo was it alſo of all his Poſterity.

But Friar *Dominicus Soto*, to defend the opinion of Saint *Thomas*, and of the other Divines from the objections of *Catarinus*, brought a new expoſition, and ſaid, that *Adam* ſinned actually in eating of the forbidden Fruit, but after he remained a ſinner by an habitual quality, cauſed by the action, as by every bad action ſuch a diſpoſition is bred in the mind of the Actor, by which, though the act be paſt, he remained; and is called a ſinner

Dominicus Soto croſſeth the opinion of *Catarinus*

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ſinner; that *Adam*'s action was Tranſitory, nor had exiſtence, but while he wrought; that the habitual quality remaining in him, paſſed into the poſterity, and is Transfuſed as proper unto every one; that *Adam*'s action is not original Sin, but that conſequent habit which the Theologues call privation of righteouſneſs, which may be well expounded, conſidering that man is called a ſinner, not only when he tranſgreſſeth actually, but after alſo, until the Sin be cancelled, not in regard of the puniſhments, or other conſequences of Sin, but in regard of the preceeding tranſgreſſion it ſelf; as that which maketh a man crooked, until he be ſtraightened again; who is ſaid to be ſo, not by an actual action, but by that effect which remaineth after the action is paſt. He compared original Sin to crookedneſs, as it is indeed a ſpiritual obliquity; for the whole nature of man being in *Adam*, when he made himſelf crooked by trangreſſing the Precept, the whole nature of man, and by conſequent, every particular perſon remained crooked; not by the Curvity of *Adam*, but by his own, by which he is truly crooked and a ſinner, until he be ſtraightened by the Grace of God. Theſe two opinions were ſharply diſputed, and every one pretended that his own ſhould be received by the Synod.

How original ſin is remitted.

But in the conſideration how original Sin was remitted, they agreed all, that it is cancelled by Baptiſm, and the Soul reſtored pure into the ſtate of Innocency, though the puniſhments which follow Sin be not removed, that they may be an exerciſe for the juſt. And this all of them expounded by ſaying, that the perfection of *Adam* conſiſted in an infuſed quality, which adorned the Soul, made it perfect and acceptable to God, and exempted the Body from Mortality. And God, for the merit of CHRIST, giveth unto thoſe that are regenerated by Baptiſm another quality called juſtifying Grace, which wiping out every blemiſh in the Soul, maketh it pure, as was that of *Adam*; yea in ſome it worketh greater effects than original Righteouſneſs, but only that it worketh no effect in the Body, whereby Mortality, and other natural defects are not removed. Many places of Saint *Paul* and the other Apoſtles were alledged, where they ſay, that Baptiſm waſheth, cleanſeth, illuminateth and purifieth the Soul, ſo that no Condemnation, ſpot or wrinkle remaineth. It was exactly diſcourſed, how, if the Baptized have no Sin, Sin can paſs into their Children? Whereunto *Auguſtinus* anſwered with examples only: as of a Circumciſed Father the Son is Born uncircumciſed, and of a blind man one that can ſee, and of a pure grain, one clad in ſtraw. *Catarinus* anſwered, that the Covenant was made with *Adam* only, and that every one hath Sin by imputation of that of *Adam*; ſo that the intermediate Parents have nothing to do therein: and if the forbidden Fruit had been eaten, not by *Adam*, but by one of his Sons, his poſterity had not ſinned; and if *Adam* had ſinned after he had begot Sons, his Sin had been imputed to them though born before. *Soto* diſputed againſt it, that if *Adam* had ſinned after his Sons were Born, thoſe would not have been obnoxious unto it, but their poſterity ſhould.

The common Voice was, that the ſixth Article was Hæretical, for ſaying there remaineth in the Baptized ſomething worthy of death: and the ſeventh for leaving remainders of Sin in the Baptized: and the eighth moſt clearly, for making Concupiſcence a Sin in the Baptized. Only *Antoninus Marinarus*, a Carmelite Friar, affirming, as the others, that Sin is cancelled by Baptiſm, and that Concupiſcence is before Sin, yet,

yet, for condemning the contrary of Hereſy, he conſidered that Saint *Auſtin* being old, writing hereof to *Bonifacius*, ſaid plainly that Concupiſcence was not a Sin but a cauſe and an effect of Sin: and writing againſt *Julianus* he ſaid in as plain Terms, that it was Sin, and the cauſe, and effect thereof: and yet in his Retractations he never made mention of either of theſe two contrary propoſitions, becauſe he thought he might ſpeak both ways of it, in regard it was not a matter of Faith, the difference being rather verbal than otherwiſe. For it is one thing to ask if a thing be a Sin, or if it be a Sin to a perſon excuſed. As he that goeth forth to hunt for things neceſſary for his ſuſtenance, if he think to kill a wild Beaſt, and, by invincible ignorance, ſlay a Man, the Lawyers ſay that the action is Murder, and a Sin: but the Hunter is excuſed, ſo that unto him it is not, by reaſon of his ignorance. So Concupiſcence, being the ſame before and after Baptiſm, is ſin in it ſelf; and Saint *Paul* ſaith, that it reſiſteth the Law of God, even in the Regenerate, and whatſoever doth that is ſin. But he that is Baptized is excuſed; becauſe he is clad with CHRIST: ſo that the Article is true one way, and falſe another; and it is not juſt to condemn a propoſition, which is true in one ſenſe, without diſtinguiſhing it firſt. This opinion was rejected by all, and it was ſaid that Saint *Auguſtin* made two ſorts of Concupiſcence; one before Baptiſm, which is a repugnancy of the will to the Law of God, which he ſaid was Sin, and aboliſhed in Baptiſm; another, which is the repugnancy of the ſenſe to reaſon, which remaineth after Baptiſm, which Saint *Auſtin* called the cauſe and effect, but never Sin: and when he ſeemeth to ſay otherwiſe, it muſt be defended that his mind is; that Concupiſcence is a ſin, which by Baptiſm leaveth to be ſo, and becometh an exerciſe of vertue and good works. To this opinion of *Soto* they joyned what he had ſaid in his Sermons, made in the Maſs on the fourth Sunday of the laſt *Advent*, and in that of the Lent, exhorting to repoſe all confidence in God, condemning all truſt in works, and affirming that the Heroical Acts of the Ancients, ſo renowned by men, were truly ſin; that he ſpake of the difference of the Law and the Goſpel, not as of two times, but as if the Goſpel had been ever, and the Law ought to be ever, and alſo of the certainty of Grace, though with ambiguous and doubtful clauſes, for fear they might ſo reprehend him, that he could not be defended. This made the Friar ſuſpected by ſome, that he was not wholly averſe from the Proteſtants Doctrine.

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Soto is ſuſpected of Lutheraniſm.

When they came to the Article of the puniſhment, though Saint *Auſtin*, grounding himſelf upon Saint *Paul*, held expreſly, that the pains of Hell fire belonged unto it, even in little Children, whereunto none of the holy Fathers contradicted, yet the maſter of the ſentences, with the Schoolmen, who follow moſt of all Philoſophical reaſons, diſtinguiſhed two kinds of eternal puniſhments; one the privation only of Celeſtial bleſſedneſs, the other, a Chaſtiſement: and they aſſigned the firſt only to original Sin. Only *Gregory* of *Arimini* forſook the general opinion of the Schoolmen, who by that means gained the name of *Tormenter of Children*. But neither he nor Saint *Auſtin* were defended by the Theologues in the Congregations. Yet there was another diviſion among them. For the *Dominicans* ſaid that Children dead, without Baptiſm before the uſe of reaſon, remain after the Reſurrection in a *Limbo* and darkneſs under the earth, but without fire: the *Franciſcans* ſay they are to remain upon the earth, and in light

A difference between the *Franciſcans* and *Dominicans* about *Limbo*.

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light. Some affirmed alſo, that they ſhould be Philoſophers buſying themſelves in the knowledge of natural things, not without that great pleaſure which happeneth when Curioſity is ſatisfied by invention. *Catarinus* ſaid further, that they ſhall be viſited and comforted by the holy Angels and Saints. And in this ſo many vanities were delivered that they might give great matter of entertainment. But for reverence of *Auſtin*, and not to condemn *Gregory* of *Arimini*, the *Auguſtinians* made great means, that the Article, though falſe, as they thought, might not be condemned for Heretical; though *Catarinus* imployed all his force to the contrary, to repreſs (as he ſaid) the boldneſs and ignorance of ſome Preachers, who, to the great ſcandal of the people publiſhed that Doctrine, affirming that Saint *Auſtin* had ſaid ſo only in heat of diſputation againſt the Pelagians, and not becauſe he was clear in that opinion. Whereupon, ſince the truth is declared to the contrary by common conſent of the Schools, and that the Lutherans have raiſed the ſame errours, and the Catholicks themſelves fall into it, the Declaration of the Synod is neceſſary.

The Prelates did ſcarcely underſtand the diſcourſes of the Divines.

The cenſure of the Divines being ended, and the points treated of by the Fathers, to reſolve upon the form of the Decree, the Biſhops (amongſt whom very few had knowledge in Theology, but were either Lawyers, or learned men of the Court) were confounded with this Scholaſtical and crabbed manner of handling the Articles; and amongſt ſo many opinions, knew not what to think of the eſſence of original Sin. That of *Catarinus* was beſt underſtood, becauſe it was expreſſed by a political conceit of a bargain made by one for his poſterity, which being tranſgreſſed, they are all undoubtedly bound; and many of the Fathers did favour that. But perceiving the contradiction of the other Divines, they durſt not receive it. For remiſſion of the Sin, this only they held to be clear, that every one hath original Sin before Baptiſm, and is perfectly purged of it by Baptiſm. Therefore they concluded that this ſhould be eſtabliſhed for Faith, and the contrary condemned for Hereſie, together with all thoſe opinions which deny original Sin, in what ſort ſoever: but what that Sin is, there being ſo many differences amongſt the Divines, they ſaid it was not poſſible to ſet down ſo circumſpectly, that it might ſatisfy all, and not condemn ſome opinion, which might cauſe a ſchiſm.

Andreas Vega a Franciſcan, oppoſeth the common inclination to condemn the opinion of the Lutherans without declaring the opinion of the Catholiques.

Marcus Viguerius, Biſhop of *Sinigaglia*, Friar *Jerom* General of S. *Auſtin*, and *Andreas Vega*, a Franciſcan Divine, were oppoſite to this general inclination. This laſt ſhewed more than the others, that it was not convenient, nor ever uſed by any Council, to condemn an opinion for Heretical, without declaring firſt which is Catholique; that no true negative hath in it ſelf the cauſe of its truth, but is ſo by the truth of an affirmative; nor ever any propoſition was falſe, but becauſe another is true: neither can the falſity of the one be known, but by him who knoweth the truth of the other. Therefore the opinion of the Lutherans cannot be condemned of Hereſie, until the opinion of the Church be ſet down. He that ſhall obſerve the manner of proceeding in all Councils, which have handled matter of faith, will ſee, that they have laid firſt an Orthodox foundation, and by that condemned the Hereſies; and ſo it is neceſſary to do now. For when it ſhall be read that the Council of *Trent* hath condemned the Lutherans, for ſaying original Sin is ignorance, contempt, diſtruſt, and hate of heavenly things, and a corruption of the whole man in the will, Soul and Body, who is there that will not demand, what is it then; and will not ſay in himſelf, if this

this Opinion be Heretical, which is Catholick? And when he ſhall ſee the Opinion of *Zuinglius* condemned, that Children the Sons of the Faithful, are baptized into remiſſion of ſins; though nothing be tranſmitted from *Adam* but the puniſhments, and the corruption of Nature, will not ſuddenly ask, What elſe is then tranſmitted? In ſum, he concluded, that the Council was aſſembled principally to tell the Catholick Truth, not only to condemn Hereſies. The Biſhop ſaid, That theſe Articles having been ſo often diſputed in the Diets of *Germany*, every one would expect from the Council a perſpicuous Doctrine, cleared from all difficulties. The General alſo, who was ſomewhat ſuſpected to be ſuborned by the Ambaſſador *Toledo*, added, That the true Catholick Doctrine of original Sin is contained in the Writings of S. *Auſtin*; that *Egidius Romanus* had wrote a Book thereof; that whenſoever the Fathers would take but a little pains, they might be able to underſtand the Truth, and judg of it; that they ſhould not ſuffer a Fame to be ſpread, That in *Trent* that was reſolved in four days, which in *Germany* hath been ſo long diſcuſſed without concluſion.

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The Biſhop of *Sinigalia*, and Fryar *Jerom* General of the Auguſtines, ſpeak to the ſame purpoſe.

Theſe Advertiſements were not hearkened unto, becauſe the Prelats had no hope to be able by ſtudy to be well informed in the crabbed School-Points, neither durſt they go about to make tryal of it; and becauſe the Legats had received abſolute Command from *Rome* to define this matter in the next Seſſion, they were conſtrained to avoid the Difficulties, eſpecially becauſe the Cardinal of *Monte* was reſolved to make this great Jump by all means. And therefore calling unto him the Generals of the Orders, and the Divines, *Catarinus* and *Vega*, who ſpake more than the Reſt, he charged them to paſs by the Difficulties, and help forward the Diſpatch.

The Prelates deputed to frame the Decree, with the aſſiſtance of the Divines, divided the matter into five *Anathematiſms*. The firſt, of the perſonal Sin of *Adam*: the ſecond, of the transfuſion into Poſterity: the third, of the Remedy by Baptiſm: the fourth, of the Baptiſm of Children: the fifth, of Concupiſcence remaining. After this, the Opinions of the *Zuinglians* were condemned in the four firſt, and of *Luther* in the fifth. They conferred on theſe Articles almoſt all, adding and taking away what they thought fit, with much concord, but only that the *Franciſcan* Biſhops and Fryars approved not, that it ſhould be generally ſaid, that the Sin of *Adam* paſſed into all mankind, becauſe the bleſſed *Virgin*, the Mother of our Lord, was comprehended, if ſhe were not particularly excepted; and they deſired the Exception. The *Dominicans* ſaid on the contrary, that the Propoſition ſo general, and without exception was Saint *Paul*'s, and all the Holy Doctors, and therefore that it was not fit to alter it with an exception: and that Contradiction waxing warm, they fell into the Queſtion, which the Legats had often diverted, They ſaid, That though the Church had tolerated the Opinion of the Conception, yet he that would examine the matter well, might find that ſhe was not exempted from the common infection. And the others oppoſed, that it would be as much as to condemn the Church, who celebrateth the Conception as Immaculate, and a kind of ingratitude, derogating from the honour due unto her, by whom all the Graces of Chriſt paſs unto us. The Diſputations turned into Contention, ſo far, that the Emperor's Ambaſſador had hope to obtain his Deſign, that the Matter might not be propoſed in the next Seſſion.

The Franciſcans deſire that the Virgin *Mary* ſhould be excepted.

Many things were propoſed upon that occaſion, which cauſed them

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A discourse of the Author, to shew how the blessed Virgin came to be worshipped.

to proceed to the Decree, which shall be rehearsed; which because it afforded matter of discourse, for the entire understanding of all; it is necessary to relate from the beginning the original of this controversie. After that the impiety of *Nestorius* had divided Christ, making two Sons, and denying him to be God who was born of the blessed *Virgin*; the Church, to inculcate the Catholick Truth in the Minds of the Faithful, made often mention of her in the Churches as well of the East as of the West, with this short form of words in Greek, *Maria Θεοτοκος*, in Latin, *Maria Mater Dei*. This being instituted only for the honour of Christ, was by little and little communicated also to the Mother, and finally applied to her alone; and therefore when Images began to multiply, Christ was painted as a Babe in his Mother's Arms, to put us in mind of the Worship due unto him, even in that Age. But in progress of time, it was turned into the Worship of the Mother without the Son, he remaining as an Appendix in the Picture. The Writers and Preachers, especially those that were contemplative, carried with the torrent of the Vulgar, which is able to do much in these Matters, leaving to mention Christ, invented with one accord new Praises, Epithets, and Religious Services; insomuch that about the Year 1050, a daily Office was instituted to the blessed Virgin, distinguished by seven Canonical Hours, in a form which anciently was ever used to the honour of the Divine Majesty; and in the next hundred Years, the Worship so increased, that it came to the height, even to attribute that unto her, which the Scriptures speak of the Divine Wisdom. And amongst these invented Novites this was one, her total exemption from Original Sin. Yet this remained only in the breasts of some few private Men, having no place in Ecclesiastical Ceremonies, or amongst the Learned. About the Year 1136, the Canons of *Lions* dared to bring it into the Ecclesiastical Offices. Saint *Bernard* who lived in those times, esteemed the most learned and pious of that Age, who was most frequent in the praises of the blessed *Virgin*, so far as to call her the Neck of the Church, by which every Grace and Influence passeth from the Head, inveighed severely against the Canons, and wrote unto them, reprehending them for introducing a dangerous Novity without reason, or example of Antiquity; that there want not places to praise the Virgin, who cannot be pleased with a presumptuous Novity, Mother of Rashness, Sister of Superstition, Daughter of Lightness. The next Age had School-Doctors, of both the Orders, *Franciscan* and *Dominican*, who in their Writings refuted this Opinion, until about the Year 1300, when *John Scot*, a *Franciscan*, putting the Matter into disputation, and examining the Reasons, did flye to the Omnipotency, saying, that God had power to free her from Sin, or to cause Sin to remain in her only for an instant, or for a certain time: that God only knoweth which of these three is true; yet it is probable to attribute the first to *Mary*, in case it be not repugnant to the Authority of the Church, and of the Scripture. The Doctrine of this famous Divine was followed by the *Franciscan* Order. But in the particular of the Conception, seeing the way laid open, they affirmed absolutely for true, that which he had proposed as possible and probable, under this doubtful condition, *if it be not repugnant to the Orthodox Faith*. The *Dominicans* did constantly resist, and followed Saint *Thomas*, one of their Order, famous for his Learning, and for the approbation of Pope *John* the two and twentieth, who, to depress the *Franciscans*, who did for the most part adhere to the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, excommunicated

S. *Thomas* is canonized by Pope *John* the 22, to disgrace the *Franciscans*.

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by him, did canonize that Doctor and his Doctrine. The ſhew of Piety and Devotion, made the Franciſcan Opinion generally more accepted, and more tenaciouſly received by the Univerſity of *Paris*, which was in credit for eminent Learning; and after long ventilation and diſcuſſion, was afterwards approved by the Council of *Baſil*, which forbad to preach and teach the contrary. This took place in thoſe Countries which received the Council. Finally, Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth, a Franciſcan, made two Bulls in this Matter; one in the Year one thouſand four hundred ſeventy ſix, approving a new Office, compoſed by *Leonard Nogarola* Protonotary, with Indulgences to him that did celebrate it, or aſſiſt: The other in the Year one thouſand four hundred eighty three, condemning the Aſſertion as falſe and erroneous; that it is Hereſy to hold the Conception, or a Sin to celebrate it, excommunicating the Preachers and others who noted that Opinion of Hereſy, or the contrary, becauſe it was not as yet decided by the Church of *Rome* and the Apoſtolick See. But this did not appeaſe the Contentions, which between the two Orders of Fryars ſtill waxed ſharper, and were renewed every Year in *December*; ſo that Pope *Leo* the Tenth thinking to give a Remedy, by deferring the Controverſy, made Letters be written unto divers. But afterwards he had more important Cogitations, by reaſon of the Novities of *Germany*, which in theſe Contentions, wrought that which happeneth in States, that the City being beleaguered, the Factions do ceaſe, and all join againſt the common Enemy. The Dominicans grounded themſelves upon the Scripture, the Doctrine of the Fathers, and the moſt ancient School-men, where not one jot was found in favour of the others; but they alledged for themſelves Miracles, and contentment of the People. *John* of *Udine*, a Dominican Fryar, ſaid, Either you will that Saint *Paul* and the Fathers have believed this Exemption of the *Virgin* from the common Condition, or not. If they have believed it, and yet have ſpoken generally without ever making mention of this Exception, imitate them alſo now. But if they have believed the contrary, your Opinion is a Novity. *Jerolamus Lombardellus*, a Franciſcan Fryar, ſaid, That the Authority of the preſent Church, was no leſs than that of the Primitive; if the conſent of that in thoſe Times made Men ſpeak without Exception, the conſent of this, which appeareth in celebrating the Feaſt throughout, ought to induce us not to omit it.

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The Legat wrote to *Rome* of the marvellous agreement of all againſt the Lutheran Doctrine, and the Reſolution taken to condemn it, and ſent a Copy of the *Anathematiſms* framed; giving advice withal, of the Contention raiſed about the Conception. Whereunto it was anſwered from *Rome*, that by no means they ſhould meddle with a Matter, which may cauſe a Schiſm between Catholicks, but ſhould ſtrive to reconcile the Parties, and give them both ſatisfaction, and above all to preſerve in ſtrength the Brief of *Sixtus* 4. The Legats having received the Order, did by themſelves, and by the wiſer ſort of Prelats, perſwade both Parties to lay aſide the Contentions, and apply themſelves jointly againſt the Lutherans. They were on both ſides contented to be ſilent, ſo that their Opinion were not prejudiced: Yet the Franciſcans ſaid, that the *Canon* was againſt them if the *Virgin* were not excepted, and the Dominicans, that they were condemned if ſhe were. It was neceſſary to find a way how it might be declared, that ſhe was neither

The *Pope* commandeth that the Contention about the Conception ſhould be omitted, for fear of making a Schiſm.

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comprehended, nor affirmatively excepted; which was by ſaying, they had no intention either to comprehend or except her. Afterwards, at the great Inſtance of the *Franciſcans*, the others were content it ſhould be ſaid only they had no meaning to comprehend her. And to obey the Pope it was added, that the Conſtitutions of *Sixtus* 4. ſhould be obſerved.

The Diet of *Ratisbon.*

While theſe things were handled in *Trent*, the Diet being aſſembled in *Ratisbon*, the Emperor ſhewed great diſpleaſure that the Colloquy was diſſolved without Fruit; and required that every one ſhould propoſe what he thought fit to appeaſe *Germany*. The Proteſtants deſired that the Difference of Religion might be compoſed, according to the *Receſs* of *Spira*, by a National Council; ſaying, it was more fit than a General, becauſe by reaſon of the great difference in Opinions between *Germany* and other Nations, it is impoſſible to avoid the raiſing of a greater Contention: and whoſoever will inforce *Germany* to change Opinion, muſt firſt ſlay many thouſands of Men; which would be a dammage to the Emperor, and a joy to the *Turks*. The Emperor's Miniſters anſwered, That his Majeſty was not the Cauſe why the Decree of *Spira* was not executed; and that it was known unto all, that, to make ſo neceſſary a Peace with the French King, he was conſtrained to yield to the Pope in Matters of Religion; that the Decree was fitted to the Neceſſities of that Time; which being changed, it was alſo neceſſary to change Opinion: That in National Councils ſometimes Manners are amended, but Faith and Religion never handled; that in Colloquies one hath to do with Theologues, who, for the moſt part, are untractable and obſtinate; ſo that with them one cannot come to ſuch moderate Counſels as is neceſſary; that none loved Religion more than the Emperor, who would not ſwerve one jot from that which is juſt and honeſt, to pleaſe the Pope: but he knew well, that in a National Council he ſhould neither be able to reconcile the Parties, nor find whom to make Judg. The Ambaſſadors of *Mentz* and *Triers* divided themſelves from the other four; and being united with all the Catholicks, approved the *Tridentine* Council, and beſought *Cæſar* to protect it, and to perſwade the Proteſtants to go thither and ſubmit themſelves unto it. They anſwered, that the Council in *Trent* was not free, as was demanded and promiſed in the Imperial Diets: They deſired again that the Emperor would obſerve the Peace, and ordain that Religion might be eſtabliſhed in a lawful Council of *Germany*, or an Imperial Diet, or a Colloquy of Learned Men on both ſides.

The Proviſions of War againſt the *Proteſtants* can no longer be concealed.

In this Interim, the Emperor had made ſecret Proviſion for War; which not being able longer to conceal, it was known to the Proteſtants in the Diet; and becauſe Peace was concluded with the French King, and Truce with the *Turk*, every one did eaſily perceive the Cauſe: eſpecially for that a Fame was ſpread, that the Pope alſo, and *Ferdinand* did Arm, whereby all was in confuſion. And the Emperor ſeeing he was diſcovered, the ninth of *June* ſent the Cardinal of *Trent* Poſt to *Rome*, to demand of the Pope the Succours he promiſed, and ſent Captains with Mony into *Italy* and *Flanders* to levy Souldiers; and ſollicited the Princes, and Proteſtant *German* Captains, not combined with thoſe of the League of *Smalcalda*, to follow his Colours, affirming, and promiſing, he would not make War for Religion, but ſuppreſs the Rebellion of ſome, who, under that Pretence, would not acknowledg the Laws, nor the Majeſty of the Prince. By this Promiſe he quieted many of the Cities, who before had received the Renovation in the

the Rites of the Church, promiſing all Benevolence to the Obedient, and ſecurity for their Religion. 1546. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

But in the Council there being no more difference amongſt the Fathers concerning the things diſcuſſed, and the Decrees of Faith and Reformation being framed, the Emperor's Ambaſſador, being not able any longer to reſiſt the Legat's Reſolution, the ſeventeenth of *June* being come, the day appointed for the Seſſion *Alexander Pichalbomini*, Biſhop of *Pianza* ſang Maſs: *Marcus Laureus*, a Dominican Fryar, preached: and when the uſual Ceremonies were ended, the Decree of Faith, with five *Anathematiſms*, was read. 1. Againſt him that confeſſeth not, that *Adam* by tranſgreſſing hath loſt Sanctity and Juſtice, incurred the Wrath of God, Death and Thraldom to the Devil, and is infected in Soul and Body. 2. Againſt him that averreth that *Adam* by ſinning hath hurt himſelf only, or hath derived into his Poſterity the Death only of the Body, and not Sin, the Death of the Soul. 3. Againſt him that affirmeth that Sin, which is one in the beginning, and proper to every one, tranſmitted by Generation, not Imitation, can be aboliſhed by any other Remedy than the Death of *Chriſt*: or denieth that the Merit of Chriſt is applied as well to Children, as to thoſe that be of ripe Years, by the Sacrament of Baptiſm, miniſtred in the Form and Rite of the Church. 4. Againſt him that denieth that Children which are newly born ought to be baptized, though the Sons of Chriſtians; or ſaith, they are baptized for Remiſſion of Sins, but not becauſe they have contracted any Original Sin from *Adam*. 5. Againſt him that denieth that by the Grace of Baptiſm the Guilt of Original Sin is remitted; or ſaith, that all is not removed which hath the true and proper nature of Sin, but that it is razed, and not imputed, Concupiſcence ſtill remaining in the baptized for an exerciſe, which cannot hurt, but him that conſenteth to it: the which being called Sin by the Apoſtle, the Synod declareth that it is no true and proper Sin, but is ſo termed, becauſe it ariſeth from Sin, and inclineth to it. That the Synod meaneth not to comprehend in the Decree the Bleſſed Virgin, but that the Conſtitutions of *Siſtus* 4. ought to be obſerved, which it doth renew.

The Decree of Faith, with five Anathematiſms, is read in the Seſſions.

The Decree of the Reformation containeth two parts; one in matter of the Lectures, the other of the Sermons. For the Lectures, it was ordered, that in the Churches where there is a Stipend allotted for reading Divinity, the Biſhop ſhould provide that the Holy Scripture ſhould be read by the Stipendary, if he be fit, and not being fit, the Biſhop ſhould depute a Subſtitute, to perform the Charge: but for hereafter, that the Benefice ſhould not be conferred but upon a Sufficient Perſon. That in the Cathedral Churches of populous Cities, and Collegiate Churches of great Caſtles, where no ſuch Stipend is aſſigned, the firſt Prebend that falleth void, ſhould be applied to that uſe, or ſome ſimple Benefice, or a Contribution of all beneficed Men, to inſtitute the Lecture. That in poor Churches, there ſhould be at the leaſt a Maſter to teach Grammar, who ſhall enjoy the Fruits of ſome ſimple Benefice, or have a Stipend from the Capitular or Epiſcopal Table, or the Biſhop ſhall find ſome other way to effect it. That in the Cloyſters of Monks, there ſhould be a Divinity Lecture, if it may be, wherein if the Abbots ſhall be negligent, they ſhall be conſtrained to do it, by the Biſhop as the Pope's Delegate. That in the Convents of the Regulars, there ſhould be deputed Maſters of Sufficiency to perform this Charge. That in publick Studies, where a Divinity-Lecture is not inſtituted, it ſhall be inſtituted by the Charity and Piety of Princes, and Republicks; and

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and where it hath been inſtituted and neglected, it ſhall be reſtored. That none ſhall be made a Lecturer, either publick or private, before he be approved by the Biſhop, as fit for his Life, Manners, and Knowlege, except thoſe that read in the Cloyſters of Monks. That the priviledges granted by Law, to publick Readers in Divinity, and Scholars, for the enjoying of the Fruits of their Benefices, in their abſence ſhall be preſerved.

Concerning Sermons the Decree containeth, that the Biſhops and Prelates be bound, if they be not hindred, to preach the Goſpel in Perſon, and if they be, to ſubſtitute Men of ſufficiency. That the inferiour Curats ought to teach things neceſſary to Salvation, either by themſelves, or others; at the leaſt on Sundays and ſolemn Feaſts: whereunto they ſhall be conſtrained by the Biſhops, any exemption notwithſtanding. And the Curats of the Pariſhes ſubject to Monaſteries, which are in no Dioceſs, ſhall be conſtrained to the ſame by the Metropolitans, as Delegates of the Pope, in caſe the Regular Prelate ſhall be negligent. That the Regulars ſhall not preach, except they be approved, for their Life, Manners, and Knowledg, by their Superiours: and in the Churches of their Order, they ſhall demand the Benediction of the Biſhop before the Sermon begin: but in other Churches they ſhall not preach without the Biſhop's Licence, which ſhall be given them *gratis*. If the Preacher ſow Errors or Scandals, the Biſhop ſhall prohibite him; if Hereſies, he ſhall proceed againſt him according to Law and Cuſtom: and if the Preacher be a priviledged Perſon, he ſhall do it as Delegate; yet taking care that the Preachers be not moleſted by falſe Imputations, and Calumnies, and have no cauſe to complain of them. That they permit not that either Regulars who live out of Cloyſters, or Secular Prieſts, except they be known and allowed by them, do preach, until an account be given thereof to the Pope. That the Pardoners ſhall not preach, nor cauſe any to preach, and in caſe they do, they ſhall be compelled to obey by the Biſhop, notwithſtanding the Priviledges. In fine, the 29*th* of *July*, was aſſigned for the next Seſſion.

The 29*th* of *July* is appointed for the next Seſſion.

Peter Daneſius is Ambaſſador for the *French* King, and maketh an Oration in the Seſſion.

The Decrees being pronounced by the Biſhop that ſaid Maſs, the Secretary of the Council read the Letters of the *French* King, in which he deputed for his Ambaſſador in the Council *Peter Daneſius*; who made a long and eloquent Oration to the Fathers, ſaying, in ſubſtance; That the Kingdom of *France*, ſince the firſt moſt Chriſtian King *Clodoveus*, hath always preſerved Chriſtian Religion moſt ſincere. That Saint *Gregory* the firſt gave the title of Catholick to *Childebert*, in token of his incorrupt Religion. That the Kings have never ſuffered any Sect in any part of *France*, nor any but Catholicks; yea, have procured the Converſion of Strangers, Idolaters, and Hereticks, and have conſtrained them with pious Arms to profeſs the true and ſound Religion. He ſhewed how *Childebert* compelled the Viſigoths, who were Arrians, to join themſelves with the Catholick Church: and how *Charles* the Great made War thirty Years with the Saxons, to reduce them to Chriſtian Religion. Then he declared the Favours done to the Church of *Rome*. He recounted the Enterpriſes of *Pipin* and *Charles* the Great againſt the Lumbards; and how, in a Synod of Biſhops, it was granted by *Adrian* to *Charles*, to create the Pope, and to approve the Biſhops of his Dominion, and inveſt them after they had received the Oath of Fidelity. He added, that though his Son *Ludovicus Pius*, ſurrended that Authority to create the Pope, yet he reſerved that Legats ſhould be ſent unto him, to preſerve Amity, which hath been ever maintained with

mutual

mutual Offices. For which confidence, the Popes in times of difficulty, either chaſed out of their See, or fearing Sedition, have retired themſelves into that Kingdom. That it cannot be told how many Dangers the *Frenchmen* have run, and how much Mony and Blood they have ſpent, to enlarge the Liſts of the Chriſtian Empire, or to recover that which hath been uſurped by the Barbarians, or to reſtore the Popes, or to deliver them from danger. He added, that King *Francis* deſcending from theſe, in the beginning of his Reign, after the Victory atchieved in *Lombardy*, did, with the ſame piety, go to *Bolonia*, to meet *Leo* the Tenth, to confirm a Peace with him; which hath continued with *Adrian*, *Clement*, and *Paul*: and in theſe 26 Years the Points of Faith being brought into great ambiguities in divers Regions, he hath taken moſt exact care, that nothing ſhould be innovated in the common Eccleſiaſtical Uſe, but all reſerved to the Publick Cenſures of the Church. And though he be of a quiet, pleaſing, and not bloody diſpoſition, yet he hath uſed ſeverity, and made grievous Edicts; and hath brought to paſs, by the diligence and vigilancy of his Judges, that in ſo great a Tempeſt, which hath ſubverted many Cities, and whole Nations, that moſt noble Kingdom ſhould not be ſhaken, in which the ancient Doctrine, Rites, Ceremonies, and Manners, do remain: ſo that the Council might ordain what they thought to be true and fit for the Chriſtian Common-wealth. He ſaid further, that the King knew how profitable it was to Chriſtendom to have the Pope for *Head*, and that, being tempted and invited, with moſt gainful Proffers, to follow the Example of another, would not forſake his Opinion, and thereby hath loſt his Neighbour's Love, with ſome diſadvantage. That underſtanding the Convocation of the Council, he preſently ſent ſome of his Biſhops, and when he ſaw it went on in earneſt, and that the Authority thereof was eſtabliſhed by many Seſſions, he hath ſent him for his Ambaſſador, to aſſiſt them, and to procure, that at the laſt, they would conſtitute and propoſe the Doctrine which ought every where to be profeſſed by all Chriſtians, and rectifie the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, by the ſquare of the Canons; promiſing that the moſt Chriſtian King will cauſe all to be obſerved in his Kingdom, and protect the Decrees of the Council. Then he added, that the Merits of the *French* King being ſo great, his Privileges, granted by the ancient Fathers and Popes, ought to be preſerved, which *Ludovicus Pius*, and all the Kings of *France* ſince have poſſeſſed: and the Rights, Privileges, and Immunities confirmed to the Churches of *France*, of which he is Defender; Which if the Council will do, the *French-men* will be thankful, and the Fathers will not repent them of their Deed.

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Hercules Severolle, Proctor of the Council, briefly anſwered, in the Name of the Synod, thanking the King, ſhewing that the Ambaſſadors preſence was moſt acceptable, promiſing all diligence in the eſtabliſhing of Faith and reformation of Manners, offering all favour to the Kingdom and Church of *France*. And is anſwered by *Hercules Severolle*.

But the Decrees of the Seſſion being printed, and gone into *Germany*, afforded matter of diſcourſe. It was ſaid that the *Pelagian* Impiety was ſuperfluouſly handled, being by ſo many Councils, and the common conſent of the Church, more than a thouſand Years ſince, condemned; that it had been tolerable, if the ancient Doctrine had been confirmed; that in conformity unto it, they had well propoſed a true univerſal Propoſition, ſaying, that the Sin of *Adam* did paſs into all his poſterity, but after had deſtroyed it, by an exception; that it helped The cenſure of the Decrees in *Germany*.

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helped them not, that the Exception was not aſſertive, but ambiguous: for as one particular maketh falſe the contradictory univerſal, ſo one ambiguous particular, maketh the univerſal uncertain. And who ſeeth not that ſo long as this Exception remaineth, though with ambiguity, every one may conclude, that it is not certain that Sin is paſſed into all the Poſterity, becauſe it is not certain whether it be paſſed into the Virgin: and the rather, becauſe the reaſon which perſwadeth that Exception, may perſwade many more. That *Bernard* concluded well, that the ſame reaſon which induced to celebrate the Conception of the Virgin, will conclude the like for her Father and Mother, Grand-fathers, and great Grand-fathers, and all her Genealogy ſince *Adam*. But when they came to *Abraham*, they ſhould go no further; becauſe there is great reaſon to exempt from Original Sin none but him. For unto him the Promiſe of the Redeemer was made; Chriſt is ever called the Seed of *Abraham*, and *Abraham* the Father of Chriſt, and of all that believe, a Pattern of the Faithful. Theſe be greater Dignities than to bear Chriſt in the Belly; according to that divine anſwer, that the Virgin was more bleſſed in having heard the Word of God, than in having born Chriſt, and given him ſuck. And he that will not for preheminency except *Abraham*, but only eſteem for ſound the ancient reaſon, that Chriſt is without Sin, becauſe he was born of the Holy Ghoſt, without the Seed of Man; will ſay, it is better to follow the counſel of the wiſe Man, and contain ones ſelf within the bounds ſet down by the Fathers. They added, that the World was much bound to the Council, for being contented to ſay that it confeſſeth, and thinketh that Concupiſcence remaineth in the Baptized; or elſe Men would be compelled to deny to feel that which they do. In the Decree of Reformation, it was expected that order ſhould have been taken with the School-men and Canoniſts with theſe for giving divine proprieties to the Pope, even to call him God, attributing unto him Infallibility, and making the ſame tribunal of both; ſaying alſo, that he is more merciful than Chriſt: with the School-men, who leaving the Scripture, or making it all doubtful, have made *Ariſtotle*'s Philoſophy the Foundation of Theology, even making a queſtion whether there be a God, and diſputing of it on both ſides. It ſeemed ſtrange that it was unknown until then, that to preach was the Office of Biſhops: that the abuſe of preaching Vanities, or any thing but Chriſt, was not removed; that proviſon was made againſt the open merchandizing of Preachers under the name of Alms. News being come of theſe Decrees to the Emperor's Court, it was taken in ill part that light matters, not required by *Germany*, were handled, and that in matter of Faith the Diſputes were awaked by the Decree. For the controverſie of Original Sin, being almoſt agreed in the Colloquies, from the Council, from whence compoſition was expected, a Decree did proceed againſt the things accorded: and it was written in the Emperor's Name, to his Miniſters in *Trent*, that they ſhould promote the Reformation, and endeavour that the Controverſie of Faith ſhould be deferred until the Proteſtants came, whom the Emperor was perſwaded he could bring thither; or, at leaſt, until the Prelates of *Germany* did arrive, who would put themſelves into the journey, ſo ſoon as the Diet was ended. But they talked but a little while of theſe Affairs of the Council, becauſe other Accidents happened, which drew all Mens Eyes and Minds unto them.

The Decrees are diſliked in the Emperor's Court.

The Cardinal of *Trent* concludeth a League, *June* 26, between the Pope and the Emperor, againſt the Proteſtants.

For in *Rome* the 26 of *June*, the Cardinal of *Trent* concluded a League between the Pope and the Emperor, againſt the Proteſtants of *Germany*,

the Treaty whereof was begun the Year before in *Wormes* by Cardinal *Farneſe*, as hath been ſaid, and afterwards continued by other Miniſters. The Cauſes alledged, and the Conditions were becauſe *Germany* had a long time perſevered in Hereſie, for Remedy whereof the Council was aſſembled in *Trent*, and already begun, whereunto the Proteſtants refuſing to ſubmit, the Pope and Emperor, for the Glory of God, and ſafety of *Germany*, do agree, that the Emperor ſhall take Arms againſt thoſe that refuſe it, and reduce them to the Obedience of the Holy See: and for this, the Pope ſhall lay in *Venice* an hundred thouſand Crowns in truſt, beſide the hundred thouſand laid there already, to ſpend in this uſe only, and ſhall ſend to the War at his own Charges, twelve thouſand *Italian* Foot, and five hundred Light Horſe, for ſix months; ſhall give the Emperor for this Year, half the Rents of the Churches of *Spain*, and power to Alienate of the Revenues of the Monaſteries of thoſe Kingdoms, to the value of five hundred thouſand Crowns: that during the ſix Months, the Emperor ſhall not make an accord with the Proteſtants without the Pope, who alſo ſhall have a certain Portion of whatſoever is gained by the War; and if the War continue longer, new Capitulations, which ſhall ſeem fit to both Parties, ſhall be treated on, and place ſhall be left for others to enter into the League, bearing part of the Charges, and receiving part of the Profits. There was one Capitulation apart, which was kept ſecret, concerning the *French* King, That if any Chriſtian Prince, during the War, did move Arms againſt the Emperor, the Pope ſhould be bound to perſecute him with Spiritual and Temporal Forces.

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The Cauſes and Capitulations of this League.

A few days after the Pope wrote to the *Suiſſes*, inviting them to aſſiſt him; firſt ſhewing in ample terms his Benevolence towards them, and the grief he felt for that ſome of them had eſtranged themſelves from his Obedience: and thanking God for thoſe who perſevered, and commending them all, for that, in this difference of Religion, they keep themſelves in Peace, whereas in other places divers Tumults did ariſe for the ſame Cauſe; he added, that to provide againſt them, he had ordained the Council of *Trent*, hoping that no Man would refuſe to ſubmit himſelf: and he was aſſured that thoſe amongſt them, who until then perſevered in the Apoſtolical Obedience, will obey the Council, and the others not contemn it. He invited them alſo to come thither, complaining that many in *Germany*, who are called Princes, did proudly diſdain and deſpiſe the Council, whoſe Authority is rather Divine than Humane. This hath compelled him to think of Force and Arms. And becauſe it hath happened that the Emperor hath made the ſame Reſolution, he hath been conſtrained to join with him, and aſſiſt him with his own and the Church's Power, to reſtore Religion by War. That he was willing to ſignifie his Purpoſe and Mind unto them, that they may join their Prayers with him; render the ancient Honour to the Church of *Rome*, and aſſiſt him in ſo pious a Cauſe.

The Pope writeth to the *Suiſſes*.

But the Emperor made ſhew he undertook the War, not for Religion, but for Matters of State, for that ſome denied him Obedience, plotted with Strangers againſt him, and refuſed to obey the Laws, uſurped the Poſſeſſions of others, eſpecially the Church's, going about to make Biſhopricks and Abbacies Hereditary: and that having proved divers gentle means to reduce them, they ever became more inſolent.

The Emperor would not have it thought that this War is made for Religion.

On the other ſide, the Proteſtants laboured to make manifeſt to the World, that all proceeded from the inſtigation of the Pope, and of

And the Proteſtants ſhew the contrary.

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the Council of *Trent*. They put the Emperor in mind of the Capitulations which he ſwore in *Francfort*, when he was created Emperor and they made proteſtation of the Injury. But many of the Proteſtants kept themſelves on his ſide, becauſe they could not believe that he had any other Reſpects than of State. And the Archbiſhop of *Collen* (of whom we have ſpoken before) who though he were ſentenced, and deprived by the Pope, continued in Government, and was obeyed by his People, followed the Emperor; who alſo acknowledged him for Elector, and Archbiſhop, and wrote unto him, that none of his Subjects might bear Arms againſt him: wherein the Archbiſhop employed his endeavours ſincerely. The Elector of *Saxony*, and the *Landgrave* ſeeing this, they publiſhed a Manifeſt the eleventh of *July*, declaring, that the War was undertaken for Religion, and that the Emperor covered his meaning with a Cloak of taking Revenge againſt ſome few for Rebellion, to diſ-join the Confederates, and oppreſs them by degrees. They alledged that *Ferdinand* and *Granuel*, and other Miniſters of his Majeſty, had ſaid, that the cauſe of this War was the Contempt of the Council; they called to mind the Pope's Sentence againſt the Elector of *Collen*; they added, that the Spaniſh Prelats would not have contributed ſo much of their proper Revenues for any other cauſe; they ſhewed, that in other things the Emperor could pretend nothing againſt them.

The Archb. of *Collen* ſentenced by the Pope, is obeyed by his People, and followeth the Emperor.

The Elector of *Saxony*, and the Landgrave of *Haſſia* publiſh a Manifeſt againſt the Emperor.

Juſtification is to be handled in the next place.

But while the Pope and Emperor prepared againſt the *Lutherans*, ſome thing beſides *Anathematiſms*, the day after the Seſſion, the eighteenth of *June*, a Congregation was made; where after the accuſtomed Prayers and Invocation of the Holy Ghoſt, the Secretary read, in the Legats Name, a Writing, framed by the principal Theologues; in which it was propoſed, that having, by Divine Inſpiration, condemned the Hereſies concerning Original Sin, the Order of the things to be handled did require, that the Doctrine of the Moderns, in the Point of Divine Grace, which is the Medicine of Sin, ſhould be examined; and that the rather it was fit to follow the Order, becauſe it was obſerved by the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion; all which the Council meaneth to condemn. And the Fathers and Divines were intreated to have recourſe by Prayer unto the Divine Aſſiſtance, and to be aſſiduous, and exact in their Studies, becauſe all the Errors of *Martin* were reſolved into that Point. For having undertaken from the beginning to oppugn the Indulgences, he ſaw he could not obtain his purpoſe, except he deſtroyed the Works of Repentance, in defect whereof Indulgences do ſucceed. And Juſtification by Faith only, a thing never heard of before, ſeemed to him a good means to effect this: from whence he hath collected, not only that Good Works are not neceſſary, but alſo that a diſſolute liberty in obſerving the Law of God, and of the Church, will ſerve the turn: hath denied Efficiency in the Sacraments, Authority of Prieſts, Purgatory, Sacrifice of the Maſs, and all other Remedies for Remiſſion of Sins. Therefore by a contrary way, he that will eſtabliſh the Body of the Catholick Doctrine, muſt overthrow this Hereſie of Juſtice by Faith only, and condemn the Blaſphemies of that Enemy of Good Works.

When the Writing was read, the Emperor's Prelats ſaid, That the more principal and important the Point propoſed was, it ſhould be the more maturely, and opportunely handled; that the ſending of the Cardinal *Madruccio* to the Pope ſhewed, that ſome Buſineſs was on foot, the which it was not fit to diſturb, but in the mean ſpace to handle

handle ſomething of the Reformation. The Papalins did, on the other ſide, inculcate, that it was no honour to interrupt the Order begun, to handle together, in every Seſſion, Doctrine and Reformation; and that after Original Sin, no other Matter could be handled. The Legats having heard all their Opinions, concluded, that to diſcuſs the Points, and prepare them, was not to define them, but that they could not be determined without preparation before. Which they ſaid, only to gain time, and after to put themſelves in order, to execute what ſhould be reſolved at *Rome*, between the Pope and the Cardinal, in the Emperor's Name. That to digeſt that Matter, was not to hinder the Reformation, becauſe in that the Divines would be employed, and in this the Fathers and Canoniſts. With this Reſolution it was concluded, That the Articles to be diſcuſſed and cenſured, ſhould be collected out of the Books of *Luther*, out of the Colloquies, Apologies, and out of the Writings of the *Lutherans* and Fathers. And three Fathers, and as many Divines, were deputed to ſet down what ſhould be diſcuſſed, and to frame the Articles.

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The next Congregation was held to order the matter of Reformation; where the Cardinal of *Monte* ſaid, That the World hath complained long ſince of the abſence of Prelats and Paſtors, daily demanding reſidence: that the abſence of the Prelats and other Curats from their Churches, is the cauſe of all the Miſchiefs of the Church. For the Church may be compared to a Ship, the ſinking whereof is aſcribed to the abſent Pilot, that ſhould govern it, if he were preſent. He ſhewed to them, that Hereſies, Ignorance, and Diſſolution, do reign in the People; and bad Manners and Vices in the Clergy, becauſe the Paſtors being abſent from the Flock, no Man hath care to inſtruct thoſe, or correct theſe. By the Prelats abſence it is come to paſs, that ignorant and unlearned Miniſters have been promoted, and Perſons aſſumed to Biſhopricks, that were more fit for any other Charge; for in regard they need not execute their Duty in perſon, no fitneſs is neceſſary. So he concluded, that to eſtabliſh the Point of Reſidency, was a general Remedy for all the Maladies of the Church; which alſo hath ſometimes been uſed by Councils and Popes; but either for that the Tranſgreſſions were then but few, or for ſome other cauſe, it was not applyed with ſuch ſtrong and ſtrait Bonds, as is neceſſary now that the Diſeaſe is come to the height: that is, with a more ſevere Commandment, with more grievous and fearful Puniſhments, and by Means more eaſy to be executed.

The Diſcourſe of the Card. *Monte* concerning Reſidency.

This was approved by the firſt Voices of the Prelats. But when *Jacomo Corteſi* a *Florentine*, Biſhop of *Veſone*, was to ſpeak, commending what had been ſaid by others, he added, That as he believed that the preſence of the Prelats and Curats in times paſt, was the cauſe of maintaining purity of Faith in the People, and Diſcipline in the Clergy, ſo h could clearly ſhew, that their abſence in theſe latter Times, hath n been the cauſe of the contrary Subverſion, and that the cuſtom of n reſiding hath been brought in, becauſe Reſidence hath been wholly u profitable. For the Biſhops could not then preſerve ſound Doctrin amongſt the People, when the Fryars and Pardoners had Authority t preach againſt their Wills. It is well known that the Innovation in *Ger many*, ſprang from the Sermons of Fryar *John Techel*, and of Fryar *Mar tin Luther*; among the *Suiſſes*, from the Sermons of Fryar *Samſon* o *Milan*. And the reſiding Biſhop was able to do nothing, but fight wit diſadvantage, againſt theſe, who were armed with Privileges. Th Biſho

The Biſhop of *Veſone* ſpeaketh in favour of Nonreſidency.

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Biſhop is not able to make the Clergy live honeſtly, for that, beſide the general exemption of all the Regulars, every Chapter hath one, and if there be few particular Prieſts that want it. The Biſhop cannot provide that fit Men be promoted to that Charge, for the Licences to promote, and the Faculties which the titular Biſhops enjoy, who ſuffer him not to uſe ſo much as the Miniſtry of the *Pontificals*. And it may be ſaid in one word, that the Biſhops do not reſide, becauſe they have nothing to do, or rather that they may not make greater inconveniences to ariſe, which would happen by their concurrence, and contention with priviledged Men. He concluded, that as he thought it fit to reſtore Reſidency, ſo they ought to treat how to reſtore the Epiſcopal Authority. The Biſhops that ſpake after this Prelate, followed his Opinion, that it was neceſſary to command Reſidency, and to remove the Exemptions which do hinder it. And the Legates were enforced to conſent, that both ſhould be conſidered of, and that every one ſpeak his Opinion of them, and that ſome Fathers ſhould be deputed to frame the Decree, that it might be examined.

The Deputies for collecting the Articles, diſſent about the manner of proceeding.

The Deputies for collecting the Articles of Juſtification, having received the extracts of the Propoſitions noted by every one to be cenſured, were not all of one Opinion. One part deſired that four or ſix fundamental Articles of the new Doctrine might be choſen, and condemned, as was done in the matter of Original Sin; alledging, that it was fit to follow the Stile begun, and the Example of the Ancient Councils; which, having declared the principal Article, condemned the Hereſie, never deſcending to particular Propoſitions, but condemning the Books of the Hereticks, in that Univerſal they comprehended all the pernicious Doctrine; and ſo the honour of the Council required. But the other part, aimed to put under cenſure all the Propoſitions which might receive a bad conſtruction, that thoſe might be condemned, which in reaſon did deſerve it: ſaying, that it was the Office of a Paſtor to diſcern entirely the wholeſom Graſs from the hurtful, and not to ſuffer the Flock to taſte of this. And if the Example of Ancient Councils ought to be imitated, they ſhould imitate that of *Epheſus*, which made ſo many, and ſo famous *Anathematiſms* againſt the Doctrine of *Neſtorius*, that they did contain whatſoever the Heretick had ſaid, and the Councils of *Africa*, which deſcend to the condemnation of all the Propoſitions of the Sects.

25 Articles concerning Juſtification.

The firſt Opinion did undoubtedly propoſe a more eaſie way, and would have pleaſed whoſoever deſired a ſpeedy end of the Council, and left a chink open for agreement, which future times might produce. Yet the ſecond was embraced, which ſaid, it was good to examine all the Propoſitions of the *Lutheran* Doctrine, to cenſure and condemn that, which, after mature deliberation, ſhould ſeem neceſſary and convenient. And 25 Articles were framed. 1. Faith without Works is ſufficient to Salvation, and alone doth juſtifie. 2. Juſtifying Faith is a ſure truſt, by which one believeth that his Sins are remitted for Chriſt; and thoſe that are juſtified, are bound to believe certainly that their Sins are remitted. 3. By Faith only we are able to appear before God, who neither regardeth, nor hath need of our Works: Faith only making us pure, and worthy to receive the Euchariſt, believing that in it we ſhall receive Grace. 4. Thoſe that do honeſt things, without the Holy Ghoſt, do ſin, for that they do them with a wicked heart, and it is ſin to keep the Commandments of God without Faith. 5. The beſt repentance is a new Life, and the repentance of the life paſt is not neceſ-

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ſary, neither doth the repentance of actual Sins diſpoſe us to receive Grace. 6. No diſpoſition is neceſſary to Juſtification; neither doth Faith juſtifie becauſe it diſpoſeth us, but becauſe it is a Means or Inſtrument, by which the Promiſe and Grace of God is laid hold on, and received. 7. The fear of Hell helpeth not in gaining of Juſtice; yea, hurteth, and is Sin, and maketh the Sinners worſe. 8. Contrition which ariſeth from the diſcuſſion, calling to mind, and deteſtation of Sins, weighing the grievouſneſs, multitude, and filthineſs of them, or the loſs of eternal happineſs, and gain of perpetual Damnation, maketh a Man an Hypocrite and a greater Sinner. 9. The fears by which Sinners are terrified either internally by God, or externally by Preachers, are Sins, until they are overcome by Faith. 10. The Doctrine of the Diſpoſitions deſtroyeth that of Faith, and taketh Conſolation from the Conſciences. 11. Only Faith is neceſſary, and other things are neither commanded nor forbid, neither is Sin any thing but incredulity. 12. He that hath Faith, is free from the Precepts of the Law, and hath no need of Works to be ſaved; for Faith giveth all abundantly, and alone fulfilleth all the Commandments, and no Work of a Faithful Man is ſo bad as may accuſe or condemn him. 13. A Man baptized, cannot loſe Salvation by reaſon of any Sin whatſoever, except he will not believe; and no Sin, but Infidelity, ſeparateth us from the Grace of God. 14. Faith and Works are contrary, and Works cannot be taught without ſhipwrack of Faith. 15. External Works of the ſecond Table are hypocriſie. 16. The Juſtified are ſet free from Guilt and Puniſhment, and Satisfaction neither in this Life, nor after Death, is neceſſary; and therefore there is no Purgatory, or Satisfaction, which is part of Penance. 17. The Juſtified, though they have the Grace of God, cannot fulfil the Law, or avoid Sins though mortal. 18. Obedience unto the Law in the Juſtified is weak, and unpure in it ſelf, not acceptable to God, but accepted for the Faith of the Perſon reconciled, who believeth that the remainders of Sin are forgiven him. 19. The Juſt ſinneth in every good Work, and no Work maketh the Sin Venial. 20. All the Works of Men, yea of the moſt ſanctified, are Sin: the Works of the Juſt are Venial by the Mercy of God, but in the rigor of his judgment are Mortal. 21. Though the Juſt ought to doubt that his Works be Sins, yet he ought withal to be aſſured that they are not imputed. 22. Grace and Juſtice are nothing but the Will of God, neither have the Juſtified any inherent Juſtice in them; and their Sins are not aboliſhed, but only remitted, and not imputed. 23. Our Juſtice is nothing but the imputation of the Juſtice of Chriſt, and the Juſt have need of a continual Juſtification, and Imputation of the Juſtice of Chriſt. 24. All the Juſtified are received into equal Grace and Glory, and all Chriſtians are equally great with the Mother of God, and as much Saints as ſhe. 25. The Works of the Juſtified deſerve not Bleſſedneſs, neither can any confidence be put in them, but only in the Mercy of God.

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When the Articles were publiſhed, it was not ſo eaſie to ſet down a courſe to handle them in the Congregations, as when Original Sin was diſputed on. For in that matter they found the Articles already handled by the School-Men; but the Opinion of *Luther* concerning Juſtifying Faith, that it is a confidence and certain perſwaſion of the Promiſe of God, with the Conſequences that follow, of the diſtinction between the Law and the Goſpel, and of the quality of Works depending on the one, and the other, was never thought of by any School-writer, and therefore never confuted or diſcuſſed: ſo that the Divines had

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work enough, firſt to underſtand the meaning of the *Lutheran* Propoſitions, and their Difference from thoſe that are determined in the Schools, and then the Reaſons by which to diſtinguiſh them. It is certain that in the beginning ſome of them, and the Fathers for the moſt part, did believe that the Proteſtants, denying Free-will, held Opinion, that Man, in external Actions, is like a Stone; and when they attribute Juſtice to Faith only, without the concurrence of Works, thought him juſt who believed only the Story of the Goſpel, tho, in other reſpects, he were never ſo wicked; and other ſuch abſurdities, the which by how much the more they are alien from common ſenſe, ſo much the harder they are to confute: as is uſual in all Opinions contrary to manifeſt appearance, and the generally received Perſwaſion.

The major part of the Divines, who then were aſcended to the number of five and forty, was very tenacious of the Opinions generally received in the Schools, impatient of Contradiction, where the Schoolmen agreed, but where they agreed not, they did very much ſtand in defence of their own Opinion; and the *Dominicans* more than the reſt, were wont to vaunt, that, for the ſpace of three hundred Years, the Church overcame Hereſies by their pains. Yet there wanted not ſome wiſe Men, who ſuſpended their judgment until the Reaſons were weighed. In this number was *Ambroſius Catarinus* of *Siena* a *Dominican* Fryar, after created Biſhop of *Minori*; *Andreus de Vega* a *Spaniard* and *Franciſcan*; and *Antonius Marinarus*, a *Carmelite*. The *Hereticks*, becauſe they were of the Order which *Martin Luther* quitted, did affect to ſhew themſelves more contrary to him than all others, and eſpecially *Jerolamus Seripandus* the General.

In examining the Articles, the Theologues that began (to facilitate the underſtanding of the three firſt) laboured to ſet down what that Faith which juſtifieth is, and what Works it excludeth, diſtinguiſhing them into three ſorts; preceding Grace, whereof the ſeven following Articles until ten do ſpeak, concurrent in the very moment with the infuſion of it, and ſubſequent after Grace received; of which the other eleven do ſpeak. That Faith juſtifieth, muſt be preſuppoſed as undoubted, for that it is ſaid and repeated by Saint *Paul*. To reſolve what that Faith is, and how it maketh a Man juſt, the Opinions were different in the very beginning. For the Scripture attributing many Vertues to Faith, which ſome knew not how to apply to one only, they thought the Word was equivocal, and did diſtinguiſh it into many ſignifications, ſaying that ſometimes it is taken for an Obligation to keep Promiſes: in which ſenſe Saint *Paul* ſaid, that the Incredulity of the Jews made not vain the Promiſe of God: ſometimes for the virtue to do Miracles, as when it is ſaid, if I ſhall have ſo much Faith as to remove Mountains: ſometimes for the Conſcience, in which ſenſe it is ſaid, that, that Work, which is not conformable to Faith, is Sin: ſometimes for a truſt and confidence in God, that his Majeſty will keep his Promiſes; ſo Saint *James* willeth us to pray in Faith, without doubting: Laſtly, for a perſwaſion and firm aſſent (though not evident) to the things revealed by God. Others added other ſignifications, ſome to the number of nine, ſome to the number of fifteen.

The Significations of Faith.

But Fryar *Dominicus Soto*, oppoſing himſelf againſt all, ſaid, that this is a renting of Faith, and a giving of Victory to the *Lutherans*; and that there were but two ſignifications; one, the truth and reality of him that affirmeth or promiſeth; the other, the aſſent in him that heareth: that the firſt is in God, the ſecond is only in Us: and of this laſt

Soto maintaineth a ſingular Opinion.

all

all places of the Scripture, which ſpeak of our Faith, are underſtood: but to take Faith for a Truſt and Confidence, is not only an improper kind of ſpeaking, but abuſive; never received by Saint *Paul*: that Truſt differeth little or nothing from Hope; and therefore the Opinion of *Luther* ought to be held for an undoubted Error, or rather Hereſie, that Juſtifying Faith is a Truſt and Certainty in the Mind of a Chriſtian, that his Sins for Chriſt are remitted. *Soto* added, and was followed by the major part, that that Truſt could not juſtifie, becauſe it was Temerity, and a Sin: for that no Man, without preſumption, could aſſure himſelf that he was in Grace, but ought always to doubt. For the other part, *Catarinus* held, and had many Followers, that Juſtification proceeded not from that Truſt, yet that the Juſt might and ought to believe by Faith, that he is in Grace. *Andreus Vega* ſet a third Opinion on foot, that it was neither Temerity, nor certain Faith, yet that one might have a conjectural preſwaſion without Sin. And this Controverſie could not be quitted, becauſe in it conſiſted the Point of the cenſuring the ſecond Article. Therefore it was firſt lightly diſcuſſed, then (the Parties being warmed) it divided, and held long in diſpute all the Council, for the Reaſons and Cauſes which ſhall be declared. But all agreed, that Juſtifying Faith is an aſſent to whatſoever is revealed by God, or determined by the Church to be believed; which, ſometimes being joined with charity, ſometimes remaining without it, they did diſtinguiſh into two ſorts; one which is found in Sinners, which the Schools call Unformed, Solitary, Idle, or Dead; the other, which is only in the Good, working by Charity, and therefore called Formed, Efficacious, and Lively. And here another Controverſie aroſe. For ſome thought that Faith, unto which the Scriptures aſcribe Salvation, Juſtice, and Sanctification, was only the lively Faith, (as alſo the Catholicks of *Germany* held in the Colloquies) and included the knowledg of the Things revealed, the preparation of the Will, and Charity in which the fulfilling of the whole Law is contained. And in this ſenſe it cannot be ſaid, that only Faith juſtifieth, becauſe it is not alone, but formed with Charity. Among theſe, *Marinarus* liked not it ſhould be ſaid, that Faith is formed with Charity, becauſe that kind of ſpeech is not uſed by Saint *Paul*, but only that Faith worketh by Charity.

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The Opinions of *Catarinus*, and of *Andreus Vega*.

Others underſtood, that Juſtifying Faith was Faith in general, not ſaying it was either lively or dead, becauſe they do both juſtifie after divers manners; either compleatly, as the lively, or as a beginning or foundation, as the Hiſtorical Faith; and of this Saint *Paul* ſpeaketh, when he attributeth Juſtice unto it, no otherwiſe than as Philoſophy is contained in the Alphabet; that is, as in a Baſis; which is as it were Nothing, the Principal remaining, that is to ſet the Statue upon it. This ſecond Opinion was jointly maintained by the *Dominicans* and *Franciſcans*, the other by *Marinarus* and his Adherents. But the principal Point of the Difficulty was not touched; that is, whether a Man is Juſt, and then doth juſtly, or, by doing juſtly, becometh Juſt. They all agreed in one Opinion, that to ſay only Faith doth juſtifie, was a Propoſition of many Senſes, and all abſurd. For God and the Sacraments do juſtifie, as Cauſes in their ſeveral kinds: ſo that the Propoſition hath that and many other Exceptions. The Preparation alſo of the Soul to receive Grace, is a Cauſe in its kind, ſo that Faith cannot exclude that ſort of Works. But the Articles concerning Works that go before Grace, all which *Luther* condemneth for Sin, the Divines cenſured for heretical, rather by way of invective than otherwiſe, condemning

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demning likewiſe of Hereſy the Opinion taken in general, that Human Works, without Faith, are Sin: thinking it a clear caſe, that many Actions of Men are indifferent, neither Good nor Evil; and that others there are, which though they be not acceptable to God, yet are morally Good, as the honeſt Actions of Infidels, and Chriſtians which are Sinners, which to call honeſt and Sins, implieth a contradiction; and the rather, becauſe in this rank are included the Heroical Actions, ſo much commended by Antiquity.

Catarinus his Opinion concerning the Value of Works.

But *Catarinus* maintained that Man, without the ſpecial help of God, can do no Work, which may truly be good, though morally, but ſinneth ſtill. Therefore the Works of the Infidels, who are not excited by God to believe, and of the Faithful who are Sinners before God ſtirreth them up to Converſion, though they ſeem honeſt to Men, even Heroical, yet are truly Sins; and he that commendeth them, doth conſider them in general, and according to external appearance; but he that ſhall examine the Circumſtances of every one, ſhall find they are perverſe: and that for this *Luther* was not to be condemned; notwithſtanding he ſaid that the Articles ought to be cenſured, as they ſpeak of Works that follow preventing Grace, which are a preparation to Juſtification, as an abomination of Sin, fear of Hell, and other Terrors of Conſcience. For confirmation of his Opinion, he brought the Doctrine of Saint *Thomas*, that to do a good Work, the concurrence of all Circumſtances is neceſſary, but the want of one only is ſufficient for an Ill. So that howſoever among the Works conſidered in general, ſome are indifferent, yet in the ſingular there is no *medium* between having all the Circumſtances, and wanting ſome. Therefore every particular Action is Good or Evil, neither is there to be found any one indifferent. And becauſe amongſt the Circumſtances the end is one, all Works referred to a bad End are infected; ſo that the Infidels referring all to a bad End, their Actions are Sins, though they ſeem Heroical to him that knoweth not their Intention. Neither doth it make any difference whether the relation to a bad End be actual or habitual, becauſe the Juſt doth merit, though he referreth not the Work actually to God, but habitually only. He ſaid further, alledging Saint *Auſtine*, that it is Sin, not only to refer the Action to a bad End, but alſo not to refer it to a Good; and becauſe he defended that, without the ſpecial preventing Aſſiſtance of God, a Man cannot refer any thing to God, he concluded, that no good moral Work can be before. For this he alledged many places of Saint *Auſtine* to ſhew that he was of this Opinion. He alledged alſo places of Saint *Ambroſe*, Saint *Proſper*, Saint *Anſelmus*, and of other Fathers. He propounded *Gregory* of *Arimini*, the Cardinal of *Rocheſter*, who, in his Book againſt *Luther*, was clearly of the ſame Opinion, ſaying, It was better to follow the Fathers, than the Schoolmen, who are divided, and rather to take the Scriptures for a Ground, from whence true Theology is taken, than the Subtilties of Philoſophy, which the Schools have uſed: that himſelf alſo was of that Opinion, but having ſtudied the Scriptures and Fathers, had found the Truth. He alledged the Paſſage of the Goſpel; *A bad Tree cannot bear good Fruit*, with the amplification which our Saviour added, ſaying, *Either make the Tree good, and the Fruit good, or the tree evil, and the Fruit Evil.* He uſed alſo other Arguments, and eſpecially the place of Saint *Paul*, that nothing can be clean to Infidels, becauſe their Mind and Conſcience is ſpotted.

Soto proclaimeth the Opinion of *Catarinus* to be Heretical.

This Opinion was very ſharply impugned by *Soto*, proclaiming it Heretical,

heretical, for inferring that Man had not liberty to do well, nor could obtain his natural end, which was to deny Free-will with the *Lutherans*. He maintained a Man might, by that ſtrength of Nature, obſerve every Precept of the Law, in regard of the ſubſtance of the work, though not in regard of the end; which was enough to avoid Sin. He ſaid there were three ſorts of Human Actions; one, the Tranſgreſſion of the Law, which is Sin; another, the obſervation thereof, having Charity for the end, which is meritorious and acceptable to God; the third mixt, when the Law is obeyed for the ſubſtance of the Precept; which work is morally good and perfect in its kind, becauſe it accompliſheth the Law, making every work good according to Morality, avoiding by that means all Sin. But he moderated this great perfection of our Nature, by adding, that it was one thing to take heed of any one particular Sin, and another to beware of all together; and ſaid that a Man might avoid any one, but not all; by the example of him that had a Veſſel with three holes, who could not ſtop them with two hands, but could ſtop which two of them he would, one remaining open of neceſſity. This Doctrine did not ſatisfy ſome of the Fathers. For though it clearly ſhewed that all works are not Sins, yet it did not wholly ſalve Free-will, becauſe it will neceſſarily follow, that it is not free in avoiding all Sin. But *Soto* giving the title of good Works unto theſe, knew not how to determine whether they were preparatory to Juſtification. It ſeemed to him they were, in regard of the goodneſs of them: and it ſeemed they were not, conſidering the Doctrine of Saint *Auſtin*, approved by Saint *Thomas*, and other good Divines, that the firſt beginning of Salvation proceeds from the vocation of God. He avoided theſe ſtraits by a diſtinction, that they were preparatory a far off, but not nearly, as though giving a remote preparation to the force of Nature, the firſt beginning was not taken away from the Grace of God.

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A new diſtinction invented by *Soto*.

The Franciſcans thought that not only this kind of Works were good, and did truly and properly prepare to Juſtification, but alſo that they were truly meritorious in the ſight of God. Therefore *Scotus*, the Author of their Doctrine, invented a kind of Merit, which he attributed to Works done by the force of Nature only, ſaying that in Congruity they deſerve Grace by a certain Law, and infallibly, and that a Man, by natural Power only, may feel a ſorrow for Sin, which is a diſpoſition, and merit of *Congruity*, to aboliſh it: approving a common ſaying of his times, that God never faileth him that doth as much as he is able. And ſome of that Order, paſſing thoſe bounds, did add, that if God giveth not Grace to him that doth what he can, he would be unjuſt, unrighteous, partial, and an accepter of Perſons. They clamoured with much ſtomach and indignation, that it would be a great abſurdity, if God made no difference between one that is naturally honeſt, and another drowned in all Vices, and there would be no reaſon why he ſhould rather give Grace to one than another. They alſo alledged, that Saint *Thomas* was of this opinion, and that otherwiſe a Man is put into deſperation, and made negligent to do well, and wicked Men may excuſe their bad Works, and attribute them to the want of the aſſiſtance of God.

The doctrine of the Franciſcans concerning meritorious Works.

But the Dominicans did confeſs that Saint *Thomas* was of this opinion when he was young, and after did retract it, when he was old. They did reprehend it, becauſe in the Council of *Orange*, it is determined that no kind of Merit goeth before Grace, and that the beginning

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ſhould be attributed to God; ſaying, that the Lutherans having made ſuch Exclamations for this congruous Merit, it ought wholly to be aboliſhed, as indeed it was never heard of in the Church in ancient times, in ſo many Controverſies with the Pelagians. That the holy Scripture doth attrribute our Converſion to God, and that it is not fit to leave the form of Speech which it uſeth.

For the preparations there was no difference in the ſubſtance of the Doctrine. All held, that after God doth ſtir us up, fear and other conſiderations of the malignity which is in Sin do ariſe. They ſaid that the Opinion, that theſe things are bad, was heretical, becauſe God exhorteth the Sinner, yea, moveth him to theſe Conſiderations, and it muſt not be ſaid that God moveth to Sin; and which is more, it is the Office of a Preacher to terrify a Sinner by theſe means: and becauſe by the ſame means, all paſs from the ſtate of Sin to that of Grace, it ſeemed very ſtrange that one could not paſs from Sin to Juſtice, without the means of another Sin. But for all this, they could not free themſelves from the difficulty on the contrary part; becauſe all good Works may ſtand with Grace, but that Fear and other Preparations cannot, and therefore are Sins. Fryar *Antonius Marinarus* thought the difference was verbal, and ſaid, that as paſſing from a great Cold to a Heat, one muſt paſs by a leſs degree of Cold, which is neither a Heat nor a new Cold, but the ſame diminiſhed; ſo one goeth from Sin to Juſtice by Terrors and Attritions, which are neither good Works, nor new Sins, but old Sins extenuated. But he was compelled to retract, becauſe all were againſt him. Of the Works done in Grace there was no difficulty among them. For they all ſaid they were perfect, and merited Salvation; and that *Luther*'s Opinion, that they are all Sins, is wicked and ſacrilegious: and holding it to be Blaſphemy to ſay, that the Bleſſed Virgin hath committed the leaſt venial Sin, they could not endure to hear that ſhe ſinned in every Action, and ſaid, that the Earth and Hell would open themſelves againſt ſo great Blaſphemies.

All agreed to condemn *Luther* concerning Works after Grace.

For cenſure of the 22 and 23 Articles, in the point of the Eſſence of Divine Grace, it was a common conſideration, that the word *Grace*, in the firſt ſignification, was underſtood for a benevolence or good-will; which, when it is in him that hath power, neceſſarily brings forth a good Effect, that is, a Gift or Benefit, which is alſo called Grace. That the Proteſtants thought ſo meanly of the Majeſty of GOD, that it could do no more than make us partakers of his good-will: but his Omnipotency required that we ſhould have the benefit thereof in effect. And becauſe ſome Man might ſay, that the Divine Will only, which is GOD himſelf, can have no greater thing to beſtow, and that to have given us his Son was the greateſt benefit, and that Saint *John*, to ſhew the great Love of GOD towards the World, alledged nothing elſe but that he had given us his Son; they ſaid that theſe benefits are common to all, and that it was fit he ſhould beſtow a particular Preſent to every one. Therefore the Divines have added an habitual Grace, given to every juſt Man in particular, which is a ſpiritual Quality created by GOD, infuſed into the Soul, whereby it is made grateful and acceptable to the Divine Majeſty, whereof though the Fathers ſpeak not in expreſs terms, nor the Scripture, yet it is clearly deduced from the word *Juſtifie*, which being effective, doth neceſſarily ſignify to make juſt, by the impreſſion of real Juſtice: which reality, becauſe it is no ſubſtance, can be nothing elſe but a quality and habit.

And upon this occaſion there was much ſpoken againſt the Lutherans,

rans, who will not have the Verb *Juſtificare* to be effective, but judicial and declarative, grounding themſelves upon the Hebrew Word צדק *Tſadak*, and the Greek δικαιοῦσθαι, which ſignify to be pronounced juſt; and upon many places of the New and Old Teſtament, and that it is uſed in that ſignification in the Latin Tranſlation, alledging for it places to the number of fifteen. But *Soto* excluded all thoſe of Saint *Paul*, which ſpake of our Juſtification, which he ſaid muſt needs be underſtood in an effective ſenſe: whereupon aroſe a great diſpute between him and *Marinarus*, who ſaid, one ſhould not ground himſelf upon ſo light a matter. But he ſaid, the Article of habitual Grace could not be doubted of, as being decided in the Council of *Vienna*, and by the common opinion of all Theologues: that this was to make ſure Foundations, which cannot be deſtroyed, and not to ſay that St. *Paul* to the *Romans*, when he ſaith that GOD juſtifieth, doth not mean declaratorily: for it is manifeſtly againſt the Text, which maketh a judicial proceſs, and ſaith, that none can accuſe or condemn GOD'S Elect, becauſe GOD doth juſtify them: where the judicial words, to accuſe and condemn, do ſhew that the word *Juſtify*, is judicial alſo. 1545. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

But the Franciſcans approved Habitual Grace, becauſe Charity it ſelf is an Habit. And here was a ſharp Diſputation between them and the Dominicans, whether the habit of Grace be the ſame with the habit of Charity, as *Scotus* would, or diſtinct, as Saint *Thomas*; and neither party yeilding, they debated, whether, beſides this Grace or inherent Juſtice, the Juſtice of CHRIST alſo be imputed to the Juſtified, as if it were his own; which they did in regard of the opinion of *Albertus Pighius*, who confeſſing the Inherent, added, that he muſt not truſt in that, but in the Imputed Juſtice of CHRIST, as if it were ours. None doubted that CHRIST had merited for us; but ſome blamed the word to *Impute*, and would have it aboliſhed, becauſe it was not to be found in the Fathers: who contented themſelves with the words, Communication, Participation, Diffuſion, Derivation, Application, Computation, and Conjunction. Others ſaid, that, agreeing upon the thing, they ought not to differ upon the word, becauſe it ſignifieth preciſely the ſame that the others do, which though not by all and often, yet ſometimes was uſed. For this the 109 Epiſtle of Saint *Bernard* was brought, and *Vega* defended, that, though the word be not found in the Scriptures, yet it is a moſt proper Latin word, to ſay that the Juſtice of CHRIST is imputed to Mankind for Satisfaction and Merit, and that it is continually imputed to all that be juſtified, and do ſatisfy for their own Sins: but he would not have it ſaid, it was imputed as if it were ours. Whereunto it being oppoſed, that Saint *Thomas* uſeth to ſay, that the Paſſion of CHRIST is communicated to the Baptized for Remiſſion, as if himſelf had ſuſtained it and died, there was a long and great contention upon his words. The *Hermite* General held an opinion, that, in the Sacrament of Baptiſm, the Juſtice of CHRIST is imputed, becauſe it is communicated wholly and intirely; but not in Penance, when our Satisfactions are alſo required. But *Soto* ſaid, the word *Imputation*, was moſt popular and plauſible, becauſe it ſignified, at the firſt ſight, that all ſhould be acknowledged from CHRIST; but yet that he did ever ſuſpect it, in regard of the bad Conſequences which the Lutherans draw from thence; that is, that this only is ſufficient, without inherent Righteouſneſs: that the Sacraments do not confer Graces: that the Puniſhment is aboliſhed together with the Guilt: that there remaineth no place for Satisfaction: that all are equal in Grace,

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Juſtice, and Glory: whence they deduce alſo that abominable Blaſphemy, that every juſt Man is equal to the Bleſſed *Virgin*. This admonition begat ſuch a ſuſpicion in the Hearers, that there appeared a manifeſt inclination to condemn the word for heretical, though reaſons were effectually replied to the contrary. The contentions between the Theologues did certainly ariſe from the immoderate Affection they bear to their own Sect, and were cheriſhed by divers, for divers ends. By the Imperialiſts, to conſtrain them to abandon Juſtification. By the Courtiers, to find a way to ſeparate the Council, and ſo to avoid the imminent Reformation. And by others, to free themſelves from incommodities, which they feared would be greater by reaſon of the Dearth, and of the War which approached: and the rather becauſe they had little hope to do good.

Contentions in the Council are cheriſhed by divers, for divers ends.

A Jubilee is publiſhed in *Rome*, in which Religion is declared to be the cauſe of the War againſt the Proteſtants.

But while they thus diſpute in *Trent*, the Pope publiſhed a Jubilee in *Rome*, the fifteenth of *July*: by which he eaſed the Princes of *Germany* of the pains to find out, or perſwade others, the true cauſe of the War. For having largely declared in that Bull, his paſtoral affection and care for the Salvation of Men, relating the perdition of Souls by the increaſe of Hereſies, and that to root them out, the Council was already begun; he bewailed, above meaſure, the obſtinacy of the Hereticks, who contemn and refuſe to obey it, and to ſubmit themſelves to the Determination thereof. For remedy whereof he had made a League with the Emperour, to reduce them to the Obedience of the Church by force of Arms. He therefore wiſhed them all to have recourſe unto GOD by Prayers, Faſtings, Confeſſions, and Communions, that GOD of his Divine Majeſty, would give a good iſſue to this War, undertaken for his Glory, exaltation of the Church, and extirpation of Hereſies.

The Emperour's *Bando* againſt the Saxon and Landgrave.

The Emperour, in conformity to his purpoſe of concealing the cauſe of Religion, the twentieth of the ſame Month, publiſhed a *Bando* againſt the Saxon and Landgrave, laying to their charge that they had always hindred his Deſigns, and had never obeyed him, made Conſpiracies againſt him, moved War againſt other Princes of the Empire, ſeized upon Biſhopricks, and other Governments, diſpoſſeſſed many of their Goods, and covered all theſe things with the glorious and ſweet name of Religion, Peace, and Liberty, but having indeed rather any other end. Therefore he doth proſcribe them, as Perfidious Rebels, Seditious, guilty of High-Treaſon, and Enemies of the Publick Peace; and commandeth that none do aſſiſt them, or be linked with them, abſolveth the Nobility and People of their Dominions from their Oath of Fidelity, including all thoſe in the *Bando* who perſevere to obey them.

The Pope and the Emperour are offended one with another, for alledging divers cauſes of the War.

The cauſe of the War alledged by the Emperour grieved the Pope, and that of the Pope grieved the Emperour, becauſe both their ends were hindred. For though the Pope pretended that he had publiſhed this *Manifeſt*, that all the People of Chriſtendom might implore the Aid of God to favour the Emperour's Arms, yet both he and every Man of Judgment knew very well that it was to give notice to *Germany*, and the whole World, that the War was for Religion: which the ſimpler ſort alſo did know a little after. For his Letter to the *Suiſſes* before mentioned, and a Copy of the Capitulations made with *Madruccio*, were publiſhed. The Pope croſſed *Cæſar* in this, becauſe he deſired the ſuppreſſion of the Proteſtants, without the exaltation of the Emperour, and therefore to ballance them well, he meant to conſtrain all the Profeſſors of the new Religion to unite againſt him. And it is certain

tain that the Pope's Action hindred the Emperour's deſigns. For deſiring the *Suiſſes* to continue their League with the Houſe of *Auſtria* and *Burgundy*, and not aſſiſt the Rebels, the Evangelicks anſwered that they would firſt be ſure that the War was not for Religion. So it happened, that, the War being but newly begun, Diſcords were already ſowed between the Princes lately confederated. 1546. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

The Princes of *Italy* do cenſure the Pope for making this War.

The Potentates of *Italy* were amazed, and ſaw the Pope's uſual Wiſdom was wanting to keep War far from *Italy*, and the Princes beyond the Mountains in an equal ballance of ſtrength, who in the ſame inſtant had failed in both. For if the Emperour had ſubdued *Germany*, *Italy* had remained at his Diſcretion, and *France* not been able to reſiſt. If the Emperour had been overcome, the *Dutchmen* would have paſſed into *Italy*. And perhaps theſe reaſons running in the Pope's mind, perſwaded him when he had concluded the League, to ſecure himſelf againſt the Emperour with the counterpoiſe of *Germany*.

But *Cæſar*, beſides his diſtaſte for the *Jubilee*, ſuſpected alſo that the Pope, having obtained his end of making War againſt the Proteſtants, would diſſolve the Council, under pretence to defer it until the War was ended, or for fear of the Arms which the Proteſtants prepared in *Suevia*. He knew this was the Aim of all the Court, negotiated with him more than five and twenty Years, and that the Biſhops aſſembled in *Trent*, even his own had the ſame mind, for the incommodities which they ſuffered there. He feared the *Lutherans* would ſay, if the Council were ſeparated, that it was aſſembled only to find a pretence of making War againſt them; and that the Catholicks of *Germany* would think, that, the intereſts of Religion and Reformation being laid aſide, he would endeavour only to ſubdue them. He doubted alſo, that going on to handle the Controverted Points, as already they had Original Sin, and meant to handle (as he was advertiſed) Juſtification, he might be hindred in ſome compoſition, which otherwiſe he might have made, giving hope to the Cities that their Reaſons ſhould be heard, to ſeparate them from the Princes of the League. He ſaw clearly it was neceſſary the Council ſhould remain open, and yet meddle only with Reformation: but that it was impoſſible to obtain it without the Pope conſented with him. Therefore he ſent to certify him in diligence, that he would imploy all his Spirit and Forces to make *Trent* ſecure, though there went a fame of the Proteſtant Armies in *Suevia*. That it was neceſſary to maintain the Council, that they might anſwer the Back-bitings and Calumnies, which would be ſpred againſt them both, if it were diſſolved. He earneſtly prayed him to keep the Council open and not to handle the Controverſies, becauſe his purpoſe was to compel the Proteſtants, his Adherents, by Authority, and his Enemies by force of Arms, to be preſent, and ſubmit themſelves. But in the mean time he deſired him not to hinder his excellent Deſign, ſhutting the door upon them, with contrary Decrees, made in their abſence. That this could not continue long, and that he hoped to ſee the end of this Summer. Therefore, that he ſhould be contented that now Reformation only ſhould be treated of; or, if Religion were, they ſhould touch matters of ſmall weight only, that, when they were defined, they might not offend the Proteſtants. He ordained alſo, that his Ambaſſadour in *Trent* ſhould make the ſame inſtance to the Legates. And being informed that *Santa Croce* was inclined to any kind of diſſolution of the Council, he charged his Ambaſſadour to give him a nip, and

The Emperor doth earneſtly intreat the Pope, that only Reformation may be handled in the Council, and that it might not be diſſolved.

He threatneth the Legate *Santa Croce*.

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and tell him, that if, in this, he did croſs his Majeſty, he would cauſe him to be thrown into the River *Adice*. This was known to all, and written by the Hiſtorians of this time.

The Pope, though he would fain have been free from the Council, which the Court deſired alſo, yet he thought it neceſſary to gratify the Emperor, in keeping it open, and not handling Controverſies. But to treat only of Reformation, neither pleaſed him, nor the Courtiers. Therefore he wrote to the Legates that they ſhould not ſuffer the Aſſembly to diſſolve, nor make a Seſſion until himſelf had given order, but ſhould entertain the Prelates, and Theologues with Congregations, and ſuch buſineſſes and exerciſes, as ſeemed to them beſt. The 25 day the Jubilee was ſolemnly publiſhed in *Trent*, in preſence of the Legates, and all the Council. And that they might apply themſelves to Faſtings, and other works of Penance, according to the preſcript of the *Bull*, the Seſſion was deferred untill it ſhould be intimated, and the Congregations intermitted for 15 days.

The Jubilee is publiſhed in *Trent*.

At the ſame time the Proteſtant Army came near to *Tiroll*, to ſtop the Paſſages of thoſe that came out of *Italy* to the Emperor's Service, and *Chiuſa* was taken by *Sebaſtinus Schertellinus*. For which cauſe the Country was all in Arms, to hinder their Progreſs, and *Franceſco Caſtelalto*, who guarded the Council, went in Perſon to *Iſpruc*, and fortified that City, to prevent the poſſeſſion of the Paſſages, and planted himſelf ſeven Miles about it. This made Men doubt, that that Country would be the ſeat of the War, and that the Council would wholly be diſturbed. The Prelates, who deſired a pretence to retire, amplified the Dangers and Incommodities; whereunto the Legates not oppoſing in the beginning, cauſed a ſuſpicion, that the Pope had no mind to continue the Council. Some of the moſt timerous Prelates, who had no deſire to remain in *Trent*, departed; and ſo would more have done, if the Cardinal of *Trent*, lately returned from *Rome*, had not aſſured them, that the Pope would have been much diſpleaſed therewith, and the timorous had not been comforted by him, and the Emperour's Ambaſſadour, ſecuring them that the great number which came out of *Italy*, would compel the Proteſtants to be gone: and alſo if the Pope's Letters to the Legates, which came in the midſt of theſe ſtirs, had not joyned the Pope's Authority and theirs, to the entreaties of others.

The Proteſtant Army maketh the Prelates in *Trent* afraid.

But though the Proteſtants enterpriſe did not ſucceed, and *Tiroll* remained ſecure, ſo that there was no doubt on that ſide; yet there was confuſion in *Trent*, by reaſon of the great number of Souldiers, which continually paſſed out of *Italy* into *Germany*, who, according to the Capitulations of the League, were in all to the number of twelve thouſand Foot, and five hundred Horſe, beſides two hundred from the Duke of *Tuſcany*, and one hundred from the Duke of *Ferrara*. The moſt famous Captains of *Italy* came with them, under the conduct of the General *Octavius Farneſe*, and his Brother *Alexander Farneſe*, Cardinal, and Legate, both Grandchildren to the Pope, by his Son; and ſix thouſand *Spaniards*, the Emperour's own Souldiers, taken out of *Naples* and *Lumbardy*. And ſo long as the Souldiers paſſed, which was until the middle of *Auguſt*, though the publick Actions of the Council were not wholly omitted, yet the Meetings were not ſo many, nor ſo frequented. But that the Biſhops and Divines might have Entertainment, the Cardinal *Santa Croce* held an Aſſembly of Learned Men in his Houſe, where they treated of the ſame things, but familiarly, and without Ceremony.

The *Italian* Troops paſs by *Trent*, under the conduct of *Octavius Farneſe*.

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The Proteſtants combined with the Emperour, did then publiſh a Writing, addreſſed to their Subjects, full of railings againſt the Pope, calling him Antichriſt, Inſtrument of *Satan*, imputing unto him that, before, he had ſent to kindle a Fire in divers places of *Saxony*, and now was author and mover of the War, and had ſent into *Germany* to poyſon the Wells, and ſtanding Waters, adviſing all to be diligent in taking and puniſhing thoſe Poiſoners. This very few did think to be probable, and was eſteemed a Calumny.

The Proteſtants combined with the Emperour do rail againſt the Pope.

The Pope's Men being come into the Army, which was in *Landiſuth*, the 15*th* of *Auguſt*, the Emperour gave the Collar of the Golden *Fleece*, unto his Son-in-law *Octavius*, which he had beſtowed on him in the celebration of the Aſſembly of that Order, held upon Saint *Andrews* day, and he ſaw the muſter of the Pope's Men, with much approbation and content, to have the flower of the *Italian* Souldiers. Yet the ends of the Pope and Emperour being divers, they produced occaſions of Diſtaſtes. The Cardinal *Farneſe* deſired to carry the Croſs, as Legate, before the Army, and had order from the Pope ſo to do, publiſhing Indulgences, as formerly was uſed ſo to be done in *Cruſadoes*, declaring it was the War of the Catholick Church. But he could obtain neither of theſe from the Emperour, whoſe end was quite contrary, to entertain the Lutheran Princes who were with him, and that the Cities might not wax obſtinate againſt him for it. The Cardinal perceiving he could not tarry in the Field in any other quality, with the Pope's Dignity, and his own, he remained in *Ratisbon*, and feigning himſelf to be ſick, expected his Grandfather's Anſwer, whom he had advertiſed of all.

The Emperor giveth the collar of the Golden *Fleece* to his Son-in-law *Octavius Farneſe*.

The Emperor will not ſuffer Card. *Farneſe* the Legate, to carry the Croſs before the Army.

They now being in a readineſs on both ſides, though either had a great Army, and faced one another, preſenting alſo the Battel when they ſaw their advantage; and though each of them had many good occaſions to atchieve ſome notable Victory, yet they were not embraced by the Proteſtants, becauſe the Elector and the *Landgrave* had equal Authority over them; a Government which ever ſucceedeth ill in Arms: and becauſe the Emperour knowing this, that he might be Conquerour without Blood, and not give the Enemies occaſion to ſet their Affairs in better order, expected that Time ſhould put into his hand a certain Victory, inſtead of one that was doubtful, expoſing himſelf to the hazard of a Battel, whereby nothing of moment or conſequence was done.

The equal authority of the *Saxon* and *Landgrave* bringeth great diſadvantage to their Army.

The Legates in *Trent*, now freed from the Souldiers, did regulate the Congregations, according to the firſt ſtile, reducing them to ordinary days, and bethinking themſelves how to drive the time, according to the purpoſe of the Pope. They found no other means, but to ſhew that the importance of the matter required an exact diſcuſſion, and to prolong the Diſputations of the Divines, giving an entrance to new matters; whereof there could not want occaſion, in regard that by reaſon of connexion, or intemperancy of Wit, Doctors do ever eaſily paſs from one Subject to another. They reſolved alſo to cheriſh the differences and variety of Opinions; a thing eaſy to be done, as well for the natural inclination of Man to overcome in Diſputations, as becauſe in the Schools, eſpecially of the Fryars, too much obſtinacy in opinion of their own Sect, is very uſual. *Monte*, who was of an ingenuous Diſpoſition, thought it would be hard, and could not promiſe to be conſtant in ſo long a Diſſimulation, as he ſaw was neceſſary. But *Santa Croce*, a Man of a melancholy and cloſe nature, offered to take upon him the charge of governing the buſineſs.

Card. *Monte* cannot diſſemble ſo well as the other Legate *Santa Croce*.

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Fathers are deputed to compoſe the *Anathematiſms.*

In the Congregation of the twentieth of *Auguſt*, it ſeeming that as much had been ſpoken on the twenty five Articles, as was ſufficient to frame the *Anathematiſms*, it was propoſed to depute Fathers to compoſe them. And there were named three Biſhops, and three Generals, and *Santa Croce* firſt of all. Who having made a model of the Canons, and propoſed it to be diſcuſſed in the Congregations following, the ſame diſputations did return, of the certainty of Grace; of the moral Works of Infidels and Sinners; of the merit of Congruity; of imputation; of the diſtinction of Grace and Charity: and thoſe that were intereſted in the Opinions ſpake more earneſtly, becauſe the Cardinal gave them an edge, by ſhewing that the matters were of importance, and ought to be diſcuſſed well, and that without the reſolution of them, it was impoſſible to make a good Determination. The controverſy of the certainty of Grace only, held the Diſputants in exerciſe many days, and made obſtinate, and divided into two parts, not only the Divines, but the Prelats alſo. Yet the queſtion was not cleared by the Diſputation, but more obſcured.

Santa Croce cheriſheth the diviſion amongſt the Divines.

A difference in opinions about certainty of Grace.

In the beginning (as hath been delivered) one part ſaid that certainty of Grace was preſumption; the other, that one might have it meritoriouſly. The ground of the firſt was, that Saint *Thomas*, Saint *Bonaventure*, and generally the Schoolmen thought ſo; for which cauſe the major part of the Dominicans were of the ſame opinion. Beſides the Authority of Doctors, they alledged for Reaſons, that God would not that Man ſhould be certain, that he might not be lifted up in Pride, and eſteem of himſelf, that he might not prefer himſelf before others, as he that knoweth himſelf to be Juſt would do, before manifeſt Sinners: and a Chriſtian would ſo become drowſy, careleſs, and negligent to do good. Therefore they ſaid that incertainty was profitable, and meritorious beſides, becauſe it is a paſſion of the Mind, which doth afflict it, and, being ſupported, is turned to merit. They alledged many places of the Scripture alſo; of *Solomon*, that *a Man knoweth not whether he be worthy of hate or love*; of Wiſdom, which commandeth not to be without fear of the Sin pardoned; of Saint *Peter*, to *work out our Salvation with fear and trembling*; of Saint *Paul*, who ſaid of himſelf, *though my Conſcience accuſe me not, yet am I not thereby juſtified.*

The opinion of *Seripandus*, *Vega*, and *Soto.*

Theſe Reaſons and Teſtimonies, together with many places of the Fathers, were brought and amplified, eſpecially by *Seripandus*, *Vega*, and *Soto.*

The opion of *Catarinus* and *Marinarus.*

But *Catarinus*, and *Marinarus*, had other places of the ſame Fathers, to the contrary; which ſhewed they had ſpoken accidentally in this particular, as the occaſions made moſt for their purpoſe, ſometimes to comfort the ſcrupulous, ſometimes to repreſs the audacious. Yet they kept them cloſe to the Authority of the Scripture. They ſaid that to as many as it is read in the Goſpel that *Chriſt* hath forgiven Sins, to all them he ſaid, *Believe that your Sins are forgiven.* And it would be an abſurdity that *Chriſt* ſhould give an occaſion of Temerity and Pride; or, if the contrary were profitable, or a Merit, that he would deprive all Men of it. That the Scripture bindeth us to give God thanks for our Juſtification, which cannot be given except we know we have obtained it; for to give them when we are uncertain, would be moſt fooliſh and impertinent. That Saint *Paul* doth plainly confirm the certainty, when he putteth the *Corinthians* in mind to know that *Chriſt is in them, except they be Reprobates.* And when he ſaith, we have received from God the Spirit to know what is given us by his Divine Majeſty; and

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more clearly, that *the holy Spirit doth bear witneſs to our Spirit, that we are the Sons of God:* And it is much to accuſe them of raſhneſs, who believe the Holy Ghoſt that ſpeaketh with them. For Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith, that the Holy Ghoſt doth never ſpeak unto us, but doth make us know that it is he that ſpeaketh. After this he added the words of *Chriſt* in Saint *John*, That the World cannot receive the Holy Ghoſt, becauſe it ſeeth him not, nor knoweth him; but that the Diſciples ſhall know him, becauſe he ſhall dwell in them. *Catarinus* did fortify himſelf ſtrongly, by ſaying, That it was the Opinion of a Man in a Dream, to defend, that Grace is voluntarily received, when we know not whether we have it or not; as if, to receive a thing willingly, it be not neceſſary that the willing Receiver ſhould know it is given him, that he doth really receive it; and that after it is received, he doth poſſeſs it. 1546. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

The Force of theſe Reaſons made them firſt retire a little, who cenſured the Opinion of Temerity, and yield that there might be a Conjecture, though not an ordinary Certainty. Yet they acknowledged a Certainty in the Martyrs; in the newly Baptized, and in ſome by ſpecial Revelation; and from conjecture they were brought to call it Moral Faith: And *Vega*, who, in the beginning, admitted Probability only, overcome by theſe Reaſons, and beginning to favour the Certainty, for fear of conforming himſelf to the Lutheran Opinion, ſaid, That there was ſo much Certainty as did exclude all Doubt, and could not be deceived, yet that it was not Chriſtian Faith, but Humane and Experimental. And as he that is hot, is ſure he is ſo, and ſhould want ſenſe if he doubted; ſo he that hath Grace in him, doth perceive it, and cannot doubt; yet it is by the ſenſe of the Mind, not by Divine Revelation. But the other Defenders of Certainty, conſtrained by the Adverſaries to ſpeak plainly, Whether they thought a Man might have it, or whether he were bound unto it, or whether it were a Divine or Humane Faith? they came to ſay, that it being a Faith given to the Teſtimony of the Holy Ghoſt, it could not be ſaid to be in our Liberty, every one being bound to believe Divine Revelations, and that it muſt needs be called Divine Faith.

And they being preſſed with the Objection, That if that Faith be not equal to the Catholick Faith, it doth not exclude all Doubt; if it be equal, then the Juſt ought as much to believe he is juſtified, as the Articles of Faith. *Catarinus* did anſwer, that that Faith was Divine, of equal certainty, excluding all doubt, as well as the Catholick; but that it was not the Catholick it ſelf. He affirmed, that the Faith which one giveth to Divine Revelations, made unto ones ſelf, in particular, was Divine, and excluded all doubt; but when it is received by the Church, then it is made Univerſal, that is, Catholick, and that this only concerneth the Articles of Faith; which notwithſtanding, in regard of Certainty and excluſion of Doubt, is not ſuperior to private Faith, but exceedeth it only in Univerſality. So all the *Prophets* had firſt private Faith of the Things revealed to them by God; of which, after they were received by the Church, they had a Catholick Faith. This Opinion ſeemed hard at the firſt hearing, and the Adherents of *Catarinus*, who were all the Carmelites, becauſe *John Bacon*, their Doctor, was of that Opinion, and the Biſhops of *Sinigaglia*, *Worceſter*, and *Salpi*, did willingly go ſo far; but afterwards, the Reaſon being weighed and diſcuſſed, it was ſtrange how it was received by a principal part of the Prelats, *Soto* crying out that it was too much in favour of the Lutherans; and others defending, that *Luther* ought not to be cenſured if he had ſaid that, after Juſtification,

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that kind of Faith doth follow, but becauſe he ſaith, that is the Faith which juſtifieth.

They anſwered the Reaſons of the other part, that the School-men ought not to be regarded, who ground themſelves upon Philoſophical Reaſons; that one cannot judg of Divine Motions; that the Authority of *Solomon* was not to the purpoſe; for ſaying, none knoweth whether he be worthy of Love or Hatred; applying it here, it would conclude, that the moſt wicked Sinner, who perſevereth, cannot know that he is in diſgrace with God: that the ſaying of Wiſdom cannot be applied to this, and the Tranſlation doth deceive, becauſe the Greek word ἱλασμὸς, doth not ſignify Sin pardoned, as the Tranſlation is, but Expiation or Pardon, and the words of the wiſe Man are an Admonition to the Sinner, not to lay Sin upon Sin by too much confidence of Pardon to come, or paſt: that it was not fit to ground an Article of Faith upon an Error of an Interpreter. Thus did the ſame Men, who then had made the vulgar Edition Authentical, ſpeak of it; which every one may alſo obſerve out of the Books printed by them, who aſſiſted at the Decree of the Approbation. They ſaid, that to work with Fear and Trembling was an Hebrew phraſe, which ſignifieth not Ambiguity, but Reverence, becauſe Fear and Trembling are uſed by Servants to their Maſters, even when they are commended by them, and know they are in favour; that the place of St. *Paul* did favour them, when he ſpake of Juſtification. For ſaying, I am not conſcious of any want, yet thereby am I not juſtified, he would infer, but I am juſtified by ſomething elſe, and ſo would prove the certainty. But the true ſenſe is, that *Paul* ſpeaketh of defect in the Office of Preaching, and ſaith, my Conſcience doth not accuſe me of defect in any Thing, yet I dare not ſay I have wholly ſatisfied, but I reſerve all to the Judgment of God.

He that had not ſeen the Memorials of thoſe who had part in theſe Diſputations, and how far different that was which they printed, would not believe how much was ſpoken upon this Article, and with how much heat, not only by the Divines, but the Biſhops alſo, all ſeeming to underſtand the Truth, and to have it on their ſide: So that *Santa Croce* ſaw there was more need of a Bridle, than Spurs, who deſired to make an end of it, by intreating them to paſs to ſomething elſe, and to divert the Controverſy. It was twice propoſed in Congregation of the Prelats to leave this Queſtion, as ambiguous, long, and troubleſome; yet they returned to it, being drawn by their Affections. At laſt the Cardinal, ſhewing they had ſaid enough, and that they ſhould conſider again of the Things ſpoken, to reſolve on them more maturely, obtained of them to ſpeak of Preparative Works, and Obſervation of the Law: Upon which Occaſion the Matter of Free-will was brought in by many, and not neglected by the Cardinal, and he propoſed whether they would have that Particular alſo handled together with the reſt, becauſe it did ſo cohere with them, that it could not be handled ſeverally. Therefore Prelats and Divines were deputed to collect Articles out of the Works of the Lutherans, that they might be cenſured.

Articles concerning Free-will.

The Articles were: 1. God is the total Cauſe of our Works, Good and Evil: And the Adultery of *David*, the Cruelty of *Manlius*, and the Treaſon of *Judas*, are Works of God, as well as the Vocation of *Saul*. 2. No Man hath power to think well or ill, but all cometh from Abſolute Neceſſity, and in us is no Free-will; and to affirm it, is a meer Fiction. 3. Free-will, ſince the Sin of *Adam*, is loſt, and a thing only titular,

titular, and when one doth what is in his power, he ſinneth mortally; yea, it is a Thing feigned, and a Title without reality. 4. Free-will is only in doing Ill, and hath no power to do Good. 5. Free-will moved by God, doth by no means cooperate, and followeth as an inſtrument without Life, or as an unreaſonable Creature. 6. That God converteth thoſe only whom he will, though they will not, and ſpurn againſt it. 1546. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

The Diſcuſſion of the Articles.

Upon the two firſt Articles, they rather ſpake in a tragical manner, than Theological; that the Lutheran Doctrine was a frantick Wiſdom; that Man's Will, as they make it, is prodigious; that thoſe words, a thing of Title only, a Title without Reality, are monſtrous; that the Opinion is impious and blaſphemous againſt God; that the Church hath condemned it againſt the *Manichees*, *Priſcillianiſts*; and laſtly, againſt *Aballardus*, and *Wigliff*, and that it was a folly, againſt common ſence, every one proving in himſelf his own liberty; that it deſerveth not Confutation, but, as *Ariſtotle* ſaith, Chaſtiſement, or experimental proof. That *Luther*'s Scholars perceived the folly, and to moderate the Abſurdity, ſaid after, that Man had liberty in external, political, and œcumenical Actions, and in matters of Civil Juſtice, that which every one but a Fool knoweth to proceed from Counſel and Election, but denied Liberty in Matters of Divine Juſtice only.

Marinarus ſaid, that as it is fooliſh to ſay, no humane Action is in our power, ſo it is no leſs abſurd to ſay, that every one is, every one finding by experience that he hath not his Affections in his power; that this is the ſence of the Schools, which ſay, that we are not free in the firſt Motions; which freedom, becauſe the Saints have, it is certain, that ſome freedom is in them, which is not in us. *Catarinus*, according to his own Opinion, that without God's ſpecial aſſiſtance, a Man cannot do a moral Good, ſaid, There was no liberty in this, and therefore that the fourth Article was not ſo eaſily to be condemned. *Vega*, after he had ſpoken with ſuch ambiguity, that he underſtood not himſelf, concluded, that between the Divines and the Proteſtants there was no difference of Opinion. For theſe concluding now that there is liberty in Philoſophical Juſtice, and not in ſupernatural; in External Works of the Law, not in Internal and Spiritual; it is to ſay preciſely with the Church, that one cannot do Spiritual Works, belonging to Religion, without the aſſiſtance of God. And though he ſaid, that all endeavour was to be uſed for compoſition, yet he was not gratefully heard, it ſeeming in ſome ſort a Prejudice, that any of the Differences might be reconciled; and they were wont to ſay, that this is a Point of the Colloquies, a Word abhorred, as if, by that, the Laity had uſurped that Authority which is proper to Councils.

A great Diſputation aroſe amongſt them, whether it be in Man's power to believe or not believe. The Franciſcans, following *Scotus*, did deny it; ſaying, that as Knowledg doth neceſſarily follow Demonſtrations, ſo Faith doth ariſe neceſſarily from Perſwaſions, and that it is in the Underſtanding, which is a natural Agent, and is naturally moved by the Object. They alledged Experience, that no Man can believe what he will, but what ſeemeth true; adding, that no Man would feel any diſpleaſure, if he could believe he had it not. The Dominicans ſaid, that nothing is more in the power of the Will, than to believe; and by the determination and reſolution of the Will only, one may believe the number of the Stars is even.

Upon the third Article, Whether Free-will be loſt by Sin, very many

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Authorities of Saint *Auſtin* being alledged, which expreſly ſay it; *Soto* did invent, becauſe he knew no other means to avoid them, that true Liberty is equivocal; for either it is derived from the Noun *Libertas*, *Freedom*, or from the Verb *Liberare*, *to ſet free*: that in the firſt ſence it is oppoſed to Neceſſity, in the ſecond to Servitude; and that when Saint *Auſtin* ſaid, that Free-will was loſt, he would infer nothing elſe, but that it is made ſlave to Sin and Satan. This Difference could not be underſtood, becauſe a Servant is not free, for that he cannot do his own will, but is compelled to follow his Maſter's; and by this opinion *Luther* could not be blamed for intitling a Book, of *Servile Will*.

Many thought the fourth Article abſurd; ſaying, that Liberty is underſtood to be a Power to both the Contraries: therefore that it could not be ſaid to be a liberty to Evil, if it were not alſo to Good. But they were made to acknowledg their Error, when they were told that the Saints, and bleſſed Angels in Heaven, are free to do Good, and therefore that it was no inconvenience that ſome ſhould be free only to do Evil.

In examining the fifth and ſixth Articles, of the conſent which Free-will giveth to Divine Inſpiration, or Preventing Grace, the Franciſcans and Dominicans were of divers Opinions. The Franciſcans contended, that the Will being able to prepare it ſelf, it hath liberty much more to accept or refuſe the Divine prevention, when God giveth aſſiſtance, before it uſeth the ſtrength of Nature. The Dominicans denied that the Works preceding the Vocation are truly preparatory, and ever gave the firſt place to God. Notwithſtanding there was a contention between the Dominicans themſelves. For *Soto* defended, that although a Man cannot obtain grace, without the ſpecial preventing aſſiſtance of God, yet the Will may ever ſome way reſiſt and refuſe it, and when it doth receive it, it is, becauſe it giveth aſſent, and doth will ſo: and if our Aſſent were not required, there would be no cauſe why all ſhould not be converted. For, according to the Apocalypſe, *God* ſtandeth always at the Gate, and knocketh: and it is a ſaying of the Fathers, now made common, that God giveth Grace to every one that will have it, and the Scripture doth always require this conſent in us; and to ſay otherwiſe, were to take away the liberty of the Will, and to ſay that *God* uſeth Violence.

Fryar *Aloiſius Catanea* ſaid to the contrary, that God worketh two ſorts of preventing Grace in the Mind, according to the Doctrine of Saint *Thomas*; the one Sufficient, the other Effectual; to the firſt, the Will may conſent or reſiſt, but not to the ſecond, becauſe it implieth contradiction that efficacity can be reſiſted. For proof he alledged places of Saint *John*, Saint *Paul*, and very clear Expoſitions of Saint *Auſtin*. He anſwered, that it ariſeth hence that all are not converted, becauſe all are not effectually prevented. That the fear of overthrowing Free-will is removed by Saint *Thomas*; that things are violently moved by a contrary cauſe, but never by their own: and God being the cauſe of the Will, to ſay it is moved by God, is to ſay it is moved by it ſelf. And he condemned, yea mocked the Lutherans manner of ſpeech, that the Will followeth, as a dead or unreaſonable Creature; for being reaſonable by nature, moved by its own cauſe, which is God, it is moved as reaſonable, and followeth as reaſonable. And likewiſe that God converteth, though Men will not, and ſpurn at him. For it is a contradiction that the Effect ſhould ſpurn againſt the Cauſe. That it may happen that God may effectually convert one, that before hath

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ſpurned againſt ſufficient Prevention; but afterwards cannot, becauſe a gentleneſs in the Will moved, muſt needs follow the efficacy of the Divine Motion. 1546. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

Soto ſaid, That every Divine Inſpiration was only ſufficient, and that that whereunto Free-will hath aſſented, obtaineth Efficiency by that conſent, without which it is uneffectual, not by the defect of it ſelf, but of the Man. This Opinion he defended very fearfully, becauſe it was oppoſed, that the diſtinction of the Reprobate from the Elect, would proceed from Man, contrary to the perpetual Catholick ſence; that the Veſſels of Mercy are diſtinguiſhed by Grace, from the Veſſels of Wrath. That God's Election would be for Works foreſeen, and not for his good Pleaſure. That the Doctrine of the Fathers, and of the *African* and *French* Councils againſt the Pelagians, hath always publiſhed, That God maketh us to Will, which is to ſay, that he maketh us conſent. Therefore giving conſent to us, it ought to be attributed to the Divine Power; or elſe he that is ſaved would no more be obliged to God, than he that is damned, if God ſhould uſe them both alike.

But notwithſtanding all theſe Reaſons, the contrary Opinion had the general Applauſe; though many confeſſed, that the Reaſons of *Catanea* were not reſolved, and were diſpleaſed that *Soto* did not ſpeak freely, but ſaid that the Will conſenteth in a certain manner, ſo that it may in a certain manner reſiſt: as though there were a certain manner of mean between this Affirmation and Negation. The free Speech of *Catanea* and the other Dominicans, did trouble them alſo, who knew not how to diſtinguiſh that Opinion, which attributeth Juſtification to conſent, from the Pelagian: and therefore they wiſhed them to take heed of leaping beyond the Mark, by a too great deſire to condemn *Luther*; that Objection being eſteemed above all, that, by this means, the Divine Election of Predeſtination, would be for Works foreſeen; which no Divine did admit. This drew them to ſpeak alſo of Predeſtination.

Articles concerning Predeſtination, drawn out of the Writings of the *Zuinglians*.

Therefore it was determined, by reaſon of the connexion, to draw Articles, in this Subject, alſo from the Doctrine of the Proteſtants. In the Books of *Luther*, in the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion, and in the *Apologies*, and *Colloquies*, there was nothing found that deſerved cenſure: but much in the Writings of the *Zuinglians*; whence theſe following Articles were drawn. 1. For Predeſtination and Reprobation, that man doth nothing, but all is in the Will of *God*. 2. The Predeſtinated cannot be condemned, nor the Reprobate ſaved. 3. The Elect and Predeſtinated only are truly juſtified. 4. The Juſtified are bound by Faith to believe they are in the number of the Predeſtinated. 5. The Juſtified cannot fall from Grace. 6. Thoſe that are called, and are not in the Number of the Predeſtinated, do never receive Grace. 7. The Juſtified is bound to believe, by Faith, that he ought to perſevere in Juſtice until the end. 8. The Juſtified is bound to believe for certain, that in caſe he fall from Grace, he ſhall receive it again.

The Diſcuſſion of the Articles.

In examining the firſt of theſe Articles, the Opinions were divers. The moſt eſteemed Divines amongſt them thought it to be Catholick, and the contrary Heretical, becauſe the good School-Writers, Saint *Thomas*, *Scotus*, and the reſt, do ſo think; that is, that *God*, before the Creation, out of the Maſs of Mankind, hath elected by his only and mere Mercy, ſome for Glory, for whom he hath prepared, effectually, the Means to obtain it; which is called to predeſtinate. That their number is certain and determined, neither can there be any added

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ded. The others not predeſtinated cannot complain, for that *God* hath prepared for them ſufficient aſſiſtance for this, though indeed none but the Elect ſhall be ſaved. For the moſt principal Reaſon, they alledged, that Saint *Paul* to the *Romans*, having made *Jacob* a Pattern of the Predeſtinated, and *Eſau* of the Reprobate, he produceth the Decree of *God*, pronounced before they were born, not for their Works, but for his own Good Pleaſure. To this they joined the Example of the ſame Apoſtle, that as the Potter of the ſame lump of Clay, maketh one Veſſel to Honour, another to Diſhonour; ſo *God* of the ſame Maſs of Men, chooſeth and leaveth whom he liſteth. For proof hereof Saint *Paul* bringeth the place, where *God* ſaid to *Moſes*; *I will ſhew mercy, on whom I will ſhew mercy; and I will ſhew pity, on whom I will ſhew pity.* And the ſame Apoſtle concludeth, *that it is not of him that willeth, or of him that runneth, but of God who ſheweth mercy:* adding after, that *God ſheweth mercy on whom he will, and hardeneth whom he will.* They ſaid further, that for this cauſe the Counſel of the Divine Predeſtination, and Reprobation is called, by the ſame Apoſtle, the height and depth of Wiſdom, unſearchable, and incomprehenſible. They added places of the other Epiſtles, where he ſaith; *We have nothing but what we have received from God*; that *we are not able of our ſelves ſo much as to think well*; and where, in giving the cauſe why ſome have revolted from the Faith, and ſome ſtand firm, he ſaid, it was becauſe *the foundation of God ſtandeth ſure, and hath this Seal, The Lord knoweth who are his.* They added divers paſſages of the Goſpel of Saint *John*, and infinite Authorities of Saint *Auſtin*, becauſe that Saint wrote nothing in his old Age, but in favour of this Doctrine.

But ſome others, though of leſs eſteem, oppoſed this Opinion, calling it, Hard, Cruel, Inhumane, Horrible, Impious; and that it ſhewed partiality in *God*, if, without any motive cauſe, he elected one, and rejected another; and unjuſt, if he damned Men for his own Will, and not for their Faults, and had created ſo great a multitude to condemn it. They ſaid, it deſtroyed Free-will, becauſe the Elect cannot finally do Evil, nor the Reprobate good; that it caſteth Men into a gulf of Deſperation, doubting that they be Reprobates; that it giveth occaſion to the Wicked for bad thoughts, not caring for Penance, but thinking, that if they be elected, they ſhall not periſh; if Reprobates, it is in vain to do well, becauſe it will not help them. They confeſſed, that not only Works are not the cauſe of God's Election, becauſe that it is before them and eternal, but that neither Works foreſeen can move *God* to predeſtinate, who is willing, for his infinite Mercy that all ſhould be ſaved; and to this end prepareth ſufficient aſſiſtance for all, which every Man, having Free-will, receiveth or refuſeth, as pleaſeth him: and *God*, in his Eternity, foreſeeth thoſe who will receive his Help, and uſe it to Good, and thoſe who will refuſe; and rejecteth theſe, electeth and predeſtinateth thoſe. They added, that otherwiſe there was no cauſe why *God* in the Scripture ſhould complain of Sinners, nor why he ſhould exhort all to Repentance and Converſion, if they have not ſufficient means to get them: that the ſufficient aſſiſtance, invented by the others, is unſufficient, becauſe in their Opinion, it never had or ſhall have any effect.

The firſt Opinion as it is myſtical and hidden, keeping the mind humble, and relying on *God*, without any confidence in it ſelf, know-

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ing the Deformity of Sin, and the Excellency of Divine Grace; ſo this ſecond was plauſible and popular, cheriſhing humane Preſumption, and making a great ſhew; and it pleaſed more the Preaching Fryars, than the Underſtanding Divines. And the Courtiers thought it probable, as conſonant to Politick Reaſons. It was maintained by the Biſhop of *Bitonto*, and the Biſhop of *Salpi* ſhewed himſelf very partial. The Defenders of this, uſing Humane Reaſons, prevailed againſt the others, but coming to the Teſtimonies of the Scriptures, they were manifeſtly overcome. 1546. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

Catarinus holding the ſame Opinion to reſolve the places of Scripture, which troubled them all, invented a middle way: that *God* of his Goodneſs, hath elected ſome few, whom he will Save Abſolutely, for whom he hath prepared moſt Potent, Effectual, and Infallible Means; the reſt he deſireth for his part they ſhould be ſaved, and to that end hath provided ſufficient Means for all, leaving it to their choice to accept them, and be Saved, or refuſe them and be Damned. Amongſt theſe there are ſome who receive them and are Saved, though they be not of the number of the Elect; of which kind there are very many. Others refuſing to cooperate with God, who wiſheth their Salvation, are Damned. The cauſe why the firſt are Predeſtinated, is only the Will of *God*; why the others are ſaved, is the acceptation, good uſe, and cooperation with the Divine Aſſiſtance, foreſeen by *God*; why the laſt are Reprobated, is the foreſeeing of their perverſe Will, in refuſing, or abuſing it. That Saint *John*, Saint *Paul*, and all the places of Scripture alledged by the other part, where all is given to *God*, and which do ſhew Infallibility, are underſtood only of the firſt, who are particularly priviledged, and in others, for whom the common way is left, the Admonitions, Exhortations, and general Aſſiſtances are verified, unto which he that will give ear and follow them; is Saved, and he that will not, periſheth by his own Fault. Of thoſe few who are priviledged above the common Condition, the number is determinate, and certain with God, but not of thoſe who are ſaved by the common Way depending on Humane Liberty, but only in regard of the foreknowledg of the Works of every one. *Catarinus* ſaid, he wondered at the ſtupidity of thoſe, who ſay, the Number is certain and determined, and yet they add that others may be ſaved; which is as much as to ſay, that the Number is certain, and yet it may be enlarged; and likewiſe of thoſe who ſay, that the Reprobates have ſufficient Aſſiſtance for Salvation, though it be neceſſary for him that is ſaved to have a greater, which is to ſay, a ſufficient unſufficient.

He added, that Saint *Auſtin's* Opinion was not heard of before his time, and himſelf confeſſeth, it cannot be found in the Works of any, who wrote before him, neither did himſelf always think it true, but aſcribed the Cauſe of God's Will to Merits, ſaying, God taketh compaſſion on, and hardeneth whom he liſteth. But that will of *God* cannot be unjuſt, becauſe it is cauſed by moſt ſecret Merits; and that there is diverſity of Sinners, ſome, who though they be Juſtified, yet deſerve Juſtification. But after the heat of Diſputation againſt the Pelagians tranſported him to think, and ſpeak the contrary. Yet when his Opinion was heard, all the Catholicks were ſcandalized, as S. *Proſper* wrote to him. And *Gennadius* of *Marſeilles* 50 Years after, in his Judgment which he maketh of the Famous Writers, ſaid, that it happened to him according to the Words of *Solomon*, that in much ſpeaking one cannot avoid Sin, and

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and that by his Fault, exaggerated by the Enemies, the Queſtion was not then riſen, which might afterwards bring forth Hereſy; whereby the Good Father did intimate his Fear, of that which now appeareth, that is, that, by that Opinion, ſome Sect and Diviſion might ariſe.

The Cenſure of the ſecond Article was divers, according to the three related Opinions. *Catarinus* thought the firſt part true, in regard of the Efficacy of the Divine Will, towards thoſe who are particularly favoured; but the ſecond falſe, concerning the ſufficiency of God's Aſſiſtance unto all, and Man's Liberty in cooperating. Others aſcribing the Cauſe of Predeſtination in all to humane conſent, condemned the whole Article, in both parts. But thoſe that adhered to S. *Auſtin*, and the common Opinion of the Theologues, did diſtinguiſh it, and ſaid it was true in a Compounded Senſe, but damnable in a Divided: a Subtilty which confounded the Minds of the Prelats; and his own, though he did exemplify it, by ſaying; He that moveth cannot ſtand ſtill; it is true in a Compound Senſe becauſe it is underſtood, while he moveth; but in a Divided Senſe it is falſe, that it is in another time. Yet it was not well underſtood, becauſe applying it to his purpoſe, it cannot be ſaid, that a Man predeſtinated can be damned, in a time when he is not predeſtinated, ſeeing he is always ſo: and generally the Divided Senſe hath no place where the Accident is inſeparable from the Subject. Therefore others thought to declare it better, ſaying, That God governeth and moveth every Thing, according to its proper Nature, which in contingent Things is free; and ſuch, as that the Act may conſiſt together with the Power to the oppoſite; ſo that with the Act of Predeſtination, the power to Reprobation and Damnation doth ſtand. But this was worſe underſtood than the firſt.

The other Articles were cenſured with admirable concord. Concerning the third and ſixth, they ſaid, it hath always been an Opinion in the Church, that many receive Divine Grace, and keep it for a time, who afterwards do loſe it, and in fine are damned. There was alledged the Example of *Saul*, *Solomon*, and *Judas*, one of the Twelve, a Caſe more evident than all, by the words of Chriſt to the Father, *I have kept in thy Name all that thou haſt given me, of which not one hath periſhed but the Son of Perdition.* To theſe they added *Nicholas*, one of the ſeven Deacons, and others, firſt commended in the Scriptures, and then blamed; and for a concluſion of all, the fall of *Luther*. Againſt the ſixth they particularly conſidered, that vocation would be an impious deriſion, when thoſe that are called, and nothing is wanting on their ſide, are not admitted: that the Sacraments would not be effectual for them, all which things are abſurd. But for cenſure of the firſt, the Authority of the Prophet was brought, directly contrary in Terms; where God ſaith, That *if the Juſt ſhall abandon Juſtice, and commit Iniquity, I will not remember his good Works.* The Example of *David* was added, who committed Murder and Adultery; of *Magdalen* and Saint *Peter*, who denied *Chriſt*. They derided the Follies of the *Zuinglians*, for ſaying the Juſt cannot fall from Grace, and yet ſinneth in every Work. The two laſt were uniformly condemned of Temerity, with exception of thoſe unto whom God hath given a ſpecial Revelation, as to *Moſes* and the Diſciples, to whom it was revealed that they were written in the Book of Heaven.

The examination of the Divines, concerning Free-will and Predeſtination, being ended, and the *Anathematiſms* in thoſe Matters framed, they were joined to thoſe of Juſtification, according to their fit places,

places. Whereunto oppoſition was made by ſome in one part, by ſome in another, where there appeared any word which might prejudicate their Opinion. But *Jacobus Coccus*, Arch-biſhop of *Corfu*, conſidered, that, by the Theologues, the Articles were cenſured, with many Limitations and Amplifications, which ought to be inſerted in the *Anathematiſms*, that the Propoſition might not abſolutely be condemned, which might receive a good Conſtruction; and the rather, becauſe it is Humanity, to make the moſt favourable Interpretation; and Charity, not to think evil. Divers did contradict; firſt in regard of the practice of the ancient Councils, which have condemned heretical Propoſitions without Limitation, naked, as they have been delivered by the Hereticks; eſpecially, becauſe it is ſufficient in matter of Faith, for condemning an Article, that it hath one falſe ſenſe which may cauſe the unadviſed to err. Both the Opinions ſeemed reaſonable, the firſt, becauſe it was fit to know which ſenſe was condemned; the ſecond, becauſe it was not for the honour of the Council, to limit the Propoſitions of Hereticks. Hereunto was added, that all the Canons were thus compoſed, reciting the Opinion which was to be condemned, and alledging, for cauſe thereof the places of Scripture, and Doctrine of the Church, unto which it was oppoſite. The Canons were made, according to the form of the Council of *Orange*, like to thoſe of Original Sin, in the preceding Seſſion. But the reading of them proving long and tedious, and the mixture of Truth and Falſhood, of things reproved and approved, not very intelligible; the Biſhop of *Sinigaglia* put them fitly in mind of a remedy for both Inconveniences; that it was better to ſeparate the Catholick Doctrine from the contrary, and make two Decrees; in one to make a continuated Declaration, and Confirmation of the Doctrine of the Church, in the other to condemn, and *anathematiſe* the contrary. The Advice pleaſed all, and ſo it was reſolved; and firſt the *Anathematiſms* were framed apart, and then pains taken to make the other Decree. And this they called the Decree of the Doctrine, and that the Canons; which ſtile was after followed in the ſecond and third Convocation of the Council.

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The Decree of the Doctrine and the Canons.

Santa Croce took incredible pains to make the Decrees, avoiding, as much as was poſſible, to inſert any thing controverſed among the Schoolmen, and ſo handling thoſe which could not be omitted, as that every one might be contented; in every Congregation he obſerved what was diſliked by any, and took it away, or corrected it, as he was adviſed: and he ſpake not only in the Congregations, but with every one in particular, was informed of all the Doubts, and required their Opinions: he diverſified the matter with divers Orders, changed ſometimes one part, ſometimes another, until he had reduced them to the Order in which they now are, which generally pleaſed and was approved by all. It is certain, that to determine theſe things, Congregations were held, conſiſting partly of Theologues, partly of the Prelates, to the number of one hundred, and that, from the beginning of *September* until the end of *November*, there paſſed not a day, in which the Cardinal did not meddle with that which was done before, and change ſomething. The Memorial of theſe Mutations remaineth: whereof I will rehearſe two, as a taſte of many, which it would be tedious to recount. In the firſt point of Doctrine, it was firſt written, by common conſent, that neither the Gentiles, by virtue of Nature, nor the Jews, by the Law of *Moſes*, could free themſelves from Sin; and becauſe many did hold that Circumciſion did remit Sins, they ſuſpected that theſe words

Santa Croce took great pains to give every one ſatisfaction in making the Decrees.

 might

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might prejudice their Opinion, though S. *Paul* hath, in expreſs terms, ſaid the ſame, in more than one place. The Cardinal, to ſatisfy theſe Men, in the place where it was ſaid (*Per ipſam etiam Legem Moyſi*) changed, and ſaid (*Per ipſam etiam literam Legis Moyſi:*) and every ordinary Divine might eaſily judg, how well the word *literam* did befit that place. In the beginning of the eighth Point, thoſe that maintained certainty of Grace, were not contented it ſhould be ſaid, A Man's Sins are not omitted by the certainty of Remiſſion, and becauſe one is confident in it. And the Cardinal gave them Satisfaction, by excluding the real certainty, and putting in the room, boaſting, and confidence in that only. And in the concluſion of that Point, every one might plainly ſee, that the cauſe ought to have been given, for that no Man can certainly know that he hath obtained Grace. But to ſatisfy one part, he added, certainty of Faith; and the *Dominicans*, thinking this was not enough, urged him to add Catholick. But becauſe the Adherents of *Catarinus* were not contented, inſtead of thoſe words, Catholick Faith, it was ſaid, Faith, which cannot be ſubject to Falſhood. This contented both ſides. For one party inferred, then, that certainty of Faith which can be had herein, may be falſe, and therefore is uncertain; the other inferr'd, that this Certainty could have no doubt of Falſhood while it remained, but by changing from the ſtate of Grace to the ſtate of Sin, it may become falſe; as all contingent Truths, by alteration of their Subjects, are made falſe. But the Catholick Faith is not only certain, but unchangeable, becauſe the Subject of it are things neceſſary, or paſt, which cannot be altered.

And truly, concerning theſe Particulars, it is not fit to rob the Cardinal of his due Praiſe, who knew how to ſatisfy Men, even obſtinate in contrary Opinions. And thoſe that would be better informed therein, may underſtand, that, immediately after the Seſſion, Friar *Dominicus Soto*, principal of the *Dominicans*, wrote three Books, and did entitle them, of Nature and Grace, for Commentary of this Doctrine, and in his Expoſitions, all his Opinions are found: when this Work was publiſhed, Friar *Andrew Vega*, the moſt eſteemed of the *Franciſcans*, ſet forth fifteen great Books for Commentaries upon the ſixteen Points of that Decree, and did expound it all according to his own Opinion. Theſe two Opinions do not only differ, almoſt in all the Articles, but, in many of them, are expreſly contrary. Both which Works were printed in the Year 1548. and he that ſhall read them, obſerving that they do give very often, interchangeable and doubtful ſenſes to the words of the Council, will marvel how theſe two Perſons, the cheif for Learning and Eſtimation, who had greater part therein than others, did not know the only ſenſe, and true ſcope of the Synod: of which alſo, ſome few others, of thoſe which were intereſted, having written diverſly, I could never find, whether that Aſſembly did agree in one ſenſe, or whether there was unity of words only. But to return to the Cardinal, when the Decree was approved by all in *Trent*, he ſent it to the Pope, and the Pope gave it to the Friars, and Learned Men of *Rome*, to be conſulted of; and it was approved by them, becauſe every one might underſtand it in his own ſenſe.

Dominicus Soto principal of the *Dominicans*, and *Andreus Vega*, chief of the *Franciſcans*, publiſh Books as Commentaries of the Decree, contrary one to another.

The Decree is ſent to *Rome*, and approved there.

I have rehearſed all together what was done in matter of Faith, that I might not divide things that are connexed. But in the mean time, ſome days were ſpent about the Reformation; and in thoſe Congregations it was propoſed to ſet down the qualities, requiſite in the promotion of the greater Prelates, and Miniſters of the Church. And very grave

Reformation is handled.

ſayings

ſayings were delivered with great Oſtentation, but there was no way found how thoſe things, whereof they ſpoke, might be obſerved. For where the Kings have the Preſentation, they ſaw not with what Bonds to tye them: where Election hath place, the Chapter doth conſiſt of great and mighty Perſons: for the reſidue, all Dignities are conferred by the Pope, and more than two thirds of the Benefices are reſerved to the Apoſtolick See; unto which it is not fit to preſcribe a Law. Whereupon, after many and long Diſcourſes, it was concluded, that it was better to leave the buſineſs. 1546. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

The Point concerning the qualities of the Prelates is omitted.

The Diſcourſes in point of Reſidency, were neither fewer nor ſhorter; which ended not in the Reſolution which was neceſſary, and deſired by many, and made ſome confuſion then, and prepared matter for other times. For the underſtanding whereof, it is neceſſary to reſume this matter from the beginning. The Point of Reſidency is handled.

A diſcourſe of the Author concerning Reſidency.

The Eccleſiaſtical Degrees were not originally inſtituted as Dignities, Preheminencies, Rewards, or Honours, as how they are, and have been, many hundred Years, but as Miniſteries, and Charges, otherwiſe called by Saint *Paul*, Works, and thoſe that exerciſe them, are called by *Chriſt our Lord* in the Goſpel, Work-men; and therefore no Man could then enter into cogitation to abſent himſelf from the execution thereof in his own Perſon: and if any own (which ſeldom happened) retired from the Work, it was not thought reaſonable, he ſhould have either Title or Profit. And though the Miniſteries were of two ſorts, ſome anciently called, as now they are, with cure of Souls: others of temporal things, for the ſuſtenance and ſervice of the Poor and Sick, as were the Deaconries, and other inferiour Works, all held themſelves equally bound to that Service, in Perſon; neither did any think of a Subſtitute, but for a ſhort time, and for great Impediments, much leſs to take another Charge, which might hinder that. The Church being increaſed, where there were many Chriſtians, and free from Perſecutions, another ſort of Miniſters were inſtituted, to ſerve in the Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies, as well in reading the Divine Scriptures, as in other Functions, to ſtir up Devotion. There were inſtituted alſo Colledges of Miniſters, which might in common apply themſelves to ſome charge, and others as Seminaries, from whence to take Miniſters inſtructed already. Theſe of the Colledges, not having any perſonal Charge, ſeing the Congregation did adminiſter, as well with one more, as with one leſs, ſometimes, by reaſon of Study, or greater Inſtruction, or for ſome other cauſe, were abſent from the Church, one for a ſhort time, another for a long, without having Title, Charge, or Profit. So Saint *Jerom*, a Prieſt of *Antioch*, but without any particular Cure, and *Ruffinus*, in the ſame manner, of *Aquileia*, and Saint *Paulinus*, ordained Prieſt of *Barcellona*, did reſide but little. But when the number of them increaſed, they did degenerate, and were called Vagabond Clerks, becauſe that manner of living made them odious, who are often ſpoken of in the Laws and novel Conſtitutions of *Juſtinian*. But never any thought to hold the Title of an Office, or enjoy the Profit, without doing Service, but only, after the Year ſeven hundred, in the Weſt Church, when the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſteries were changed, and made Dignities, and Honours, and Rewards for Services done. And as before a Perſon was choſen fit for the neceſſity of the Church, ſo afterward a Degree, Dignity, or Emolument was fitted to the quality of the Perſon; from whence aroſe the exerciſing of the Miniſtery by a Subſtitute. This abuſe hath drawn in another by Conſequence; that is, to think ones ſelf diſobliged, not only to

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miniſter, but to be preſent, and aſſiſt him that laboureth in his place And indeed where the Induſtry of the Perſon is not choſen for the Work, but a place and degree is provided for the Perſon, there is no reaſon he ſhould be bound to labour for himſelf, or aſſiſt him that doth. The Diſorder proceeded ſo far, that it would have overthrown the Clergy, if the Popes had not in part reſiſted, commanding that Prelates and other Curats, though they might exerciſe the Charge by Subſtitutes, yet ſhould be tyed to aſſiſtance in the place, which they called Reſidence. Whereunto alſo they bound the Canons, without conſtraining other beneficed Clerks unto it, not ſo much as ſpeaking of them, but leaving them to the Cuſtom, or rather Abuſe brought in: by which ſilence it came to paſs, that they thought themſelves obliged. Neither did this voluntary deceit diſpleaſe the Pope, who ſaw very well that it would end in the greatneſs of the Court. And hence aroſe the pernicious, and never ſufficiently deteſted diſtinction, of Benefices of Reſidence, and not Reſidence; which followed as well in Deed as in Doctrine, without any bluſh of abſurdity, which it did evidently bring with it: that is, to give a Title and Salary without Obligation. And to palliate it, or rather to make it more ſhameful, whereas the Canoniſts have a Maxim convincing this Abſurdity; that is, that every Benefice is given for an Office, they have expounded it, underſtanding by Office, the hours or prayers of the Breviary: ſo that a Revenue of a thouſand, or ten thouſand, or more Crowns is given for this only, to take a Breviary in hand, and read as faſt as one can, in a low Voice, not marking any thing but to pronounce the words. But the Diſtinction of the Doctors, and the Proviſion of the Popes augmented the Abuſe in a ſhort time: For without thoſe, ſome of the beneficed Men might perhaps have made conſcience of it, but with them, they think the Abuſe is juſtified, as a thing lawful. And for the Curats, the Pope's Diſpenſation was never denied to any, that ſought it by that way by which every thing is obtained at *Rome*. So that the Poor only do reſide, and thoſe that gain by it: and the Abuſe, firſt a little remedied by the Pope's Laws did, by the Diſpenſations, not only leap to the height, but ſpread it ſelf abroad, and infected the Earth. After the ſtirs of *Germany* for Religion, which gave occaſion to ſpeak of and deſire Reformation, every one aſcribing the miſchief to the negligence, and ſmall care of the Prelates, deſiring to ſee them at the Government of their Churches, deteſting the Diſpenſations, which cauſed them to be abſent, Diſcourſes were made of their Obligation; and ſome Pious Men, amongſt whom was Frier *Thomas Cajetan*, Cardinal, affirmed that the Obligation of Reſidence was by the Law of God. And it happened, as it doth, in all things, that the preceding Paſſion perſwaded the more riged Opinion, and more ſtrict Obligation, and made the Diſobligation more hard. This cauſed them to add unto it, the vigour of the Law of God. The Prelates, ſeeing the Miſchief, and deſiring it ſhould be excuſable, and a ſmall fault, would needs believe, that they were not bound by God, but by the Pope, whoſe Diſpenſation, or Silence, did ſave them. With theſe previous diſpoſitions of Doctrine, the matter was propoſed in the Council, as hath been ſaid: which becauſe it produced a ſmall Controverſy in the beginning, a greater in the progreſs, and in the end (which was in the Years 1562 and 1563) greateſt of all, it will not be unſeaſonable to make ſome Recapitulation, and to recount ſome particular Occurrences.

Great Controverſies in the Council about Reſidence.

Therefore though the Articles firſt propoſed, were but to add greater

ter Bounds and Puniſhments to the Precepts, to remove the Impedi- 1546.
ments, and facilitate the Execution, and all agreed, alledging Perſwa- *Paul* III.
ſions out of the Old and New Teſtament, Canons of the Councils, Do- *Charles* V.
ctrine of the Fathers, and out of the Inconveniences which ſprang from *Henry.* VIII.
the Non-reſidency, yet the major part of the Divines, eſpecially the *Francis* I.
Dominicans, did determine that the Obligation was by the Law of God. A Controverſie whether Reſidence be *de Jure Divino.*
Friar *Bartholomew Caranza*, and Friar *Dominicus Soto*, *Spaniards*, were the moſt principal Authors. The moſt grounded Reaſons they brought were, that Biſhopricks are founded by *Chriſt*, as Miniſteries and Works, and ſo require a perſonal Action, which a Man abſent cannot perform; that *Chriſt*, deſcribing the quality of a good Shepherd, ſaith, that he giveth his Life for the Flock, knoweth the Sheep by their Names, and walketh before them. The Canoniſts and *Italian* Prelates did diſpute, that the Obligation was by the Eccleſiaſtical Law, alledging, that anciently never any Non-reſident was apprehended as a Tranſgreſſor of the Law of God, but of the Canons only. That *Timothy*, though Biſhop of *Epheſus*, was long in his Journey, by order of S. *Paul*. That it was ſaid to Saint *Peter*, *Feed the Lambs*; which is underſtood of all, and yet he cannot be every where preſent: ſo the Biſhop may fulfil the Commandment of feeding, without Reſidence. They anſwered the contrary Reaſons, that the conditions of a Paſtor, propoſed by *Chriſt*, do agree to none but *Chriſt* himſelf.

Friar *Ambroſius Catarinus*, though a *Dominican*, was contrary to the reſt. He ſaid, the Biſhoprick inſtituted by *Chriſt* is one only, which the Pope hath: the inſtitution of the others is by the Pope; who, as he divideth the quantity and number of the Sheep to be fed, ſo he preſcribeth alſo the manner and quality. Therefore it belongeth to the Pope, to appoint every Biſhop, to attend the Flock, by himſelf, or his Subſtitute, and may allot unto him either much or little, and deprive him alſo of the power of feeding. *Thomas Campeggius*, Biſhop of *Feltre*, anſwered another way; That the Biſhop, as Saint *Jerom* teſtifieth, is the Inſtitution of *Chriſt*, but the diviſion of Biſhopricks was after inſtituted by the Church: that *Chriſt* gave the charge of feeding to all the Diſciples, but tied them not to a place, as the Actions of the Apoſtles, and of their Diſciples do ſhew: the aſſigning of this Portion of the Flock to one, and that to another, was an Eccleſiaſtical Inſtitution, to govern better.

Theſe things were handled by the Biſhops with much Paſſion. The *Spaniards* did not only adhere to, but cheriſh the Opinion, that it was *de Jure Divino*; having a ſecret, which they communicated only amongſt themſelves, to make great the Epiſcopal Authority. For if it were once decided that they had the Charge from *Chriſt* to govern their Church, it would be decided alſo, that they have from him Authority neceſſary for it, which the Pope could not reſtrain. Theſe deſigns were ſmelled out, by thoſe that leaned to the Court; therefore in regard of the Importance of the matter, they alſo incouraged the Maintainers of the contrary Opinion. The Legates thought it better to withſtand the danger, by diſſembling their knowledg of it: and aiming at this mark, ſaid for the preſent, that the matter was hard, and had need of greater examination; that where the Controverſy is between the Catholicks, they ought not to condemn one part, for fear of making a Schiſm, and ſowing Contentions, that they may jointly endeavour to confute the *Lutherans*. Therefore, that it were better to defer the Declaration, by what right it is due, until another Seſſion. Some

The Spaniſh ſecret in this point.

thought

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thought it ſufficient to renew the old Canons and Decretals in this matter, and ſaid, they were ſevere enough, becauſe they inflicted deprivation for a Puniſhment, and reaſonable enough, becauſe they admitted lawful Excuſes. There remained to find a way that Diſpenſations might not be granted, and that was ſufficient. Others thought it neceſſary to add new Puniſhments, and remove the Impediments; which was of the greateſt importance, becauſe thoſe being taken away, reſidency would follow; and that it was no matter from whence the obligation came, ſo it were executed; and that this being done, the matter would be better diſcuſſed. It pleaſed the major part that the one and the other ſhould be done: whereunto the Legates gave conſent, upon condition, that the Diſpenſations ſhould not be ſpoken againſt, but, to cauſe them not to be deſired, that the Impediments ſhould be taken away, which come by Exemptions: wherein there was as much ſpoken, and with no leſs Contention, between thoſe which held every Exemption for an Abuſe, and thoſe who thought them neceſſary in the Church, and reproved only the Exceſſes.

A diſcourſe of the Author concerning Exemptions.

St. *Jerom* witneſſeth, that in the firſt beginnings of Chriſtianity, the Churches were governed by a kind of Ariſtocracy, by the Common Counſel of the Presbytery: but to withſtand the Diviſions which were brought in, the Monarchial Government was inſtituted, giving all the Superintendency to the Biſhop, whom all the Orders of the Church did obey, neither did any one think to withdraw himſelf from under the Authority. The neighbour Biſhops, whoſe Churches, becauſe they were under one Province, had Commerce, did govern themſelves alſo in common by Synods; and to make the Government more eaſie, attributing much to the Biſhop of the principal City, they made him as it were Head of that Body: and by a more ample Communion, which all the Provinces of one Prefecture or great Government held together, the Biſhop of the City where the Ruler did reſide, gained a certain Superiority, by Cuſtom. Theſe Prefectures were, the Imperial City of *Rome*, with the Cities adjoyning; the Prefecture of *Alexandria*, which governed *Egypt*, *Libya*, and *Pentapolis*: of *Antioch*, for *Syria*, and other Provinces of the Eaſt: and in the other leſſer Prefectures, called in Greek, Ἐπαρχίαι, the ſame was obſerved. This Government, brought in, and approved by Cuſtom only, which found it commodious, was eſtabliſhed by the firſt Council of *Nice* under *Conſtantine*, and ordained by a Canon that it ſhould continue: and every one was ſo far from putting himſelf out of this order; that the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* having many honourable Preheminences, perhaps becauſe it was the place where our Saviour Chriſt converſed in the Fleſh, and was the Fountain of Religion, the Council of *Nice* did ordain that thoſe Honours ſhould ſtill remain, but ſo that nothing was detracted from the Metropolitan, then Biſhop of *Cæſarea*. This Government, which hath been ever held in all the Churches of the Eaſt, was altered in the Latin, becauſe many great Monaſteries being built, governed by Abbots of great fame and worth, who by their conſpicuous Vertues, made the Biſhops afraid, there aroſe ſome Emulation between theſe and thoſe: and the Abbots, to free themſelves from theſe Inconveniences, whether real, or feigned, and to cover their Ambition, to withdraw themſelves from the ſubjection which they owned, did obtain of Popes to be received under the protection of Saint *Peter*, and immediately under the ſubjection of the Pope. This being profitable for the Court of *Rome*, becauſe he that obtaineth Priviledges, is bound to maintain the Authority of him that granteth

granteth them, ſuddenly all the Monaſteries were exempted. The Chapters alſo of Cathedral Churches, conſiſting for the moſt part of Regulars, by the ſame pretences, did obtain Exemption. Finally, the *Cluniacenſian* and *Ciſtertian* Congregations were all wholly exempted, with great inlargement of the Pope's Authority, which came to have Subjects in all places, defended and protected by the Papacy, and interchangeably Defenders and Protectors. The invention was not commended by Saint *Bernard*, who lived in that time, and was of the *Ciſtertian* Congregation: yea, he admoniſhed Pope *Eugenius* 3. to conſider thereof, that all were Abuſes, that it ought not to be well taken if an Abbot did refuſe to obey the Biſhop, and the Biſhop the Metropolitan: that the Militant Church ſhould take example by the Triumphant, where no Angel ever ſaid, I will not be under the Arch-angel. But *Bernard* would have ſaid more, if he had lived in the times following when the Mendicant Orders obtained, not only a general exemption from the Epiſcopal Authority, but power alſo to build Churches, in any place whatſoever, and to adminiſter the Sacraments in them. But in theſe laſt Ages the Abuſe went on ſo far, that every petty Prieſt did obtain, with a ſmall charge, an exemption from the ſuperiority of his Biſhop, not only in cauſes of Correction, but alſo to be ordained by whom he liſteth, and in ſum, not to acknowledg the Biſhop at all. 1546. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

This being the ſtate of the Cauſe, and the Biſhops requiring remedy, ſome that were more vehement, returned to the things ſpoken in the Congregations, that were before the other Seſſion, againſt the exemption of Friars. But the wiſer ſort thinking it impoſſible to obtain any thing, ſo long as the number and greatneſs of the Regular Orders continued in favour of the Court, they were contented to remove only the exemptions of the Chapters, and particular Perſons, and demand a Revocation of them all. But the Legates treating with them in particular, and putting them in mind that all the Reformation could not be made by that Seſſion, that it was fit to begin, and leave ſomething for future times, made them reſt contented, that the exemption of particular Prieſts, Friars, not inhabiting the Cloyſters, and of Chapters, only in Criminal Cauſes, ſhould be removed (from whence the greater Diſorders do ariſe) as alſo Faculties to give Clerical Orders to him that reſideth not in his own Dioceſs: promiſing to provide againſt the other Abuſes in another Seſſion. A ſmall Reformation in matter of exemption is made.

While theſe things were handled in *Trent*, the Pope having received Advice from the Cardinal *Farneſe*, conſidering with how ſmall Reputation an Apoſtolick Legate did remain in *Ratisbon*, when his Souldiers were in the Field, he recalled him: and, with him, a great number of *Italian* Gentlemen, which were of the Pope's Troops, did depart. In the midſt of *October*, the two Armies were ſo near, at *Santhem*, that there was but a little River between them. And ſtanding ſo, *Octavius Farneſe*, ſent by the Emperour with the *Italians* and ſome *Dutchmen*, took *Duvevert* in the ſight of the Enemy, who having done nothing while he was in *Suevia*, but hindred the Emperour, was conſtrained in *November* to abandon the Country, by reaſon of a great diverſion, made by the *Bohemians*, and others of the Imperial Faction, againſt *Saxony* and *Heſſia*, places belonging to the two Proteſtant Heads; who retire to defend their own Countries, leaving *High Germany* at the Emperour's diſcretion; and this was the cauſe why many Princes and Cities combined, did incline to Compoſition with him, having honeſt caution to hold their Religion. But he would not make mention

Card. *Farneſe* the Pope's Legate with the Emperour, is recalled.

The two Armies are near together, and *Duvert* is taken by *Octavius Farneſe*.

High Germany is left to the Emperour's diſcretion.

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mention thereof in writing, leſt the War ſhould ſeem to be made for cauſe, which would offend thoſe that followed him, make others unwilling to render themſelves, and give ſuſpicion to the Eccleſiaſ of *Germany*, who hoped to ſee the *Roman* Rites reſtored in every Yet his Miniſters promiſed them all, that they ſhould not be mol in the exerciſe of Religion, excuſing their Maſter, if, for many reſ he could not ſatisfy them, to make a Capitulation thereof: and carried himſelf, that his Reſolution appeared to give them content, Connivency. By theſe Deditions the Emperour gained much Artillery, drew much Money from the Cities, to the value of many hundred thouſands, and, which was of greateſt importance, was abſolute Lord of all *High Germany*.

The Pope is jealous of the Emperor, and recalleth his Forces.

This happineſs made the Pope jealous, and think to provide for himſelf before all *Germany* were ſubdued. His Souldiers under the conduct of his Grand-Child *Octavius*, were much diminiſhed in number, by reaſon of thoſe who parted with the Cardinal *Farneſe*, and of others who did run away by whole ranks, for the Incommodities they ſuffered. The reſidue, in the midſt of *December*, the Emperour's Army being lodged near the Village of *Sothen*, departed, by order from the Pope, from whom *Octavius* had Commandment to return into *Italy*, and to tell his Uncle, that the ſix Months being ended, the Pope could no longer bear ſo great a Charge: that the time of the Obligation was ended, and that effected for which the League was made, that is, *Germany* brought into Obedience. The Emperour complained, that he was abandoned when he had moſt need of help. For nothing was done, ſo long as the Heads were not oppreſſed, who could not be ſaid to be ſubdued, but retired only to defend their own Territories; and being delivered from fear, it was to be doubted they would return with greater Forces, and better order than before. But the Pope juſtified his not continuing in the League, and the departure of his Men, by ſaying, that he was not made partaker of the Compoſition with the Cities and Princes, which could not be eſtabliſhed without him; and eſpecially, becauſe it was made with much prejudice of the Catholick Faith, tolerating Hereſie, which might have been rooted out. That according to Capitulation, he had not been partaker of the Profits of the War, nor of the Money the Countries paid which did compound; that the Emperour complained, when himſelf was offended and diſeſteemed, even with damage of Religion. Nor content with this, he forbad the Emperour to receive Money of the Churches of *Spain*, longer than the ſix Months: and though the Emperour's Miniſters made many effectual Treaties with him, ſhewing that the Cauſe continuing, for which they were granted, it required that the Grant alſo ſhould continue, and that all would be in vain, and without fruit, if the War were not ended; yet they could not remove him from his Reſolution.

Whereof the Emperour complaineth.

The Pope juſtifieth his Action.

The *Fieſchi* make a Conſpiracy againſt the *Dorii* in *Genua*, for which the Pope is blamed by the Emperour.

In *Genua*, the Family of the *Fieſchi*, making a dangerous Conſpiracy (which had almoſt taken effect) againſt that of the *Dorii*, which followed the Emperour's ſide; the Emperour was aſſured that the Pope's Son, the Duke of *Piacenza* was Author of it, and believed that it came from the Pope, and refrained not to add this Complaint to the others. The Pope believed the Emperour would be buſied in *Germany* a long time, and not be able to offend him with temporal Forces: but feared he might trouble him by making the Proteſtants go to the Council. To ſeparate the Council, ſeemed too violent and ſcandalous a Remedy, eſpecially having continued ſeven Months in a Treaty, whereof nothing was publiſhed.

He

He was of opinion to publiſh the things already digeſted, ſeeing that by that declaration, either the Proteſtants would refuſe to go thither, or if they went, would be conſtrained to accept it; wherein the principal Point of all the Controverſies conſiſting, the Victory would be his own. And if there were no other reaſon to do it, this was ſufficient to prove it was good for him, becauſe the Emperour would not have any Controverſies decided. For the Counſels of thoſe that have contrary ends, ought to be contrary. He ſaw well, that the Emperour would not take it for an affront. But the diſtaſtes between them were already ſo great, that little could be added to them; and the Pope, when he was preſſed with Reaſons, which did perſwade and diſſwade, was wont to uſe the *Florentine* ſaying, A thing done hath an Head; and ſo to execute that which was neceſſary. Therefore he wrote to the Legats in Chriſtmaſs, that they ſhould hold a Seſſion, and publiſh the Decrees already framed. This Commandment being received, they called a Congregation the third of *January*, in which having determined, by the uniform Conſent of all, to imitate a Seſſion for the thirteenth, in regard it was tedious to all, to remain there ſo long, and reſolve of nothing; the Legats did propoſe the publication of the Decrees framed. For thoſe of Faith, the Emperour's Prelates oppoſed, and ſaid, that there was no opportunity as yet, and that it ſufficed to publiſh the Reformation. But the *Papalins* urged the contrary; alledging it was known to all the World, that the point of Grace and Juſtification had been diſcuſſed ſeven Months together, and that the Decree was eſtabliſhed; and that it would be a derogation to the Faith, if the Council ſhould ſeem to fear the publiſhing of the Truth, which was decided. And becauſe theſe were more in number, their Opinion, aſſiſted by the Legats, prevailed. The two next Congregations were ſpent, in reading again the Decrees, as well of Faith as Reformation: the which, ſome ſmall matters being corrected, by the Advice of thoſe who were not preſent at the firſt, pleaſed them all. The Legates, accompanied with the Prelates, went to the Church with the uſual Ceremonies, on Thurſday the thirteenth of *January*, and held the Seſſion; where *Andreas Cornarus*, Arch-biſhop of *Spalato*, ſang Maſs, *Thomas Stella*, Biſhop of *Salpi*, did preach; and the Decrees of Faith and Reformation were read.

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The Pope's reſolution concerning the proceeding in Council.

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The Seſſion is held the 13th of *January*, and the Decrees of Faith and Reformation are publiſhed.

The firſt contained ſixteen Heads, with their Prohemes, and thirty three *Anathematiſms*. After it had forbid to believe, preach, or teach, otherwiſe than was conſtituted and expreſſed in that Decree, it declared in ſubſtance, 1. That neither *Gentiles*, by natural means, nor *Jews*, by the Letter of *Moſes*, have been able to free themſelves from Sin. 2. Whereupon *God* ſent his Son, to redeem the one and the other. 3. Who, though he died for all, yet thoſe only enjoy the benefit, unto whom his Merit is communicated. 4. That the Juſtification of the Wicked, is nothing but a Tranſlation, from the ſtate of the Son of *Adam*, into the ſtate of the adopted Son of God by *Jeſus Chriſt*, which after the publication of the Goſpel, is not done without Baptiſm, or the Vow thereof. 5. That the beginning of Juſtification, in Men of Age, proceedeth from preventing Grace, which inviteth to diſpoſe themſelves, conſenting, and co-operating with it freely: which they do willingly and might refuſe. 6. The manner of the preparation, is firſt to believe, willingly, the Divine Revelations, and Promiſes; and knowing ones ſelf to be a Sinner, to turn from the fear of God's Juſtice to his Mercy, to hope for pardon from him, and therefore to begin to love Him, and hate Sin: and finally, purpoſing to be baptized,

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to begin a new Life, and keep the Commandments of God. 7. Th[at] Juſtification followeth this preparation, which is not only a remiſſion [of] Sins, but Sanctification alſo; and hath five Cauſes: the final, the Glo[ry] of God, and Eternal Life: the efficient, God: the meritory, *Chri[ſt]* the inſtrumental, the Sacraments: and the formal, Juſtice, given [by] God, received according to the good pleaſure of the Holy Gh[oſt] and according to the diſpoſition of the Receiver, receiving together remiſſion of Sins, Faith, Hope, and Charity. 8. That when Saint *Paul* ſaith, that Man is juſtified by Faith, and *gratis*, it ought to be underſtood, becauſe Faith is the beginning, and the things that precede Juſtification are not meritorious of Grace. 9. That Sins are not pardoned to him that vaunteth, and repoſeth himſelf only in the confidence, and certainty of the Remiſſion. Neither ought it to be ſaid, that only Faith doth juſtify, but every one as he ſhould not doubt of the Mercy of God, the Merits of *Chriſt*, and Efficacy of the Sacraments; ſo, in regard of his own Indiſpoſition he may doubt, becauſe he cannot know by certainty of infallible Faith, that he hath obtained Grace. 10. That the Juſt are more juſtified by obſerving the Commandments of God and the Church. 11. That it cannot be ſaid, that the Commandments of God are impoſſible to the Juſt, who, tho he fall into venial Sins, yet ceaſeth not to be ſo; that no Man ought to relie on Faith only, nor ſay, that the Juſt ſinneth in every good Action, or committeth Sin, if he do any thing for Reward. 12. That no Man ſhould preſume he is predeſtinated, believing that the Juſtified can ſin no more, or ſinning, can promiſe himſelf Repentance. 13. That no Man can promiſe to himſelf abſolute certainty to perſevere until the end, but ſhould put his hope in the aſſiſtance of God, who will continue, if Man fail not. 14. That thoſe that are fallen into Sin may again receive Grace, being ſtirred up from above to recover it by Repentance, which differeth from *Baptiſm*, becauſe it containeth not only Contrition, but Sacramental Confeſſion, Prieſtly Abſolution, at the leaſt in vow, and ſatisfaction beſides for the Temporal Puniſhment, which is not always remitted altogether, as in Baptiſm. 15. That the Grace of God is loſt, not only by Infidelity, but by any Mortal Sin, though Faith be not loſt by it. 16. It propoſeth to the Juſt the exerciſe of good Works, by which eternal Life is gained, as Grace promiſed by the Mercy of God, and a Reward due to good Works by the Divine Promiſe. And it concludeth that this Doctrine doth not eſtabliſh any Juſtice of our own, refuſing the Juſtice of God, but the ſame is ſaid to be ours, becauſe it is in us, and of *God*, being infuſed by him for the Merit of *Chriſt*. In fine, to make every one underſtand, not only the Doctrine to be followed, but that alſo which is to be avoided, it addeth Canons, againſt him that

The Canons.

ſaith, 1. That a Man may be juſtified without Grace, by the ſtrength of Human Nature, and Doctrine of the Law. 2. That Grace is given to live well with greater facility, and to merit eternal Life, as if Free-will can do it, but with difficulty. 3. That a Man may Believe, Love, Hope, or Repent, as he ought, without the prevention, or aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit. 4. That Free-will, excited by God, doth not co-operate, to diſpoſe us to Grace, nor can diſſent, though it would. 5. That after the Sin of *Adam* Free-will is loſt. 6. That it is not in the power of Man to do ill, but as well bad as good Works, are done, not only by God's Permiſſion, but by his own proper working. 7. That all Works done before Juſtification, are Sins, and that a Man ſinneth the more, by how much the more he laboureth to diſpoſe himſelf unto Grace.

8. That

8. That the Fear of Hell, which maketh us abſtain from Sin, and to fly to the Mercy of God, is Sin. 9. That the Wicked is juſtified by Faith only, without Preparation, proceeding from the motion of his Will. 10. That Man is juſtified without the Juſtice by which Chriſt did merit for us, or is formally juſt by that. 11. That he is juſtified only by the imputation of the Juſtice of Chriſt, or only by Remiſſion of Sins without inherent Grace and Charity; or that the Grace of Juſtification is only the Favour of God. 12. That Juſtifying Faith is nothing but Confidence in the Mercy of God, who remitteth Sins for Chriſt. 13. That, for Remiſſion of Sins, it is neceſſary to believe they are remitted, not doubting of ones own Indiſpoſition. 14. That Man is abſolved and juſtified, becauſe he doth firmly believe it. 15. That he is bound by Faith to believe that he is in the number of the Predeſtinated. 16. That one may be certain he hath the Gift of Perſeverance, without ſpecial Revelation. 17. That only the Predeſtinated obtain Grace. 18. That the Commandments of God are impoſſible to the Juſt. 19. That there is no other Evangelical Precept but of Faith. 20. That the juſt and perfect Man is not bound to obſerve the Commandments of God and the Church, or that the Goſpel is a Promiſe without Condition of obſerving the Commandments. 21. That Chriſt is given for a Redeemer, not for a Law-maker. 22. That the Juſtified may perſevere without the ſpecial Aſſiſtance of God, or cannot with it. 23. That the Juſt cannot ſin, or can avoid all Venial Sins, without a ſpecial Priviledge, as the Church holdeth of the Virgin. 24. That Juſtice is not preſerved and increaſed by good Works, but that they are Fruits only or Signs. 25. That the Juſt ſinneth mortally, or venially, in every Work. 26. That the Juſt ought not expect a Reward for his good Works. 27. That there is no mortal Sin but Infidelity. 28. That Grace being loſt, Faith is loſt alſo; or that the Faith remaining is not true nor of a Chriſtian. 29. That Man ſinning after Baptiſm, cannot be lifted up by the Grace of God, or may recover it by Faith only, without the Sacrament of Penance. 30. That every Fault and Puniſhment is wholly remitted to every penitent Man, there remaining no Temporal Puniſhment to be indured in this Life, or in Purgatory. 31. That the Juſt ſinneth, if he do Good, only in Hope of an Eternal Reward. 32. That the good Works of the Juſt, are the Gifts of God, and are not withal the Merits of the Juſtified. 33. That this Doctrine is derogatory to the Glory of God, and Merits of Chriſt, or that their Glory is not made more illuſtrious by it.

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The Author's reaſon why he rehearſeth the Decrees, tho they be printed in a Volume apart.

When I had made this ſhort Narration of the Decrees, I began to think it ſuperfluous, ſeeing all the Decrees of that Council are printed in one Volume, and in every Man's Hands, and that in the Compoſition of the Acts that follow, I might refer my ſelf to that Book: and I was about to tear this Leaf. But conſidering that ſome might deſire to read the whole Continuation in one Book only, and that if any thought it better to ſee the Original, he might omit this mine Abbreviation, I reſolved not to change, but to obſerve the ſame Stile in the Matters following: and the rather, becauſe I am grieved, when, in *Zenophon* and *Tacitus*, I ſee the Narration of things, moſt known to their Times, omitted, which remaineth unknown to me, becauſe there is no means to know it again: And I hold it for a Maxim, that one ought never to refer himſelf to another. Therefore I come to the Sum of the Decree of Reformation.

The Decree of Reformation.

Which did contain in Subſtance; 1. That the Synod being willing to

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to amend the depraved Manners of the Clergy and People, thought to begin with the Governours of the greater Churches. There truſting in God, and his Vicar on Earth, that that Charge ſhall given to worthy Men, exerciſed from their Youth in Eccleſiaſtical Discipline, it doth admoniſh them to perform their Duty, which can be executed without reſiding in the Place where it is to be done: Yet many, leaving the Flock, and care of the Lambs, wander in Courts, and apply themſelves to Secular Buſineſs. Therefore the Synod doth revive all the ancient Canons againſt Non-reſidents, and doth conſtitute beſides, That every Governour of a Cathedral Church, of what Title or Preeminency ſoever, who ſhall remain ſix Months together out of his Dioceſs, without a juſt and reaſonable Cauſe, ſhall loſe the fourth Part of the Revenues; and if he perſevere ſix Months more, ſhall loſe another fourth Part; and the Contumacy increaſing, the Metropolitan, upon Pain of not entring into the Church for three Months, ſhall dilate him to the Pope, who, by his Supream Authority, may inflict greater Puniſhment, or provide the Church of a more profitable Paſtor. And if the Metropolitan ſhall likewiſe offend, the moſt ancient Suffragan ſhall be bound to denounce him.

2. But others, inferiour to Biſhops, tyed to Reſidence either by Law or Cuſtom, ſhall be compelled thereunto by the Biſhops, abrogating every Priviledge which giveth a perpetual Exemption from reſiding. But Diſpenſations granted for a Time, for a Reaſonable Cauſe, true, and proved before the Ordinary, ſhall remain in Force, and the Biſhop, as Delegate of the Apoſtolick See, ſhall take care that a ſufficient Vicar be provided for the Charge of Souls, with a convenient Portion of the Revenues, notwithſtanding any Priviledge or Exemption.

3. Beſide, that no Clerk, by Perſonal Priviledge, or Regular Dwelling out of the Monaſtery, by Priviledge of his Order, ſhall be exempt from being puniſhed, if he offend, or viſited, or corrected by his Ordinary.

4. Likewiſe that Chapters of Cathedral and other Collegiate Churches, ſhall not, by Virtue of Exemption, Cuſtoms, Oaths, and Agreements, be freed from the Viſitation of their Biſhops, and greater Prelats, when there ſhall be need.

5. In fine, it did ordain that no Biſhop might exerciſe Pontifical Acts in the Dioceſs of another, by pretence of Priviledge, without his Leave, and only over his Subjects. And the Day of the next Seſſion was appointed the third of *March*.

The next Seſſion to be held the third of *March*.

In *Rome*, the Decree of Faith miniſtred no matter of Diſcourſe, in regard it was not new, as well becauſe it had been ſeen, and examined publickly (as hath been ſaid) as becauſe all Men knew that the *German* Opinions were to be condemned. But the Court-Biſhops, who had been afraid a long time of the Article of Reſidency, which was handled, did reſt content, aſſuring themſelves that the Decree of the Council, could work no greater Effect, than the Pope's Decretals had done before. But the Inferiour Courtiers were diſcontented, ſeeing the Biſhop had Power to compel them. They lamented their own Miſery, who were to ſerve all their Life to gain their Living, and after ſo much Pains taken, for a Reward, muſt be confined in a Village, or, by a baſe Canonry, ſubjected to a greater Slavery, in obeying the Biſhops, who will not only keep them, as it were, tied to a Stake, but with Viſitations, and pretence of Corrections, will bring them to a miſerable Subjection, or hold them in perpetual Vexations, and Charge.

The inferiour Courtiers are diſcontented with the Reformation.

But

But elſewhere, and eſpecially in *Germany*, when the Decrees were ſeen, that of Faith was more ſpoken of: Which muſt be read over and again, with much Attention and Speculation, becauſe it could not be underſtood without a perfect Knowledge of the inward Motion of the Mind, and without knowing in whom it is Active, in whom Paſſive, things moſt ſubtile, and, for the divers Appearance they make, ever accounted diſputable; all the Doctrine of the Council turning upon this Hinge, whether the firſt Object of the Will work upon the Will, or the Will upon the Object, or whether they be both Active and Paſſive. Some pleaſant Wits ſaid, That if the Aſtrologers, not knowing the true Cauſes of the Celeſtial Motions, to ſalve the Appearances, have invented *Eccentriques* and *Epicicles*; it was no wonder if the Council, deſiring to ſalve the Appearances of the Super-celeſtial Motions, did fall into *Excentricity* of Opinions. The Grammarians did not ceaſe to admire and ſcoff the Artifice of that Propoſition, which is in the fifth Chapter, *Neque homo ipſe nihil omnino agat*; which they ſaid was not intelligible, and without Example. For if the Synod would ſignify; *Etiam homo ipſe aliquid agat*; it might ſay ſo plainly, as is fit to do in Matter of Faith, where the more ſimple Expreſſion is the better; and if they would uſe an Elegancy, they might ſay, *Etiam homo ipſe nihil agat.* But the Word (*omnino*) being interpoſed, that Speech is incongruous and without Sence, as all are which have two Negatives that cannot be reſolved into an Affirmative. For to reſolve that, one muſt ſay, *Etiam homo ipſe aliquid omnino agat*, which is incongruous, and not to be underſtood what *aliquid omnino* may ſignify here. For it would ſay that a Man hath an Action in a certain kind, which in another kind is no Action.

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The Decrees are cenſured in *Germany*.

The Fathers were defended, by ſaying, That to examine the Form of Speech ſo ſeverely, was nothing but to cavil. Whereunto they replied, That a gentle Interpretation was due unto uſual Forms of Speech, but that it is a publick Utility to diſcover the Artifice of him, that, leaving the clear and uſual Phraſes, inventeth thoſe that are incongruous, and contain in them Contradiction, to cavil, and to play on both ſides.

Thoſe that underſtood Theology, ſaid, That the Doctrine, that a Man may always refuſe Divine Inſpirations, was contrary to the publick, and ancient Prayer of the Church, *Et ad te noſtras etiam rebelles compelle propitius voluntates:* Which is not fit we ſhould ſay is a vain Deſire, but that it is made by Faith, as S. *James* ſaith, and granted by God to his Elected. They added, That one could no more ſay with S. *Paul*, that it cometh not from Man which doth ſeparate the Veſſel of Wrath from thoſe of God's Mercy, that which ſeparateth being that humane, *Nonnihil omnino.* Many did conſider that Place of the ſeventh Chapter, where it is ſaid, Juſtice is given by Meaſure, according to the good Pleaſure of God, and the Diſpoſition of the Receiver; both which things cannot be true. For if it pleaſed God to give more to him that were leſs diſpoſed, it would not be by Meaſure of the Diſpoſition; and if it be by the Meaſure of that, there is always the Motive by which God worketh, and doth not uſe his good Pleaſure. They marvelled that thoſe were condemned, who ſaid, That the Precepts of God were impoſſible to be kept; ſeeing that the ſame Council in the Decree of the ſecond Seſſion, exhorteth the Faithful aſſembled in *Trent*, that repenting, confeſſing, and communicating, they ſhould obſerve the Commandments of God, *Quantum quiſquis poterit.* Which Modification would be impious, if the Juſtified could keep them abſolutely; and

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and they noted that the ſame Word, *Præcepta*, was there to take away all Cavil.

Thoſe that were read in the Eccleſiaſtical Story, ſaid, That in all the Councils, held in the Church, from the Apoſtles time until now, there were never ſo many Articles decided, as in this Seſſion only; in which *Ariſtotle* had a great Part, by having exactly diſtinguiſhed all the kinds of Cauſes, which if he had not done, we had wanted many Articles of Faith.

The Politicians alſo, though they ought not to examine Matters of Religion, but ſimply follow them, yet found Matter of Diſcourſe in this Decree. For ſeeing in the tenth Chapter, the Obligation of obeying the Commandments of God and the Church, and the ſame replied in the twentieth Canon, they were ſcandalized, becauſe there was no mention of Obligation to the Commandments of Princes and Magiſtrates. They ſaid, That Obedience unto theſe is more plainly ſet down in the Scripture; that the old Law is full of it; that the Doctrine is clear in the new Teſtament expreſſed, and handled at large by *Chriſt* himſelf, by Saint *Peter*, and Saint *Paul*. That there is found an expreſs Obligation to hear the Church, but none expreſs to obey it. He is obeyed who commandeth of his own Power, and he is heard who doth promulgate that which belongeth to another Man. Neither were theſe Men ſatisfied with the Excuſe, that the Commandments of Princes are included in thoſe of God, and that Obedience is due unto them, becauſe God hath commanded they ſhould be obeyed. But they replied, That by this Reaſon, the Church rather ought to be omitted; and ſaid that the Church was expreſſed, and the Princes paſſed over in Silence, to breed (according to the ancient Scope of the Eccleſiaſticks) that pernicious Opinion, that Men are bound to obey them for Conſcience Sake, and Princes and Magiſtrates only for fear of Temporal Puniſhments, and that otherwiſe their Commandments may be tranſgreſſed without Reſpect, and ſo to cauſe every Government to be hated, accounted Tyrannical, and ſubverted; and, by deſcribing the Subjection unto Prieſts, to be the only principal Way to gain Heaven, to draw all Juriſdiction to themſelves, and, by Conſequence, all Authority.

The Decree of Reformation was ſaid to be a meer Illuſion. For to truſt in God and the Pope, that Proviſion ſhould be made of Perſons worthy to govern the Churches, belongeth rather to him that prayeth, than to him that reformeth. To renew the ancient Canons with one Word only, and one ſo general, was more to confirm the diſuſe of them: But if they would reſtore them in earneſt, they ſhould remove the Cauſes which have buried them in Silence, give them Strength by Penalties, and Deputation of thoſe that ſhould put them in Execution, and ſhould uſe other Means which do revive, and preſerve Laws. In fine, it was ſaid to have done nothing but eſtabliſh that one might be abſent all the Year, by loſing half the Revenues; or rather one was taught how he might not reſide eleven Months and more, without any Puniſhment, by interpoſing thoſe thirty days or fewer, in the midſt of the other time of the Year; and that the Decree was wholly deſtroyed, with the Exception of juſt and reaſonable Cauſes, which no Man is ſo ſimple as not to find, being to have Judges for whom it will be profitable not to have Reſidency practiſed.

This Place requireth that mention ſhould be made of a particular Accident, which, then begun, though it ended not until after four Months, belongeth wholly to the preſent Seſſion, and maketh known what the Council was, and in what Eſtimation it was had, by thoſe that aſſiſted in it.

it. For underſtanding whereof, I will repeat that Friar *Dominicus Soto*, who had (as hath been ſaid) a great part in the Synod, in framing the Decrees of original Sin, and Juſtification, having noted all the Opinions and Reaſons uſed in thoſe Diſcuſſions, thought to communicate them to the World, and to draw the words of the Decree to his own meaning, printed a Book containing the whole together, and did entitle it; *De Natura & Gratia:* and did dedicate it, with an Epiſtle, to the Council, to be (as he ſaid in the Dedication) a Commentary of the two foreſaid Decrees. Coming to the Article of the certainty of Grace, he ſaid in a long diſcourſe, that the Synod had declared that a Man cannot know he hath Grace by ſo great certainty, as is that of Faith, excluding all doubt. *Catarinus*, newly made Biſhop of *Minori*, having defended the contrary, and ſtill perſevering, did print a little Book, with an Epiſtle Dedicatory to the ſame Synod, the ſcope whereof was, to maintain that the Council's meaning was not to condemn the Opinion of him that ſaith a Juſt Man may know he hath Grace, as certainly as he knoweth the Articles of Faith to be true: yea, that the Council hath decided that he is bound to believe it, becauſe, in the ſix and twentieth Canon, it hath condemned him that ſaith that the Juſt Man ought not to hope for, and expect a Reward, it being neceſſary, that he that ought to hope as a Juſt Man, ſhould know he is ſo. In this contrariety of Opinions, both writing affirmatively to the Council, either of them did not only ſay, that his Opinion was the Opinion of the Synod, but afterwards wrote alſo and printed Apologies, and Antipologies, making Complaints to the Synod the one of the other, of attributing that to it, which it never ſaid, bringing divers Teſtimonies of the Fathers to prove their own Opinion: who bare witneſs, ſome for one, ſome for another; ſo that the Fathers were all divided into two parts, except ſome good Prelats, who as Neutrals, ſaid, that they underſtood not the difference, but gave conſent to the Decree, in the form as it was publiſhed, becauſe both the Parties were agreed. The Legate *Santa Croce* did teſtify for *Catarinus*. *Monte* ſaid, he was of a third party. This ſeemed to put all Men out of hope to underſtand the meaning of the Council, ſeeing the principal Men that were preſent in it, did not agree. And it doth raiſe a difficulty, what that Synod was that determined the Article, unto which, *Soto* and *Catarinus* did write and appeal, each thinking it was on his ſide; ſo that it was neceſſary, that either one of them, or both ſhould be deceived. And what ſhall one think of the others, when it ſo happened to theſe? It might be ſaid, it was the aggregrate of all together, unto which the Holy Ghoſt giving aſſiſtance, made it to determine the Truth, tho not underſtood by him that did determine it; as *Caiaphas* did propheſy becauſe he was High-Prieſt, not underſtanding the Prophecy, as the Biſhop of *Bitonto* ſaid in his Sermon. But this anſwer had two oppoſitions; the one, that God made the Reprobate and Infidels propheſy, without underſtanding, but the Faithful, by illuminating their Mind; the other, that the Divines do uniformly ſay, that Councils do not deliberate of Faith by Divine Inſpiration, but by Human Diſquiſition, which the Spirit doth aſſiſt, to keep them from Errors, ſo that they cannot determine, without underſtanding the matter. Perhaps he ſhould hit upon the Truth, that ſhould ſay, that, debating the contrary Opinions in framing the Decree, every party did refuſe words contrary to his Opinion, and all reſted in thoſe which he thought might be fitted to his own meaning: ſo that the expreſſion of the matter became capable of divers Interpretations. But this would not ſerve to reſolve the doubt propoſed, and to find what the

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Soto and *Catarinus* publiſh Books one againſt another, concerning the meaning of the Council; and the Fathers are much divided.

Councils do deliberate of Faith, not by Divine Inſpiration, but by human Diſquiſition.

Council

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All agreed in condemning the Lutheran Opinions.

Council was: becauſe it is to give it unity of words, and contrariety of meanings. But that which hath been related in this particular, and perhaps did happen in many matters, occurred not in condemning the Lutheran Opinions, where all did agree, with an exquiſite unity.

An Advertiſement given by *Catarinus*.

One Advertiſement of the ſame *Catarinus* concerning this matter, written to the Synod in the ſame Book, is not to be omitted, the Author deſerving not to be defrauded of his Invention. He conſidered that it was a Repugnancy, to ſay that a Man doth receive Grace voluntarily, and that he is not certain he hath it, becauſe no Man can receive a thing voluntarily, which he knoweth not to be given him, and without being ſure he hath received it.

But to return to the Council, the day after the Seſſion a general Congregation was aſſembled, to deliberate of, and put in order the matter to be digeſted in the next Seſſion, and, for matter of Faith, it being already determined to follow the Confeſſion of *Ausburg*, the firſt point was of Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtery, which the Lutherans ſay is Authority to preach the Goſpel, and to adminiſter the Sacraments; and ſome reſting upon the firſt part, did propoſe that the Eccleſiaſtical Authority ſhould be handled, declaring all thoſe Functions, Spiritual and Temporal, which God hath given them over the Faithful, and are denied by the Lutherans. And this did generally pleaſe the Prelats, becauſe it was a matter of an eaſy underſtanding, without any crabbedneſs of the School, and where themſelves might have a part. But it was not grateful to the Divines, becauſe thoſe things were not handled in the Schools; ſo that they ſhould have nothing to diſpute, and muſt refer themſelves for the moſt part to the Canoniſts. They ſaid that the Auguſtans do not handle all Eccleſiaſtical Authority, but that only of Preaching; whereof there was as much decreed in the laſt Seſſion as was ſufficient; but in the ſecond part there was matter that did cohere with Juſtification, that is, the Sacraments, which are the means to be juſtified, and ſaid it was more fit to make theſe the Subject of the next Seſſion. The Legats, and their Dependents adhered hereunto, in ſhew for the ſame reaſons, but indeed for another more potent, becauſe, in the other conſideration, they might have handled the Authority of Councils, and of the Pope, and propoſed many hard matters, not fit to be moved.

Having reſolved to handle the matter of the Sacraments, it was conſidered that it was various and ample, not poſſible to be comprehended in a Seſſion, nor eaſy to be determined into how many parts it ought to be divided. The Auguſtans made it ſhort by taking away four Sacraments, of which they ought to treat more exactly, to re-eſtabliſh them: therefore that it was good to begin to diſcuſs the Sacraments in general, and charge was given to put in order the Articles drawn out of the Lutheran Doctrine, deſcending alſo to the Sacraments in particular, of as many as ſeemed eaſy to diſcuſs: and that the Reformation might follow the Definition of Faith and Doctrine, the Abuſes, occurring in the Miniſter of the Sacraments, ſhould be put together, ordaining a Congregation of Prelats and Canoniſts to diſcourſe of the Remedies, and to frame the Decrees, with order, that if they both happened on the ſame day, *Santa Croce* ſhould be Preſident of the Theologues, and *Monte* of the Canoniſts, and both together in the general Congregation. But beſides this, in regard of the Promiſe to continue the matter of Reſidency, ſome of the moſt principal Articles thereof were to be handled. In this it was not ſo eaſy to agree, becauſe the Legats and their Adherents had contrary ends to the other Biſhops.

The ſubject of the next Seſſion is the Sacraments. The Legats deſire to prevent the handling of the Authority of the Council and Pope.

Theſe

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The *Spaniſh* Prelats hope to regain Epiſcopal Authority.

Theſe began to hope, and to aim, almoſt all, but eſpecially the *Spaniards*, to regain the Epiſcopal Authority, which anciently every one did exerciſe in his own Dioceſs, when the reſervations of Benefices, of Caſes, or of Abſolutions, Diſpenſations, and the like were unknown; which they were wont to ſay in private diſcourſe, when few were preſent, that Ambition and Avarice had made proper to the Court of *Rome*, under a feigned colour to manage them better, and more to the publick Service of God, and the Church, throughout all Chriſtendom, than the Biſhops could do in their own Cities, in regard of their Imperfection and Ignorance. But it was not ſo, becauſe Diſſolution and Ignorance did not enter into the Epiſcopal Order until they were compelled to go as Servants to *Rome*. But if bad Government were then ſeen in the Biſhops, which cauſed their Authority to be taken away, now it may be ſeen to be worſt of all in the Court of *Rome*; ſo that by the ſame Reaſon, that Management ought to be taken away, which is not proper to it, but much abuſed by it.

Card. *Monte* doth cunningly divert the deciſion of Reſidence.

The Decree, that Reſidency was required by the Law of God, was eſteemed by theſe Prelats the beſt Remedy for the Diſeaſe paſt, and Preſervative againſt it hereafter. For if God hath commanded Biſhops to reſide perpetually with the Flock; it followeth neceſſarily that he hath alſo preſcribed them the Charge, and given them power to exerciſe it well. Therefore the Pope cannot call them, or buſy them in ought elſe, nor diſpenſe with them, nor reſtrain their Authority, given them by God. Therefore they deſired to proceed to the Determination, ſaying, it was neceſſary to reſolve the Article, becauſe it was ſufficiently diſcuſſed. The Cardinal of *Monte* having premeditated before, let them ſpeak who were moſt earneſt, that part of the heat might exhale; then he oppoſed himſelf dexterouſly, and ſaid, it was neceſſary to do it, becauſe the World did expect it, but that they ought to do it in a fit time; that the difficulty was handled with too much heat, and that in ſome it had ſtirred more Paſſion than Reaſon; ſo that it was neceſſary to let the Fervor be cooled, and to interpoſe a little time, that the Contentions being forgotten, and Charity revived, place may be given to the Holy Ghoſt, without which the Truth cannot be decided. That the Pope's Holineſs, who hath underſtood, to his grief, the former Contentions, deſireth the ſame, that himſelf alſo may diſcuſs the matter in *Rome*, and aſſiſt the Synod with his Counſel. He concluded, with more reſolute Terms, than ſo modeſt a beginning ought to infer, That no more ſpeech ſhould be had of it before the Seſſion, becauſe the Pope's Will was reſolutely ſo, but that they ſhould attend to reform the Inconveniences which have cauſed the Abuſe of not reſiding. This mixture of Remonſtrances and Power made ſome of the Fathers, who afterwards did print Treatiſes concerning this matter, ſay, and put in print, that the Legats did forbid to ſpeak of this Queſtion; and others denied it, with an Invective againſt the firſt, ſaying, they derogated from the liberty of the Council. In the end of the Congregation, it was reſolved to reſume the things that remained to be diſcuſſed in the laſt Seſſion, and to treat of removing the Impediments, which are the Cauſes of not reſiding. Amongſt which the moſt principal being Plurality of Benefices, in regard it was impoſſible to reſide in many places, it was reſolved to treat of that.

But to avoid Confuſion, I will relate withal that which belongeth to the Sacraments, where the conſideration, for the moſt part, was ſpeculative and doctrinal, not to interrupt the order of the matter of Benefices,

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wherein ſome things happened which did open a way to important and dangerous Actions. Articles were framed by the Deputies in matter of the Sacraments, and the manner of ſpeaking of them was preſcribed to the Divines, communicated to all in a ſheet of Paper, with order that they ſhould ſay, whether they were all heretical or erroneous, and ought to be condemned by the Synod; and if any deſerved not that Sentence, they ſhould alledg their Reaſons and Authority; and after ſhould declare what was the Opinion of Councils, and of the holy Fathers, in all thoſe, and which of the Articles have been reproved already, and which remain to be condemned: and if in this matter any one ſhould find out ſome other Article worthy of Cenſure, he ſhould give notice thereof, and avoid impertinent Queſtions in all, wherein one might diſpute on both ſides, without Prejudice of Faith, and all other Superfluity and Tediouſneſs of Words.

Fourteen Articles of the Sacraments in general.

Of the Sacraments in general there were fourteen Articles. 1. That the Sacraments of the Church are not ſeven, but fewer, which may be called truly Sacraments. 2. That the Sacraments are not neceſſary, and that Men may obtain the Grace of God without them, by Faith only. 3. No Sacrament is more worthy than another. 4. That the Sacraments of the new Law do not give Grace unto thoſe, who do not reſiſt. 5. That the Sacraments have never given Grace or Remiſſion of Sins, but only the Faith of the Sacrament. 6. That immediately after the Sin of *Adam*, the Sacraments were inſtituted by God, by means whereof Grace was given. 7. By the Sacraments, Grace is given to him only, who believeth that his Sins are remitted. 8. That Grace is not given always in the Sacraments, nor unto all, in reſpect of the Sacrament it ſelf, but only when and where it pleaſeth God. 9. That in no Sacrament a *Character* is imprinted. 10. That a bad Miniſter doth not confer the Sacrament. 11. That all Chriſtians of what Sex ſoever, have equal power in the Miniſtry of the Word of God and Sacraments. 12. That every Paſtor hath power to make long, or ſhort, or change at his pleaſure the Forms of the Sacraments. 13. That the intention of the Miniſters is not neceſſary, and worketh nothing in the Sacraments. 14. That the Sacraments have been inſtituted only to cheriſh Faith.

Seventeen Articles of Baptiſm.

Of Baptiſm there was ſeventeen Articles. 1. That in the *Roman* Catholick Church there is no true Baptiſm. 2. That Baptiſm is free, and not neceſſary to Salvation. 3. That it is not true Baptiſm which is given by Hereticks. 4. That Baptiſm is Repentance. 5. That Baptiſm is an external Sign, as the red mark in the Lambs, and hath no part in Juſtification. 6. That Baptiſm ought to be renewed. 7. That true Baptiſm is Faith, which believeth that Sins are remitted to the Penitent. 8. That in Baptiſm, Sin is not rooted out, but only not imputed. 9. That the Baptiſm of *Chriſt* and *John*, have the ſame virtue. 10. That the Baptiſm of *Chriſt* hath not made void that of *John*, but hath added the Promiſe unto it. 11. That in Baptiſm the Immerſion only is neceſſary, and all other things being free, may be omitted without Sin. 12. That it is better to omit the Baptiſm of Children, than baptize them while they do not believe. 13. The Children ought not to be baptized, becauſe they have not proper Faith. 14. That thoſe that are baptized in their Childhood, coming to the Age of Diſcretion, ought to be rebaptized, becauſe they have not believed. 15. That thoſe that have been baptized in their Infancy, when they come to Age, ought to be interrogated, whether they

they will ratify that Baptiſm, and, if they deny, ought to be left in Liberty. 16. That Sins committed after Baptiſm are remitted, only by the Memory and Faith that one hath been baptized. 17. That the Vow of Baptiſm hath no other Condition but of Faith, yea nullifieth all other Conditions. 1547. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

Of Confirmation there were four Articles. 1. That Confirmation is not a Sacrament. 2. That it is inſtituted by the Fathers, and hath no Promiſe of the Grace of God. 3. That now it is an idle Ceremony, and formerly was a Catechiſm, when Children, coming to Age, gave an Account of their Faith before the Church. 4. That the Miniſter of Confirmation is not the Biſhop only, but any Prieſt whatſoever. Four Articles of Confirmation.

In the Congregations, all the Divines agreed, in affirming the Number of Seven, and condemning the contrary Opinion as Heretical, in regard of the general Conſent of the Schools, beginning from the Maſter of the Sentences, (who ſpake definitively thereof) until this Time. To this they joyned the Decree of the Florentine Council for the Armenians, which determineth that Number, and, for greater Confirmation, the uſe of the Roman Church was added; whence they concluded, that it ought to be held for an Apoſtolical Tradition, and Article of Faith. But, for the ſecond Part of the Article, all did not agree, ſome ſaying it was enough to follow the Florentine Council, which paſſed no further. For to decide that the proper Sacraments are neither more nor fewer, doth preſuppoſe a Deciſion of the true and proper Eſſence, and a Definition of the Sacrament; a thing difficult, in regard of the many Definitions, brought not only by the Schoolmen, but by the Fathers alſo, of which one will make that to be a Sacrament, which another doth not. That it is a Queſtion alſo among the Schoolmen, whether the Sacrament can be defined, whether it have Unity, whether it be real, or intentional: And that it is not reaſonable, in ſuch Ambiguity, to tye Concluſions with ſo ſtrong a Bond. It was remembred, that Saint *Bernard*, and Saint *Cyprian*, accounted the waſhing of Feet a Sacrament, and that Saint *Auſtin* made every Rite, by which God is honoured, to be a Sacrament: and elſewhere underſtanding the Word more ſtrictly than the propriety doth comport, maketh Sacraments only thoſe, which are expreſly mentioned in the New Teſtament; which are Baptiſm, and the Euchariſt only, though he doubteth in one Place that there is another. All agree that theſe are ſeven Sacraments, but not that there are no more. Reaſons to prove the number of ſeven.

For the other part, it was ſaid, That it was neceſſary to eſtabliſh for an Article, that the proper Sacraments, are neither more nor leſs, to repreſs the Boldneſs as well of the *Lutherans*, who make them ſometimes two, ſometimes three, ſometimes four, as alſo of thoſe who exceed ſeven; and if ſometimes a greater Number, and ſometimes a leſs, be found in the Fathers, it was becauſe then, before the Determination of the Church, it was lawful to uſe the Word in a more large, or more ſtrict Signification. And here, to eſtabliſh the Sufficiency of this Number of Seven, as the Schoolmen ſpeak, that is, that they are neither more nor leſs, they were tedious in recounting the Reaſons deduced from ſeven natural things, by which Life is gained and preſerved; from the ſeven Virtues; from the ſeven Capital Vices; from the ſeven Defects, which came from Original Sin; from the ſix days of the Creation of the World, and ſeventh of Reſt; from the Regions of *Egypt*; from the ſeven Planets; from the Famouſneſs of the Number of Seven, and other Congruities, uſed by the principal Schoolmen, for proof of the Concluſion; and many Reaſons why the Conſecration of

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Churches, of the Veſſels of Biſhops, Abbots, Abbeſſes, and Monks, are not Sacraments, nor holy Water, nor the Waſhing of Feet, as Saint *Bernard* ſaid, nor Martyrdom, nor the Creation of Cardinals, nor the Coronation of the Pope.

Some ſaid, That, to bridle the Hereticks, it was not ſufficient to condemn the Article, if every one of the Sacraments were not particularly named, for fear ſome bad Spirit might exclude ſome of the true, and ſubſtitute ſome falſe. Afterwards, another eſſential Point, for the Article, was called to mind, that is, to determine the Inſtitutor of all the Sacraments, which is Chriſt; to condemn the Hereſy of the Lutherans, who aſcribe to Chriſt the Ordination of Baptiſm, and the Euchariſt only. And that Chriſt ought to be held, by Faith, for the Inſtitutor, Saint *Ambroſe*, Saint *Auſtin*, and above all, the Apoſtolical Tradition was alledged; from which no Man diſſented. But ſome ſaid, They ought not go on ſo far, and that it was enough, to keep within the Bounds of the *Florentine* Council; and the rather, in regard that the Maſter of the Sentences held, that Extream Unction was inſtituted by Saint *James*, and Saint *Bonaventure*, with *Alexander*, that Confirmation began after the Apoſtles. And the ſame *Bonaventure*, with other Divines, maketh the Apoſtles Authors of the Sacrament of Penance. And many have ſaid of Matrimony, that it was inſtituted by God in Paradiſe. And Chriſt himſelf, when he ſpake of it, in a Place fit to name the Author, doth attribute the Inſtitution thereof, not to himſelf, but to the Father in the Beginning. For theſe Reſpects, they adviſed not to add that Point, for fear of condemning the Opinion of the Catholicks. The Dominicans on the contrary, did affirm, with ſome Bitterneſs of Words, That thoſe Doctors might be expounded and ſalved, with divers Diſtinctions, and that they would ever have referred themſelves to the Church; but the *Lutheran* Boldneſs ought not to paſs without Condemnation, who have brought in thoſe Falſities, with Contempt of the Church; and that was not to be tolerated in the raſh *Lutherans*, which might be indured in the Holy Fathers.

The neceſſity of the Sacraments.

In the ſecond Article, of the Neceſſity of the Sacraments, ſome would not have the Condemnation to be abſolute, but a Diſtinction made, in regard it is certain, that all are not abſolutely neceſſary. There was another Opinion alſo to be condemned, which ſaid, That the Sacraments were not neceſſary in the Church, becauſe it is certain, they are not neceſſary to every one, yea, that ſome are incompatible, as Order, and Matrimony. Yet the more common Opinion was, that the Article ſhould be condemned abſolutely, for two Reaſons: one, becauſe the Neceſſity of one is ſufficient to make the Article falſe, as it lieth; the other, becauſe they are all neceſſary in ſome ſort, ſome abſolutely, ſome by Suppoſition, ſome by Conveniency, and ſome for greater Utility. But many marvailed, that Articles of Faith ſhould be eſtabliſhed in ſuch multiplicity of Equivocation. For whoſe Satisfaction, when the Canons were compoſed, there was added, condemning him that held the Sacraments not to be neceſſary, but ſuperfluous; inlarging by this laſt Term the ſignification of the firſt.

Many were of Opinion that the other Part of the Article ought to be omitted, becauſe it was defined in the laſt Seſſion, that Faith only was not ſufficient. And *Marinarus* ſaid, that the diſtinction of the Sacrament in vow, was uſed by the School-men, but was unknown to Antiquity, and full of Difficulties. For in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, when *Cornelius* the Centurion was inſtructed, the Angel ſaid, his Prayers were acceptable

acceptable to God before he knew the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and other Particulars of Faith; and all his Family, hearing the Sermon of Saint *Peter*, received the Holy Ghoſt, before they had been inſtructed in the Doctrine of the Sacraments; and after the Holy Ghoſt received, they were inſtructed concerning Baptiſm, by Saint *Peter*; ſo that having no Knowledge of it, they could not receive it in vow; and the Thief upon the Croſs, then only illuminated by the Vertue of Chriſt, knew not the Sacraments, nor could make any Vow of them. And many holy Martyrs, converted in the Heat of Perſecution, by ſeeing the Conſtancy of others, and preſently taken and put to Death, one cannot ſay, but by Divination, that they knew the Sacraments, and could make a Vow. Therefore it was better to leave that Diſtinction to the Schools, than to put it in the Articles of Faith. The common Opinion was to the contrary, ſaying, That although the Words of the Diſtinction were new and Scholaſtical, yet one muſt believe that the thing ſignified was taught by Chriſt, and is an Apoſtolical Tradition! And for the Examples of *Cornelius*, the Thief, and Martyrs, it is to be underſtood, that there are two Sorts of Vows of the Sacrament; the one explicite, the other implicite; and, at the leaſt, this ſecond is neceſſary: That is, that they had not the Vow actually, but would have had it, if they had been informed. Theſe things the others granted to be true, but not obligatory, as Articles of Faith. The Difficulties, in which they could not agree, were referred to the Synod, that is, to the general Congregation.

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As it happened alſo in the third Article; which, though every one thought to be falſe, yet all did agree, that, in regard of the Neceſſity and Utility, Baptiſm doth proceed; in regard of the Signification, Matrimony; in regard of the Dignity of the Miniſter, Confirmation; in regard of Divine Worſhip, the Euchariſt: But becauſe one cannot ſay, without a Diſtinction, which is more worthy, it is better to omit the Article, which cannot be underſtood without Subtilty. Another Opinion was, That all the Reſpects of Dignity ought to be expreſſed: And another, That the Clauſe ſhould be added to the Article; that is, according to the divers Reſpects. This Opinion was moſt followed, but did much diſpleaſe thoſe, who could not endure that the Synod ſhould abaſe it ſelf to theſe Scholaſtical Fooleries, (for ſo they called them) and believe that Chriſt would have theſe weak Opinions brought into his Faith.

Concerning the Dignity of the Sacraments.

Although that the fourth Article ought to be condemned; yea, that it was neceſſary to amplify it, condemning the Doctrine of *Zuinglius* in particular, who will have the Sacraments to be but Signs, by which the Faithful are diſcerned from Infidels; or Acts, and Exerciſes of the Profeſſion of Chriſtian Faith, having no other Relation to Grace, but as Signs that one hath received it. After they treated of condemning thoſe who deny that Sacraments do confer Grace, to him that putteth not a Bar, or do not confeſs, that Grace is contained in the Sacraments, and conferred, not by virtue of Faith, but *ex opere operato*. But coming to expound how they are contained, and their Cauſality, every one did agree, that Grace is gained by all thoſe Actions that excite Devotion, which proceedeth not from the force of the Work it ſelf, but from the Vertue of Devotion, which is in the Worker; and theſe are ſaid in the Schools, to cauſe Grace, *ex opere operantis*. There are other Actions which cauſe Grace, not by the Devotion of him that worketh, or of him that receiveth the Work, but by Virtue of the Work it ſelf.

The fourth Article is generally condemned.

Whether the Sacraments do confer Grace *ex opere operato*.

Such

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Such are the Chriſtian Sacraments, by which Grace is received, ſo that there be no Bar of mortal Sin to exclude it, though there be not any Devotion. So by the Work of Baptiſm, Grace is given to the Infant, whoſe Mind is not moved towards it; and to one born a Fool, becauſe there is no Impediment of Sin. The Sacrament of Chriſm doth the like; and that of Extream Unction, though the ſick Man hath loſt his Memory. But he that hath mortal Sin, and doth perſevere actually, or habitually, cannot receive Grace, by reaſon of the Contrariety; not becauſe the Sacrament hath not Virtue to produce it *ex opere operato*, but becauſe the Receiver is not capable, being poſſeſſed with a contraay Quality.

Though they all agreed in this, yet they differed, becauſe the Dominicans did affirm, that howbeit Grace is a Spiritual Quality, created immediately by God, yet it is an Inſtrumental and Effective Virtue in the Sacraments; which cauſeth a Diſpoſition in the Soul to receive it. And therefore it is ſaid that they contain Grace, not that it is in them, as in a Veſſel, but as the Effect in the Cauſe, alledging a ſubtil Example, as the Chezil is active, not only in ſcabling the Stone, but in giving Form to the Statue. The Franciſcans ſaid, That it could not be conceived, how God, being a Spiritual Cauſe, can uſe a Corporal Inſtrument, for a Spiritual Effect, as is Grace; they did abſolutely deny all Effective or Diſpoſitive Virtue in the Sacraments; ſaying they have no Virtue, but by the Promiſe of God, that ſo often as they ſhall be adminiſtred, he will give his Grace to them. Therefore it is ſaid they do contain it, as in an Effectual Sign, not by any Virtue of their own, but by a Divine Promiſe, of infallible Aſſiſtance to the Miniſtry. Therefore it is a Cauſe, for that the Effect doth follow, not by any Virtue of its own, but by the Promiſe of God, to give Grace at that time: As the Merit is cauſe of the Reward without any Activity. This they proved not only by the Authority of *Scotus*, and Saint *Bonaventure*, their Divines, but by Saint *Bernard* alſo, who ſaith that Grace is received by the Sacraments; as a Canon is inveſted by the Book, and a Biſhop by the Ring. The Reaſons were expounded on both ſides, with great Prolixity and Sharpneſs. And they cenſured one another. The Dominicans ſaid, That the other Opinion was near to Lutheraniſm; and the others, that theirs being impoſſible, gave occaſion to the Hereticks to calumniate the Church. Some good Prelats deſired (though without Effect) to make Peace, ſaying, that in regard they agreed in the Concluſion, that the Sacraments contain and are cauſe of Grace, it did little import in what Manner, and that it was better, not deſcending to Particulars, to ſtand in the general. But the Friars replied, that they ſpake not of Words, but of eſtabliſhing, or annihilating the Sacraments. There would never have been an end, if the Legate *Santta Croce* had not given Order that they ſhould paſs to that which remained, and that afterwards they ſhould return to examine whether it were neceſſary to decide the Point, or to leave it.

The *Franciſcans* and *Dominicans* cannot agree about the manner how the Sacraments do contain Grace.

The Legats uſe means to repreſs the dangerous Liberty of the Fryars.

The Legats called unto them the Generals of the Orders, and prayed them to cauſe the Fryars to treat with Modeſty and Charity, without Partiality to their own Sect, ſhewing they were called to ſpeak againſt Hereſies, and not to make new ariſe by Diſputes. And they wrote thereof to *Rome*, ſhewing how dangerous the Liberty was which the Fryars did aſſume, and to what it might come. And they told the Pope that a Moderation was neceſſary. For there being a Fame ſpread of thoſe Diſſenſions, and Cenſures, which one Party pronounced againſt the

the other, it must needs raise Scandal and small Reputation of the Council. 1547. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

It was thought fit to omit the fifth Article, as decided in the former Session. But Friar *Bartholomew Miranda* called to mind that *Luther*, by that Paradox of his, that the Sacraments do not confer Grace, but by exciting Faith, drew also a Conclusion, that those of the Old, and of the Evangelical Law, are of equal virtue; which Opinion was to be condemned, as contrary to the Doctrine of the Fathers, and the Church; all having said, that the old Sacraments were only Signs of Grace, but the new contain it and cause it. No Man did contradict the Conclusion, but the Franciscans proposed, That it should not be said of the old Law, but of *Moses*'s Law, in regard that Circumcision it self did cause Grace: but it was not a Mosaical Sacrament; for *Christ* also said, it was not of *Moses*, but of the Fathers; and also because other Sacrifices, before *Abraham*, did confer, and cause Grace. The Dominicans replied that Saint *Paul* said plainly, that *Abraham* had received the Circumcision only for a Sign; that he being the first unto whom it was given, it is as much as to say it was instituted only for a Sign. And the Questions of the manner of containing, and causing Grace, returned into the Field. Friar *Gregory* of *Padua*, said hereupon, that it was a clear case in Logick, that things in the same kind have Identity and Difference among themselves. If the old Sacraments and ours had only difference, they would not all be Sacraments, but equivocally; if only Identity, they would be absolutely the same thing. Therefore they must beware to put difficulty in plain matters for some diversity of words; and that Saint *Augustin* had said, that these and those, are divers in the Sign, but equal in the Thing signified. And in another place, that they were divers in the visible *Species*, but the same in the intelligible Signification; and that elsewhere he puts a difference, that those were *permissive*, and these *demonstrative*: which another doth express in another term, that those were *prenunciative*, and these *constitutive*. Whence it plainly appeareth, that they agree and differ in many things; which no sensible Man can deny: and therefore it was Wisdom not to put that Article in the beginning, neither was it to any purpose to touch it in the present Decree. Another Opinion came forth, that the Opinion of the Lutherans, and Zuinglians, was to be condemned, without descending to the particulars. For they say, there is no difference between the old and new Sacraments, but in the Rites. But it hath been shewed, that there are other differences; and therefore, they are to be condemned for this only, without descending to shew what those differences are.

But the sixth was censured by the Dominicans, who said it was proper to the Evangelical Sacraments to give Grace, and that the old did not give it, but only by the virtue of Devotion: and that this was the Opinion of Saint *Thomas*. They alledged, for a principal ground, the determination of the Florentine Council, that the Sacraments of the old Law did not cause Grace, but did figure, that it must be given by the passion of *Christ*. But because Saint *Bonaventure*, and *Scotus*, did maintain that the Circumcision did confer Grace *ex opere operato*, *Scotus* adding, that, immediately after the Sin of *Adam*, a Sacrament was instituted, in which Grace was given to Babes by virtue of it, that is, *ex opere operato*, the Franciscans said the Article was true, and could not be censured; and that if, as Saint *Thomas* said, Children, before *Christ*, were saved by the Fathers Faith, the state of Christians was worse.

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worſe. For now the Fathers Faith doth not only help the Children, without Baptiſm; and Saint *Auſtin* ſaith, that the Child that is carried by the Father to be baptized, if he die in the way, is damned. So that if Faith only did then ſuffice, the condition of the Sons of Chriſtians is now worſe. In theſe difficulties, many did propoſe, that the Article, as probable, ſhould be omitted.

Concerning the Character imprinted by the Sacrament.

To leave out the ſeventh and eighth, there was a great Agreement. But in the ninth, of the Character, Friar *Dominicus Soto* endeavoured to declare, that it hath foundation in the holy Scripture, and hath ever been held in the Church for an Apoſtolical Tradition: and though the name hath not been uſed by the Fathers, yet the thing ſignified is moſt ancient. Others did not grant him ſo great a ſcope, becauſe it did not appear, that *Gratian*, or the Maſter of the Sentences, had made any mention thereof. Yea, *John Scotus* ſaid, that it was not neceſſary, by the words of the Scripture, or of the Fathers, to affirm it, but only by the Authority of the Church; a thing uſual with that Doctor, to deny things with a kind of courteſy. It was worth the knowing what thing they meant it ſhould be, and where ſituated, in ſuch multiplicity of School-Opinions: ſome making it a Quality; and amongſt thoſe were four Opinions, according to the four kinds of the Qualities; ſome a Spiritual Power; ſome an Habit or Diſpoſition; others a Spiritual Figure; and the Opinion that it was a ſenſible Metaphorical Quality, did not want Abettors. Some would have it a real Relation; ſome, a Fabrick of the Mind, who were to declare how far it differed from nothing. The ſame variety of Opinions, concerning the Subject, was troubleſome; ſome placed it in the Eſſence of the Soul; ſome in the Underſtanding; ſome in the Will; and there wanted not, who gave it place in the Hands and Tongue. *Jerom* of *Portugal*, a Dominican Friar, thought that the Sacraments did imprint a Spiritual Quality, before the coming of Grace; and that it was of two ſorts: one which can never be aboliſhed, the other which may be loſt, and regained; the former whereof is called a Character, and the latter a certain Ornament. The Sacraments which give the firſt, cannot be reiterated, becauſe their Effect ever remaineth; the others may, when their Effect is loſt. This carried a fair ſhew, but was not approved by many, becauſe there was no other Author to be found of that Ornament, but Saint *Thomas*; who alſo, though he begat it, yet did not think it worthy of Education. But howſoever, all agreed in this General, that three Sacraments have the Character; yet ſome did ſay modeſtly, that it was to be approved as more probable, not as neceſſary: others on the contrary, that it was an Article of Faith, becauſe *Innocentius* the third, made mention of it, and was ſo defined by the Council of *Florence*.

What this Character is.

Three Sacraments have a Character.

The Article, that the honeſty of the Miniſter was not neceſſary, was ſo diſcuſſed by Saint *Auſtin*, in ſo many Books, againſt the Donatiſts, that the Divines did all agree: and beſides it was alledged, for a principal Ground, that the Article was condemned, by the Council of *Conſtance*, amongſt the Errors of *John Wickliff*.

They all condemned the eleventh Article, as contrary to the Scripture, Tradition, and uſe of the univerſal Church.

The twelfth, of the Forms of the Sacraments, was diſtinguiſhed, as receiving two Senſes: underſtanding by Form, either the eſſential words, as it is ſaid, that every Sacrament hath, for Matter, the ſenſible Element, and, for Form, the Word; or underſtanding, by Form, all the Form and Rite of the Miniſtery, which includeth many things not neceſſary,

ſary, but decent. And they thought fit to make two Canons thereof; by the firſt, condemning him of Hereſy, that ſaith, That the Form may be changed, being inſtituted by *Chriſt*. But for the ſecond ſenſe, though Accidental Things may receive Mutation, yet when any Rite is brought in by publick Authority, or received and confirmed by Common Uſe, it ſhould not be in every Man's power to change it, but only in the Pope's, as Head of the Church Univerſal, when it is convenient for ſome new reſpect. 1547. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

In the thirteenth, of the Intention of the Miniſter, they could not diſſent from the Council of *Florence*, which holds it neceſſary: but what Intention was required, was hard to expreſs, in regard of the variety of Opinions about the Efficacy and Virtue of the Sacraments: becauſe there cannot be the ſame Intention of two, who have divers Opinions. The common anſwer was, That the Intention to do as the Church did, was ſufficient. Notwithſtanding this Expoſition, the Difficulties remained, for that Mens Opinions what the Church is, being divers, their Intention in adminiſtring the Sacrament, would prove various alſo. It ſeemed they might ſay, it was not different, when all had the ſame aim, to do that which hath been inſtituted by *Chriſt*, and obſerved by the Church, though a falſe Church be taken for a true, ſo that the Rite of the one and the other be the ſame. Concerning the Intention of the Miniſter in the adminiſtration of the Sacrament.

In this Particular, the Biſhop of *Minori* propoſed a Thing worthy to be repeated here, and eſteemed by all to deſerve great Conſideration. He ſaid, That to the Lutherans, who give no other virtue to the Sacraments, than to excite Faith, which notwithſtanding may be ſtirred up ſome other way, it did little import to receive the true Sacrament. Whereupon they ſay it is not neceſſary, and think it not convenient, that the Malice of a Wicked Miniſter, who hath no Intention to confer the true Sacrament, ſhould be able to hurt, becauſe we are to regard what the Faithful receiveth, and not what is given. But amongſt the Catholicks, who do truly attribute to the Sacrament power to give Grace to him that doth not reſiſt it, ſeeing it happeneth very ſeldom, that Grace is obtained by any other Means; ſurely little Children, and many who have but ſmall Underſtanding, are ſaved no other way. And ordinary Men have ſo weak a diſpoſition, that it would not ſuffice without the Sacrament. And thoſe few, who, as *Phœnixes*, have a perfect Diſpoſition, yet do receive greater Grace by the Sacrament. Therefore it much concerneth a Chriſtian to be aſſured, that he receiveth that which is true and effectual. If a Prieſt, having charge of four or five thouſand Souls, were an Infidel, but a Formal Hypocrite, and in abſolving the Penitent, Baptizing of Children, and Conſecrating the Euchariſt, had an Intention not to do what the Church doth, it muſt be ſaid, that the Children are damned, the Penitent not abſolved, and that all remain without the Fruit of the Communion. Neither is it enough to ſay, that Faith ſupplieth, becauſe it doth not help Children at all, according to the Catholick Doctrine, nor others, ſo much as the Sacrament: and to attribute ſo great Virtue to Faith, were to take all Virtue from the Sacraments, and to fall into the Lutheran Opinion. A diſcourſe of the Biſhop of *Minori* about the intention of the Miniſter.

He conſidered how a tender Father would be afflicted when his Son was about to die, if he doubted of the Intention of the Baptizing Prieſt. So he that feeleth himſelf of a weak Diſpoſition, and is to be Baptized, what anxiety will he have, that perhaps the Prieſt is a Counterfeit Chriſtian, and mocketh him, not meaning to Baptize him, but only to Waſh him in jeſt. And the ſame may be feared in Confeſſion, and

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receiving the Euchariſt. He added, If any ſaid, theſe Caſes were rare, would to God it were ſo, and that, in this Corrupt Age, we had not cauſe to doubt they were many. But ſuppoſe they are very few, or but one only. Let there be a Knave Prieſt, who feigneth, and hath not an intention to adminiſter the true Baptiſm to a Child; who after being a Man grown, is created Biſhop of a great City, and liveth many Years in that Charge, ſo that he hath ordained a great part of the Prieſts: it muſt be ſaid, that he, being not Baptized, is not Ordained, nor they Ordained who are promoted by him. So, in that great City, there will be neither Euchariſt, nor Confeſſion, becauſe they cannot be without the Sacrament of Order, nor Order without a True Biſhop; neither can he receive Order who is not Baptized. Behold, millions of Nullities of Sacraments, by the Malice of one Miniſter, in one Act only. And he that thinketh that God ſupplieth by his Omnipotency, and provideth againſt theſe daily Occurrences by Extraordinary Remedies, will ſooner make one believe that God, by his Providence, hath provided that ſuch Accidents ſhould not happen. Therefore the Biſhop ſaid, To every Inconvenience, God hath made Proviſion herein, by ordaining that to be a Sacrament, which is adminiſtred according to the Rite inſtituted by himſelf, though the Miniſter have another inward Intention. And he added, that this doth not croſs the common Doctrine of the Divines, or the Determination of the *Florentine* Council, which requireth Intention, becauſe the Inward Intention is not to be underſtood, but that which is manifeſted by the External Work, though inwardly it be contrary. And ſo all Inconveniences are removed, which otherwiſe are innumerable. He brought many Reaſons for Proof, and at laſt the example written by *Sozomene*; That the Children of *Alexandria*, being at play by the Sea-ſide, did imitate in jeſt, the Actions uſed in the Church; and *Athanaſius*, created Biſhop of the Play, did baptize other Children not baptized before; whereof *Alexander*, of famous Memory, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, being advertiſed, he was troubled at it, and called the Children, and asked what their Biſhop had done, and ſaid unto them, and underſtanding that all the Eccleſiaſtical Rite was obſerved, by the Counſel of other Prieſts, did approve their Baptiſm; which could not be maintained, if ſuch an Intention, as others ſpake of, were required, but might well be in that manner that himſelf did expreſs it.

Anathanaſius, being a child, did baptize other children.

The Divines did not approve this Doctrine, yet were troubled, and knew not how to reſolve the Reaſon: But they ſtill defended, that the true Intention of the Miniſter was neceſſary, either Actual, or Virtual; and that without it the Sacrament was not of force, notwithſtanding any external Demonſtration. I muſt not refrain to ſhew alſo (though it be an anticipation of the fit Time) that howſoever the Synod did after determine abſolutely that the Intention of the Miniſter is neceſſary, yet this Prelat remained firm, and, in a little Book that he wrote of this Subject a Year after, did ſay, That the Synod of *Trent* was of his Opinion, and that the Determination ought to be underſtood in his Senſe. There was no difficulty in condemning the laſt Article, by reaſon of that which hath been ſaid by others.

The opinion of the Biſhop of *Minori* was not received. But a year after he publiſhed a little Book, to ſhew that the Synod was of his mind.

The Matter of Baptiſm, in the third Article, gave them greater trouble, what that Baptiſm is which is given by the Hereticks. All grounded themſelves upon the School-doctrine, received by the *Florentine* Council, That a Sacrament requireth Matter, Form, and Intention; and that Water is the Matter, the expreſſion of the Act in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, the Form; and to do what the Church

Church doth, the Intention. Whereupon they eſtabliſhed an unboubted Concluſion, that thoſe Hereticks have true Baptiſm, and agree with us in theſe three things; which they ſaid was received by an Apoſtolical Tradition, eſtabliſhed long before by Pope *Stephanus* the firſt, in the beginning of the third Age, and approved by all the Church following. But thoſe that underſtand Antiquity do know, that this was not the Opinion of *Stephanus*, in whoſe Time, Matter, Form, and Intention were not heard of. For that Pope did think abſolutely, that thoſe who were converted from any Hereſy whatſoever, ought not to be rebaptized: though, in thoſe times, the Hereticks, except ſome few *Montaniſts*, were *Gnoſticks*, who uſed extravagant Baptiſms, by reaſon of the exorbitant Opinions which they held, of the Divinity, and Perſon of *Chriſt*. And it is certain that thoſe Baptiſms had not the form which is uſed now, and yet the Church of *Rome* did then receive to repentance, every ſort of Heretieks indifferently, without rebaptizing them. The Biſhops of *Africa*, and *Cappadocia*, were directly oppoſite, ſaying, That all Hereticks were to be rebaptized. In the Council of *Nice* a middle courſe was held, that is, That the *Cathari* ſhould not be rebaptized, but the *Paulianiſts* and *Montaniſts* ſhould. The Council of *Conſtantinople* did name many Hereticks which were to be Rebaptized, and others to be received to Baptiſm with them, in whom it would be hard to ſhew that the ſame Form was uſed. But (which is of more importance) Saint *Bernard* doth witneſs, that the *Novatians*, *Encraticks*, *Saccofors* were not rebaptized in *Rome*, whom notwithſtanding he did rebaptize; neither did that Saint think this Diverſity to be abſurd: only he ſaid, it would be good to aſſemble many Biſhops to reſolve upon an uniform Proceeding. But giving no more heed to theſe Things than to Fables, they held the current Doctrine that an Heretick doth truly baptize, if he uſeth the words, and hath the intention of the Church. 1547. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

The fourth Article; That Baptiſm was Repentance, in regard of the force of the Speech, was held by many not to be falſe; alledging the Evangeliſt, who ſaith, That *John* preached *the Baptiſm of Repentance*; and that *Paul*, in the ſixth to the *Hebrews*, calleth Baptiſm by the name of *Repentance*. And ſo may Fathers have ſaid the ſame, that the Article could not be condemned, except it did ſay, that Baptiſm was the Sacrament of Penance. But becauſe it ſeemed in this ſence to be the ſame with the ſixteenth Article, many thought fit to leave it.

The 9*th* and 10*th* belonging to the Baptiſm of *John*, many were of Opinion that they ought to be omitted. For not ſpeaking of thoſe of the Old Law, it was leſs fit to ſpeak of that which was in the middle, in regard their ſcope was to handle the Sacraments of the new Law. But others ſaid, That the Hereticks mind was, not to exalt the Baptiſm of *John*, and to make it equal with that of *Chriſt*; but to abaſe that of *Chriſt*, and to make it equal with *John*'s Baptiſm; inferring, that, as this did not give Grace, but was a pure ſignification, ſo was ours alſo, which is a moſt formal Hereſy. Whether the Baptiſm of *John* and Chriſt be equal.

In the eleventh of the Rites, ſome would have the Subſtantials diſtinguiſhed from others, and ſaid, That thoſe only cannot be omitted without Sin. Others would exclude the Caſe of Neceſſity only, and that otherwiſe it was not lawful to omit any whatſoever; for in regard the Church, governed by the Holy Ghoſt, hath ordained them, they are neceſſary by the Precept, though not by the Subſtance of the Sacrament. They alledged many Chapters of the Popes, and Councils;

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all which would prove vain, if every one, might change as he liſteth. That part which ſpeaketh of Immerſion, though it be a more expreſs Figure of the Death, Burial, and Reſurrection of *Chriſt*, yet it was condemned by all, and many places of the Prophets were alledged, where Aſperſion, or Effuſion of Water is ſpoken of; all which, they ſaid, ought literally to be underſtood of Baptiſm.

Eraſmus is taxed.

All ſet themſelves againſt thoſe three which ſpeak of the Baptiſm of Children, alledging the Doctrine of the Ancient Fathers and Schoolmen; and many Invectives were made againſt *Eraſmus*, attributing unto him the Invention of the Fifteenth, ſaying, it was Impious and Pernicious, and would open a way to aboliſh all Chriſtian Religion: adding, that if the Children of the uncircumciſed *Jews*, coming to age, were bound to keep all the Law, and were puniſhed for tranſgreſſing it, it was more juſt to compel the Sons of the Faithful to obſerve the Chriſtian Law; that the Univerſity of *Paris* had deſervedly condemned the Article, and ſo ought the Synod to do.

They concluded, That the Sixteenth was contained in the former Articles, becauſe it did take away Penance, one of the ſeven Sacraments. But all ſaid, that the laſt was contrary to the proper Miniſtery of Baptiſm, in the very beginning whereof the Catechized is admoniſhed, That, if he will have Eternal Life, it is neceſſary to obſerve all the Commandments.

Of Confirmation, Chriſm, and Unction.

In the Articles about Confirmation, there was no difference; and all, for their Ground, did alledge the Council of *Florence*. And that which is ſaid in the third Article, that young Men did formerly give an account of their Faith in the preſence of the Church, was generally decided, that, not being uſed in theſe Times, one ought to believe it was never uſed before; for the Church would never have intermitted that Ceremony. Many places of Councils and ancient Writers were alledged, making mention of Chriſm, and Unction, which cannot agree to Inſtruction or Examination. Therefore they concluded, that it was a moſt vain Ignorance, to change ſo principal a Sacrament, againſt the common meaning of all the Church, into a Rite perhaps uſed in ſome particular place, but never univerſally, as the Unction of the Chriſm.

Whether only the Biſhop be Miniſter of Confirmation.

Upon the laſt Article there was much difficulty, in regard Saint *Gregory*, the Pope, did grant the Miniſtery to ſimple Prieſts. The Franciſcans, according to the Doctrine of Saint *Bonaventure*, followed by *John Scotus*, and their Order, which doth attribute the Miniſtery to the Biſhop only, as Pope *Adrian* the ſixth did alſo maintain, anſwered, That it was a permiſſion only for that Time, and againſt the Pope's Will, to avoid the ſcandal of thoſe People: or elſe, that the Unction, permitted by *Gregory*, was not the Sacrament of Confirmation. Which Anſwer not pleaſing Saint *Thomas*, becauſe it did not wholly free the Pope from having erred, he found a Temper, and ſaid, That though the Biſhop be the Miniſter of Confirmation, yet, with the Pope's Permiſſion, it may be adminiſtred by the Prieſt. Others oppoſed, and ſaid, That the Doctrine of the *Roman* Church was Abſolute, that the Miniſters of Sacraments are inſtituted by *Chriſt*; whom though the Pope can command to the exerciſe of the Miniſtery, yet he cannot make the Sacrament to be of force, that is adminiſtred by others, or nullify that which is conferred by the Miniſter, inſtituted by *Chriſt*, though againſt his Commandment. And therefore if *Chriſt* hath inſtituted the Biſhop for Miniſter, the Pope cannot make that Grant to the Prieſt; if *Chriſt* hath granted that the Prieſt may do it, the Pope cannot hinder him. For it would ſeem a

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ſtrange thing, that in the other Sacraments, being all of greater Neceſſity, *Chriſt* ſhould preſcribe the Miniſter, without leaving any liberty unto Men; and in this, which may at any time be deferred, uſe a ſingularity, whereof, for ſix hundred Years, until the time of *Gregory*, no Man had made any mention, building an Article of Faith upon four Words, ſpoken by occaſion: and if the Epiſtle had been loſt, no Man would ever have invented that diſtinction, unuſual in ſuch a Matter, nor to be applied to any thing but to this place of *Gregory*. 1547. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

Others, being not ſatisfied with the Reſolution of either Party, did propoſe, That the Words of the Florentine Council ſhould be taken. Some thought fit, only to condemn him that would ſay, That the Prieſt, and not the Biſhop only, is the ordinary Miniſter; giving by the Word (Ordinary) power to infer, therefore there is another Extraordinary; or to ſay, That there can be no other, becauſe the Sacraments have no Miniſter, but Ordinary.

A Decree of Reformation containing ſix Heads.

While the forenamed Articles were diſcuſſed by the Divines, in the Congregation of the Canoniſts, aſſembled to collect, and remedy the Abuſes, concerning the Sacraments in general, and, in particular, of Baptim, and Confirmation, a Decree was made containing ſix heads, which ſaid thus in ſubſtance; That the Synod, deſiring to remove the Abuſes, brought in by Men or Time, and to teach the Miniſters of Churches, and all the Faithful, how to govern themſelves in obſerving, miniſtring, and receiving the Sacraments, doth ordain, 1. That the Eccleſiaſtical Sacraments, ſhall be freely conferred, without taking or demanding any thing for them, under any preſence whatſoever; and no Cheſt, Veſſel, Cloath, or any ſuch thing ſhall be ſhewed, by which a Demand may be intimated; nor the Sacrament ſhall be denied, or deferred, upon pretence of any long and ancient Cuſtom, not to confer them before ſome certain Stipend be paid, or Satisfaction of ſome Debt, conſidering that neither Cuſtom, or length of Time, doth diminiſh the Sin, but rather increaſeth it: and the Offenders ſhall be puniſhed according to the Laws, made againſt Simoniacal Perſons. 2. The Sacrament of Baptiſm, ſhall not be conferred in prophane Places, but in Churches only, except in caſe of Neceſſity, and when the Children of Kings and Princes are to be baptized, according to the Conſtitution of *Clement* the fifth; which ſhall not take place in all that have Dominion, but only in great Princes. Neither ſhall the Biſhop give the Chriſm, but in ſeemly Ornaments, and in the Churches, Sacred Places, or Epiſcopal Houſes. 3. The Sacrament of Baptiſm ſhall be adminiſtred by able Prieſts, in the Mother-Churches only, except, by reaſon of great difficulty to go to them, the Biſhop think fit to grant it to other Churches, or that it hath been granted, time out of mind: in which Churches, Holy Water, taken from the Mother-Church, ſhall be kept in a clean and decent Veſſel. 4. In Baptiſm and Chriſm, there ſhall be allowed but one God-father, who ſhall neither be Infamous, nor Excommunicated, nor Interdicted, nor under Age, nor a Monk, nor any that cannot perform what he promiſeth. And in Chriſm, he ſhall not be received for a God-father, who hath not received Chriſm himſelf. 5. To take away the Abuſe practiſed in many Places, to carry about the Water of Baptiſm, or Chriſtned Children, with their Forehead bound; to make many God-fathers, by waſhing of the Hands, or looſing the Forehead, the Prieſts, in regard no Compaternity is contracted by theſe Means, ſhall not permit the Water of Baptiſm to be carried out of the Church, but ſhall cauſe it to be caſt into the Sacrary,

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and the Font to be ſhut up. And the Biſhops, when they give the Chriſm, ſhall make two Clerks ſtand at the Church Door, to unty and waſh the Foreheads of thoſe that have received the Chriſm, not ſuffering any that is tied to go out of the Church. 6. The Biſhops ſhall be diligently careful, not to Confirm any who is Excommunicated, Interdicted, or in Mortal Sin.

And though the Canoniſts did more eaſily agree in theſe Decrees, than the Theologues in their Diſcuſſions, yet ſome Differences were amongſt them; for Reſolution whereof, becauſe after long Diſputation, they could not agree, they put them in form, and referred the deciſion to the general Congregation. The firſt Doubt was, Whether unto theſe words, that is, That nothing ſhall be required or demanded, it ſhould be added, or received. The ſecond, Whether they ſhould add theſe words; under pretence of any Cuſtom whatſoever. The third, Whether they ſhould uſe ſome words, to ſignify, that the Synod doth not prohibite Voluntary Oblations, or doth prohibite them only, when they are given in regard of the Sacrament, and not for other reſpects of Piety, or whether the Decree ſhould be left in its univerſality.

Difficulties referred to the general Congregation.

But there was the ſame difficulty, in the general Congregation, impoſſible to be reconciled. Thoſe that required the Additions, not to receive, or pretend Cuſtom, alledged the Goſpel; *Freely you have received, freely give*; and many Canons, *anathematizing* him that giveth or receiveth a Temporal Thing, for a Spiritual. That Cuſtom, againſt the Law of God and Nature, is Corruption, and cannot take place. That in the title of Simony, the Cuſtom of giving, or receiving, for Poſſeſſion of Benefices, Benedictions of Marriages, for Burials, Benediction of the Chriſm, for Oyl, or for the Ground of the Burial, is reprehended and condemned. Which the rather ought to be applied to the Sacraments, in regard, if that be not prohibited, nothing is done, becauſe the Corruption is uſed in all Places, and every one will excuſe himſelf with it. That as the Cuſtom of receiving any thing before, is condemned in the Decree, ſo the cuſtom to receive after, ought to be condemned, by the ſame Reaſon; or elſe, by condemning that, this is approved. And for Voluntary Oblations, they would have it generally forbid, to give or receive any thing a little before, or a little after, for any reſpect whatſoever; becauſe, in reſpect of the Time, one may preſume that it is given for the Sacrament. And here the Gloſs was alledged, which ſaith, That howſoever it is a Work of Piety, to put Mony into the Box, yet to do it in time of receiving the Sacrament, breedeth ſuſpicion of Simony: and therefore that the Time is to be reſpected, which may make a thing ſeem Evil, which otherwiſe may be accounted Good. That God doth command, *to take away all occaſion of Scandal*, and *to abſtain from all appearance of Evil.* And therefore that the Sacraments may be purely adminiſtred, they would have Voluntary Oblations abſolutely forbid, in time of adminiſtring the Sacraments, exhorting the Faithful, to uſe them in other Times and Occaſions.

In which they could not be decided.

On the other ſide was alledged, That the fourth Council of *Carthage* granteth the receiving of what is offered for baptizing of Children; and that the Divines, having determined that no temporal thing ſhall be received for the Sacrament, do conſent withal, that one may receive for the pains in adminiſtring them; and much rather when it is given or received, not in reſpect of the Sacrament, but by way of Almes,

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or elſe the Laity would have no occaſions to exerciſe Works of Charity, and the Poor Curats would not be able to live. They alledged the Authority of Saint *Paul*, That it is not Lawful to muzzel the Ox that treadeth out the Corn; and that he that ſerveth at the Altar, ſhould live by it. That it ſhould never be confeſſed that any Cuſtom is introduced to give or receive any thing, for the miniſtring of the Sacraments; becauſe it being generally uſed, it would be as much as to ſay, that a Pernicious Abuſe hath been tolerated, yea approved in the Church Univerſal. Therefore that they ought not to ſpeak of breaking a Cuſtom that was never in uſe; leſt thinking to remedy that which is not Evil, but ſo eſteemed by the Tenderneſs of ſome Mens Conſciences, the Church ſhould receive a Mortal Wound. Their principal Reaſon was, that *Innocentius* the Third, in the General Council, in the Chapter, *Ad Apoſtolicam*, doth not only declare the Cuſtom of making Oblations, in the Adminiſtration of Sacraments, to be lawful, and ordain it ſhould be obſerved, but that the Biſhop ſhould be puniſhed, in caſe he ſhould go about to change it. Therefore to determine the contrary now, would be to condemn, very ſcandalouſly, a Pope and a General Council, as Approvers and Defenders of a Pernicious Error.

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It was replied by the other ſide, That the Statute of the Council of *Carthage* doth condemn, ſeverely, the Exaction, and doth tolerate the Voluntary Oblation: but that it was amended by the Council of *Heliberum*, which forbiddeth the Uſe, obſerved in thoſe times, that the Baptized ſhould put ſome Mony into the Font. That the Invention of the Divines, diſtinguiſhed the Miniſtery of the Sacrament from the pains in adminiſtring it, and the diſtinction to receive in reſpect of the Sacrament, or of ſome-thing elſe; and that of the firſt and ſecond Intention, are Metaphyſical, and Chimerical, conſidering the words of the Goſpel are delivered in abſolute Terms, not ſubject to Cavil, or Gloſſes, which do marr the Text. That God by *Moſes* and Saint *Paul*, prohibiting the Muzzel, doth mean that Food ſhould not be denied to the Hungry Beaſt, yet that he ſhould not be filled with Superfluity. That the Poverty of the Clergy could not be pretended, having not only Competent, but Abundant Revenues. That the Abuſe is, that the Governours of Churches reſide not in their Benefices, and yet will receive all the Fruits, hiring the Incertainty to poor ſilly Prieſts, who are forced to ſell all to keep themſelves alive. That they ſhould rather make Proviſion that all ſhould reſide, by which means they would have more than enough for their Maintenance, and ſhould not need to ſell the Sacraments. And by this occaſion they began again to dilate of Reſidency, and of the Good that would follow, declaring it to be, *De Jure Divino*. That if any Benefice with Cure of Souls be ſmall, Proviſion ſhould be made, by uniting other Simple Benefices; and in caſe there were no other way, by cauſing the People to contribute for their Maintenance. That it is better, and pleaſeth God more, to confeſs the Error paſt, and to redreſs it, than to defend it, and perſevere. And the Cardinal of *Monte*, who otherwiſe did not ſeem inclined to Reformation, was peremptory in this, anſwering thoſe that alledged the Authority of *Innocentius* the Third, and the General Council, That they did great wrong to that Pope, and thoſe Fathers, to ſay, they defended ſo great an Abuſe, and that they ſhewed their Ignorance. For if they read the 3*d* Chapter of the ſame Council, which is the third before that which they have alledged, they might have ſeen the meaning very plainly; and how thoſe Fathers did forbid all Exactions, condemning

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alſo the Cuſtom to the contrary. And, in that Chapter, the Cuſtoms to give any thing for adminiſtring the Sacraments are not allowed, but others, being lawful, honeſt, and in favour of the Church, are permitted, as Tenths, firſt Fruits, Oblations uſually made to the Altars, Canonical Portions, and ſuch other Laudable Uſances; alledging that the Chapter was ſo underſtood by *Bartholus* and *Romanus*.

Anathematiſms framed.

The Fathers deputed to make the Decrees in Matter of Faith conſidering the Opinions of the Divines, and the Concluſions in which they agreed, leaving and diſtinguiſhing the Articles according to their direction, and ranging them in a better order, framed 24 *Anathematiſms*, concerning the Sacraments in general, ten of Baptiſm, and three of *Chriſm*: which were expreſſed in ſuch a Form, as that no Catholick Opinion was condemned, and all Parties ſatisfied. But in compoſing the *Heads* to expreſs the Doctrine, as was done in Juſtification, it was not poſſible to uſe the Terms of one Opinion, but that other ſeemed to be diſallowed; which neither pleaſed the Doctors for the affection they bare to their own Sect, nor the Legats and Neutrals, for fear of ſowing new Diviſions: But not being able to expreſs the Doctrine ſo nicely, but that more than one of the Parties would be loſt, they referred it to the general Congregation, to define how the Sacraments do contain and cauſe Grace.

It was hard to expreſs the Doctrine, and to diſpleaſe no perſons.

The Congregation was no leſs perplexed than the Deputies. One part inclined to omit wholly the Matter of Doctrine, and to paſs with the *Anathematiſms* only, as they did in Original Sin. Another part would have the Doctrine by all means, alledging the Reaſons uſed, when they treated of Juſtification; that it was neceſſary to follow the Example then begun: and that all diligence ſhould be uſed to ſatisfy all parties. But at the laſt they ſaid it muſt be done, and that there was no danger of Diviſion. For the Divines, preſent in Council, though they ſharply defend their own Opinions, yet they do refer themſelves to the Synod, which the abſent will aſſuredly do alſo. Therefore they ſhould nor refrain to do the Buſineſs exactly, that the Hereticks may be convinced. This Opinion had prevailed, but that *John Baptiſta Cigala*, Biſhop of *Albenga*, and *Auditor* of the *Chamber*, did ſtrongly oppoſe: who ſaid, It was never found in any Story, that ever any Man was willing to have his Opinion condemned; and though all the Catholicks refer themſelves to the judgment of the Church of *Rome*, yet if their Opinion were rejected, they would not refer it, but defend it more obſtinately, fortifying themſelves the more by Reaſon of Oppoſition; by which means, of Sects, Hereſies do ſpring. Therefore that the beſt way was to tolerate all the Opinions, and to take care that none condemn another, but that all may live in peace. Neither is there ſuch Contrariety between them, that uſing this Moderation, any Inconvenience can ariſe; whereas, without it, every Verbal Difference, or little trifle, is able to divide the whole World. That many Opinions of the Modern Innovators might have been tolerated, if they had been modeſtly maintained, without condemning the Church of *Rome*, and the Doctrine of the Schools. This conſtrained *Leo* to retort againſt *Luther* thoſe Arrows, which he had firſt ſhot againſt the Apoſtolick See. In ſum, the wiſe Prelat ſaid, That the uſual Proteſtations of the Doctors to refer themſelves to the Church, were Terms of good Manners and Reverence, which ſhould be anſwered with as much reſpect, by keeping themſelves Neutral between the Contrarieties. That it is fit, that he that would be reſpected, ſhould give reſpect again:

The Proteſtations of Doctors, that they refer themſelves to the Church, are but Terms of good Manners.

again: and one ought never to believe that he that ſaith he doth refer himſelf and ſubmit, hath a purpoſe to do it, if occaſion were offered. Of this *Luther* is a manifeſt Example; who, while he had to do only with the Fryers, who were Pardon-mongers in *Germany*, in matter of Indulgences, as alſo with the Doctors of *Rome*, did always ſay he referred himſelf to the Pope. And when *Leo* took the Promiſe for real, which was made only in ſhew, *Martin* did not only not keep it, but inveighed more againſt his Holineſs, than he had done againſt the Pardoners in *Germany*. 1547. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

The Legats ſent a Copy to *Rome* of all Things that were deliberated, and of the Difficulties remaining, as well in matter of Faith, as in Reformation of the Abuſes, deſiring to have Order what they ſhould reſolve, re-examining in the mean ſpace the ſame Matters; but moſt ſeriouſly the matter of the Plurality of Benefices, propoſed long before, as hath been ſaid, and handled in part at the ſame time, all the ſubſtance whereof I will continuately relate in this place. The Legats ſend to *Rome*.

In the Congregation of the fifteenth of *January*, when the Articles of the Sacraments were given out, the Matter, begun the Day before, continuing ſtill, in regard many do not reſide becauſe they are not fit to exerciſe the Charge, with the Plurality of Benefices they handled the Qualities and Conditions required in Biſhops. They began with that which Saint *Paul* requireth in Biſhops and Deacons, inſiſting much upon the Words, *irreprehenſible*, given to Hoſpitality, not Covetous, not new in Religion, and eſteemed by Strangers. Afterwards other Conditions, required by many Canons, were alledged, wherein there was no Difficulty, all uniformly declaiming againſt the Vices and Defects of the Prelats and Clergy. This diſpleaſed not the Legats, being content to ſee the Prelats entertain themſelves with this ſhadow of Liberty. But in the heat of ſpeaking *John Salazer* Biſhop of *Lanciano*, attributed the beginning of all to the Court of *Rome*, which, in diſtributing Biſhopricks, regarded not the ſufficiency of the Perſons, but Services performed. Whereunto the Biſhop of *Bitonto*, who ſpake a little after, replyed with much Feeling, and ſaid, that the Fault of others was unjuſtly attributed to the Court. For in *Germany* Biſhopricks are given by Election; in *France*, *Spain*, and *Hungary*, by the King's Nomination; and in *Italy* many do belong to particular Patrons; and to thoſe that are Free, the Princes do recommend, and will not be denied, taking all Liberty from the Pope. But he that will not be tranſported by Opinion, but judg ſincerely, will ſee that thoſe who are made freely at *Rome* are the beſt of all *Europe*. Plurality of Benefices, unknown to the firſt Ages, hath not been brought in by the Court of *Rome*, but by Biſhops and Princes, before the Popes took upon them to regulate the matter of Benefices throughout all Chriſtendom: And, but for the Proviſions which are to be found in the Body of the Canon Law, the Diſorder would have been already mounted to the height. Some were pleaſed, and ſome diſpleaſed at this Contention, according to their Affections. But every one diſcovered that the Matter could not be handled without Danger, as the Treaties of the next Congregations did ſhew. The Qualities and Conditions required in Biſhops.

But becauſe this Particular deſerveth to be well underſtood, it will be fit to ſhew how the Abuſe began, and came to this Growth. Yet I will not ſpeak of thoſe happy times when the Name of the Church was common to all the Congregation of the Faithful, unto which did belong the A Diſcourſe of the Author concerning Plurality of Benefices.

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uſe and property of the Goods which are called Eccleſiaſtical, when the Poor, and their Miniſters had their Food and Apparel from one common Maſs, and thoſe were more principally provided for than theſe. Neither will I mention the time when they did fall one Degree, and of one Maſs made four parts, putting that of the Poor in the loweſt place, which, according to the former uſe, ought to be in the firſt. But I will begin from the time when the Name of the Church was appropriated to the Clergy only, all other Chriſtians being excluded; when that was applied to few, which belonged to all, and to the Rich, that which firſt ſerved for the Poor. I ſay in the beginning of thoſe Times, the Clergy having divided amongſt themſelves all the Revenues of the Church, the Charges, which before were called Miniſteries and Offices of Spiritual Care, the Temporality being now moſt eſteemed, were named Benefices. And yet ſo long as the old Canons remained, that one Man ſhould not be ordained unto two Titles, none could have more than one Benefice. But the Revenues being by Wars or Inundations diminiſhed, and become not ſufficient for their Maintenance, one Man might hold two, yet ſo as that he ſhould attend them both. This was begun in Favour, not of the Man beneficed, but of the Church, which, becauſe it could not have a proper Miniſter, might have at the leaſt ſome other Service. Upon pretence of the inſufficiency of the Benefices, and that none could be found to ſerve in them, they began to grant more of them unto one, though no neceſſity appeared, for the ſervice of the Churches; and the Mask being taken away by little and little, they were not aſhamed to do it in favour of the Man beneficed. But the World being ſcandalized hereat, there was a Moderation uſed; whereupon the Diſtinction began of Men tyed to Reſidency, and not tyed, and of Benefices compatible and not compatible; calling thoſe of Reſidency incompatible one with another, and the other compatible with theſe and with themſelves. Yet the Gloſs of the Canoniſts always declared (to make a ſhew of Honeſty) that many Benefices ſhould not be given to one, but when one is not ſufficient for Maintenance. But they cut this ſufficiency very large, proportioning it not to the Perſon but to the Quality; not eſteeming it ſufficient for an ordinary Prieſt, if it were not enough for Himſelf, the Family of his Parents, three Servants, and an Horſe; and more, if he were Noble or Learned. And it is ſtrange how much they allowed for a Biſhop, in regard of the *Decorum* he is to keep. For Cardinals, it is ſufficient to note the common Saying of the Court, that they are equal unto Kings; by which they conclude, that no Revenue is too much for them, except it be more than enough for a King. The Cuſtom being begun, and neither the World, nor Equity being able to reſiſt it, the Popes reſerved to themſelves Power to diſpenſe with the incompatible, and to have more than two of the others. But to find a colourable way to put this in practice they laid hold on *Commendaes*, a thing inſtituted at the firſt to good Purpoſe, but after uſed to this End only. For when, by reaſon of Wars, Peſtilence, and other ſuch Cauſes, the Election or Proviſion could not be made ſo ſoon, the Superiour did recommend the vacant Church, to ſome honeſt and worthy Man, to govern it, beſides the care of his own, until a *Rector* were provided; who then had nothing to do with the Revenues, but to govern them, and conſign them to another. In Progreſs of time *Commendataries*, by divers Pretences of Honeſty and Neceſſity, made uſe of the Fruits, and,

* How the Diſtinction of Benefices compatible and incompatible began.

[How *Commendaes* began.

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to enjoy them the longer, ſought Means to hinder the Proviſion. For remedy whereof, Order was taken, that the *Commenda* ſhould not laſt longer than ſix Months. But the Popes, by the Plenitude of their Power, did paſs theſe Limits, and commended for a longer time, and at the laſt, for the Life of the *Commendatary*, giving him Power to uſe the Fruits, beſides the neceſſary Charges. This good Invention, ſo degenerated, was uſed in the corrupted times, for a Cloak of Plurality: obſerving the Words of the Law, to give but one Benefice to one Man, contrary to the Senſe; in regard that a *Commendatary* for Life, is the ſame in Reality with the Titular. Great Exorbitances were committed, in the Number of the Benefices commended; ſo that after the Lutheran Stirs began, and all Men demanded Reformation, *Clement* the ſeventh in the year 1534, was not aſhamed to commend unto his Nephew *Hippolitus*, *Cardinal de Medicis*, all the Benefices of the World, Secular and Regular, Dignities and Perſonages, Simple and with Cure, being vacant, for ſix Months, to begin from the firſt Day of his Poſſeſſion, with Power to diſpoſe of, and convert to his Uſe all the Fruits. This Exorbitancy was the Height of all, which in former times the Court durſt not uſe, though it gave in *Commenda* a very great Number unto one.

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A large *Commenda* given to *Hippolitus, Cardinal de Medicis* by *Clement* the 7th.

Therefore the *Union*, formerly uſed for a good End, was invented to palliate *Plurality*. This was practiſed when a Church was deſtroyed, or the Revenues uſurped, that little which remained, together with the Charge, being transferred to the next, and all made one Benefice. The Induſtry of the *Courtier* found out, that beſides theſe Reſpects, Benefices might be united, ſo that, by Collation thereof, *Plurality* was wholly covered, though in Favour of ſome Cardinal or great Perſonage, thirty or forty in divers Places of Chriſtendom were united. But an Inconvenience did ariſe, becauſe the Number of Benefices did decreaſe, and the Favour done to one, was done afterwards to many, without Merit or Demand, to the great Damage of the *Court* and *Chancery*. And this was remedied, with a ſubtile and witty Invention, to unite as many Benefices as pleaſed the Pope, only during the Life of him upon whom they were conferred, by whoſe Death the Union was underſtood to be diſſolved, *ipſo facto*, and the Benefices returned to their firſt State. So they ſhewed the World their excellent Inventions, conferring a Benefice, which was but one in Shew, but many in Deed; as one confeſſed he had ſtollen a Bridle, concealing it was upon a Horſe Head, which he ſtole with it.

Of *Unions* of *Benefices*.

To remedy Plurality, it was neceſſary to remove the Abuſe of theſe three Pretences. This the wiſer Sort of Prelats underſtanding, agreed uniformly at the firſt Propoſe, to inhibite all, of what Condition ſoever, to have more than three Benefices. And ſome added, when two amount not to the Value of four hundred Ducats of Gold: and that if one were worth ſo much, no Man whatſoever ſhould have any more, nor more than three, though they were not worth ſo much. Of this there was much Diſputation; and much more, when *Aluiſe Lipomano*, Biſhop of *Verona*, propoſed, that this Decree might touch them alſo, who were now Poſſeſſors of more; who, without exception of any, ſhould be conſtrained to renounce thoſe that were ſupernumerary, within ſix Months, if they were in *Italy*, and within nine, if in other Places: Which if they did not, they ſhould be deprived, without any further Declaration, notwithſtanding the Benefices were *united*, or *commended*, or poſſeſſed by any other Title. To this Opinion the

A Diſpute about the Remedy of *Plurality*.

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Laws ought to look forward only, and not backward.

Biſhop of *Feltre* did adhere, but did not moderate it, by diſtinguiſhing *Diſpenſations*, *Commendaes*, and *Unions*: ſaying, That ſome were made for the Good of the Churches, and ſome in Favour of the Poſſeſſor: deſiring, that the former ſhould remain in Force, and the other ſhould be regulated. The Biſhop of *Lanciano* did not admit this Diſtinction: ſaying, That he would make a laſting Law, muſt not put Exceptions into the Body of it, in regard the Malice of Man is apt to invent them, and to free themſelves from the Rule. The Biſhop of *Albenga* made a long Oration to ſhew, that good Laws do regulate the future only, and that he, who not containing himſelf within the Bounds of Reaſon, will amend that which is paſt, doth ever raiſe Tumults, and in ſtead of reforming, make a greater Deformation: That it were ſtrange to deprive Men of their Poſſeſſions, and perſwade them to be content. He added, that he foreſaw, that if ſuch a Decree were made, either it would not be received, or if it were, would cauſe colourable and ſimoniacal Reſignations, and greater Miſchiefs than Plurality could. For hereafter, the Proviſion ſeemed unto him ſuperfluous: For no Man being to have more Benefices but by the Pope's Diſpenſation, it ſufficed that he was reſolved not to diſpence.

In that Congregation, amongſt many Tragical Exclamations made by divers Men, *Bernardus Dias*, Biſhop of *Calahora*, ſaid, that the Church of *Vicenza* was ſo diſordered, as all Men knew, that it required rather an Apoſtle than a Biſhop, taxing the Cardinal *Ridolfi*, who poſſeſſed that Biſhoprick, beſides many other Benefices, not governing it, nor having the Epiſcopal Order, never ſeeing it, nor knowing any thing but the Rents. And every one ſpake againſt the Inconvenience, that famous Churches ſhould never ſee their Biſhops, becauſe they were imployed in other Biſhopricks, or more Beneficial Dignities. Some ſaid, that the Pope only might provide againſt this, and were of the Opinion of *Albenga*, that he alone might make the Reformation. This pleaſed the Legats, as well for the Pope's Dignity, as to free themſelves from taking Pains in this Matter, which, in regard of the Variety of Opinions and Intereſts, they thought would be of an hard Digeſtion: hoping that when they had gone ſo far, as to leave this Reformation to the Pope, they ſhould eaſily leave alſo unto him the Point of Reſidency, which was as hard to be concocted, for that it was popular, and drew with it the regaining of the Epiſcopal Authority and Juriſdiction. Therefore the Legats, being in hope that it might be obtained, eſpecially if it were propoſed as a thing done, not to be done, they preſently ſent the Pope word of it, who was glad of the News, becauſe both the Court and Himſelf were doubtful, where the Attempts and Deſigns of the Prelats might end. And thinking fit to ſtrike the Iron while it was hot, he made a greater Stride than the Legats would have had him, and diſpatched a Bull, by which he recalled unto himſelf the whole Buſineſs of the *Reformation*. But in *Trent* whilſt an Anſwer was expected from *Rome*, they proceeded in the Treaty begun, and made a Draught of the Decree, that no Man ſhould have more than one Biſhoprick, and he that had more ſhould quit the Reſt; that hereafter whoſoever ſhall obtain many inferiour incompatible Benefices, ſhall be deprived without further Declaration; and he that formerly hath poſſeſſed more than one, ſhall ſhew his Diſpenſations to the Ordinary, who ſhall proceed according to the *Decretal* of *Innocentius* 4. *Ordinarii*. In giving their Voices upon theſe Points, many deſired to have Diſpenſations forbid. The ſhewing of the Diſpenſations, and the

Of Diſpenſations for *Plurality*.

the proceeding according to the Decree of *Innocentius*, pleaſed but few; becauſe it was a kind of approbation of them all and an increaſing of the Miſchief. For *Innocentius* ſaith, that if the Diſpenſations be found good, they ſhall be admitted, if there be any Doubt, recourſe ſhall be had to *Rome*; in which caſe no Man doubted, but that any of them might be doubted of, and receive a Declaration at *Rome*, conformable to the Grant. Many feared that when they were examined and approved, there remaining no Doubt, the Abuſe would be confirmed; and therefore would have had them prohibited abſolutely. Others ſaid they have always been in the Church, and were neceſſary, and that all was in uſing them well. 1547. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

Marcus Vigerius, Biſhop of *Sinigaglia*, was of an Opinion, which, if it had been received and believed, would eaſily have reformed the whole Clergy. He ſaid the *Synod* might remove all Inconveniences, by declaring, that a lawful Cauſe was neceſſary for a Diſpenſation, and that whoſoever doth otherwiſe grant it, doth ſin, and cannot be abſolved, but by revoking it; and that he who obtaineth it, is not ſecure in his Conſcience, notwithſtanding the Diſpenſation, and continueth in Sin until he quitteth the Benefices ſo gotten. This Opinion wanted not Contradictors. For ſome ſtood up and ſaid, that he who granteth Licence of *Plurality*, without a lawful Cauſe, doth ſin, yet the Diſpenſation is good, and the diſpenſed is ſecure in his Conſcience, though he knew the Unlawfulneſs of the Cauſe. And the Difference continued many Days; theſe ſaying, that it was to take all Authority from the Pope, and thoſe, that the Pope's Authority ſtretched not ſo far, as to make that Evil ſhould not be Evil. From this they went to another Doubt, whether *Plurality* was forbid by the Law of God, or of Man. Thoſe who maintained Reſidency to be by the Law of God, ſaid that *Plurality* was forbid by the ſame Law, and therefore that the Pope could not diſpence: Others ſaid it was forbid by the *Canons* only. The *Legats* did hardly appeaſe the Contradiction, and held it dangerous, as well for ſetting on foot the Point of Reſidency, as becauſe it touched the Pope's Authority, though he was not named: and the rather, becauſe that ſubtil Diſcuſſion of the force of them did put them all in hazard. There being much Confuſion, *Diego di Alano*, Biſhop of *Aſtorga*, ſaid, That in regard they could not agree about *Diſpenſations*, they ſhould prohibite *Commendaes* and *Unions*, which are Pretences to palliate the Abuſe; and he ſpake much againſt the one and the other. He ſaid, That *Unions* and *Commendaes* for term of Life were full of Abſurdities, becauſe by them it was confeſſed, that regard was not had of the good of the Church, but of the Perſon, that they were moſt ſcandalous to the World, invented a little before, to ſatiate Avarice and Ambition, and that it was a great Indignity to maintain an Abuſe ſo pernicious, and notorious. But the *Italian* Biſhops, who were for the moſt part intereſted in one of theſe, did not willingly hear ſuch abſolute Propoſitions, thinking fit ſome proviſion ſhould be made againſt them, but not ſuch as ſhould take them quite away.

A Doubt moved by what Law *Plurality* is forbid.

In the beginning of *February*, the *Popes* Anſwer and *Bull* came from *Rome*, which the *Legats* thought was too ample. But yet to make uſe of it, they propoſed the Matter again cauſing the ſame Determination to be repeated by their Adherents, that, in regard of the difficulties and variety of Opinions, it were good to free themſelves, and refer all to the Pope. The *Imperialiſts*, even thoſe who formerly ſeemed not averſe, did now ſtrongly reply, and ſaid it was not honourable for the

The Pope ſendeth a Bull to the Legats which diſpleaſeth them.

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the Council. To which Opinion the Major Part inclined, returning to that which was ſaid before, and raiſing a greater Confuſion: Inſomuch that the Legats ſaw that they could not make uſe of the Bull, and wrote back, that they were out of hope to remit the whole Reformation to his *Holineſs*, nor more than that which is proper unto him, that is, the Moderation of the *Diſpenſations* and *Priviledges*, and *Reformation* of the *Cardinals*: Which if he were reſolved to make, it were good to uſe prevention, and to publiſh a Bull in *Rome*, under the Name of the *Reformation* of the *Court*. For no Man could ſay that the Pope was not to reform his own Court, and that which belongeth to Himſelf. Neither was it neceſſary to publiſh this Bull in the Council, which, if it did handle all other Matters, would be fully ſatisfied. And they adverti ſed his Holineſs, that the Synod would never be quiet, until Proviſion were made, not only againſt the future, but alſo againſt the preſent Grants which are ſcandalous.

The *Spaniards* do deſire that the manner of proceeding in Council ſhould be changed.

When the *Congregation* was ended, the Spaniſh Prelats, with their Followers, to the number of Twenty, the Cardinal *Pacceco*, being the chief, did uniformly conclude, that as the Congregations were carried, no firm Reſolution could be made. For all the Good that was ſpoken, was either diſſembled by him who governed the Actions, or obſcured by Contentions. Therefore that it was neceſſary to change the Manner, and to give their Demands in Writing, that ſo they may come to a Concluſion. And they made a *Cenſure* upon the Points propoſed, and put it in Writing, preſenting it to the Legats in the *Congregation* held the Third of *February*.

The *Spaniſh Cenſure*.

The *Cenſure* contained eleven Articles. 1. That between the Quality of Biſhops and Pariſh-Prieſts, all thoſe Conditions ſhould be put, which are ſet down in the laſt *Lateran* Council, it ſeeming that too large a Gate is opened to *Diſpenſations*, which are neceſſarily to be now quite removed, by making a more ſtrict *Reformation*, in regard of the Hereſies which they cauſe, and the Scandals which they give to the World. 2. That it be plainly ſpecified, that *Cardinals* are bound to reſide in their Biſhopricks ſix Months in the Year at leaſt, as formerly hath been commanded to other Biſhops. 3. That the Reſidency of *Prelats* be firſt declared to be *Jure Divino*. 4. That the *Plurality of Cathedral Churches* be declared to be a great Abuſe, and every one admoniſhed (ſpecifying the Cardinals alſo) to be content with one only, and to quit the reſt within ſome ſhort time, and before the Council end. 5. That the *Plurality* of the leſſer Churches be taken away, prohibiting it not only for the future, but for the time paſt alſo, revoking all *Diſpenſations* granted, not excepting Cardinals or others, but for juſt and reaſonable Cauſes to be produced and proved before the Ordinary. 6. That *Unions* for Life, even thoſe that have been made long ſince, be all revoked, becauſe they induce *Plurality*. 7. That every one who hath a Benefice with Cure, or other Benefices which require *Reſidency*, be deprived if he reſide not, without any *Diſpenſation* to be granted, but in Caſes permitted by the Law. 8. That whoſoever hath a *Benefice* with *Cure*, may be examined by the Biſhop, and being found to be illiterate, vicious, or otherwiſe unfit, may be deprived, and the Benefice given to one that is worthy, by a rigorous Examination, not at the Will of the Ordinaries. 9. That hereafter *Benefices* with *Cure* be not given before Examination and Inquiſition. 10. That none be promoted to a Cathedral Church without Proceſs, to be made *in Partibus*, at the leaſt concerning his Birth, Life, and Manners.

ners. 11. That no Biſhop may ordain in the *Dioceſs* of another, without Leave of the *Ordinary*, and, in that Caſe, may ordain Perſons of that *Dioceſs* only. 1547. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

The Legats were troubled, not only for that many Articles were ſet on foot, all aiming to reſtrain the Authority of the Pope, and make that of the Biſhops greater, but for the Importance of the Beginning, to give their Petitions in writing; and becauſe many were joyned in the ſame Demand, not ſhewing what their Meaning was, but only alledging the Weight of the Things propoſed. They took time to think of it, ſaying, They would not be idle in the mean while, but eſtabliſh other Points of *Reformation*. They gave the Pope a ſtrict Account of all things paſt, adding, that the Prelats did every day take more Liberty, not refraining to ſpeak of the *Cardinals* without Reſpect, and to ſay openly, that it was neceſſary to moderate them; and with ſmall Reverence of his *Holineſs*, that he gave nothing but Words, and uſed the Council to keep the World in Hope, and not to make a true *Reformation*: That hereafter it would be hard to keep them in Order, becauſe they had many private Aſſemblies amongſt themſelves. They propoſed to his Conſideration, that it would be good to make ſome effectual *Reformation* in *Rome*, and publiſh it before the *Seſſion*. They ſent alſo the *Cenſure* of the *Spaniards*, deſiring him to conſider the Importance of their Attempt, and whither it might arrive, in regard it was not likely they would be ſo bold, without they were upheld, and perhaps incited by ſome great Prince. And they deſired to receive Commandment what they ſhould do, ſaying, Their Opinion was to perſiſt, and not to yield one jot, aſwel for the Importance of the Matter, as not to open this Paſſage, that the Prelats may obtain, by Sedition and Force, that which is not willingly granted them. For that would be to depend on their Favour, and incur the Danger of ſome ſiniſtrous Accident. That, for matter of Diſpenſation, they would not ſuffer themſelves to be overcome: But in the End, if the Oppoſites will not yield, all muſt come to Voices, which are not weighed, but numbred. Therefore, not to hazard themſelves, but to be ſure to overcome in the *Seſſion*, it would be neceſſary to command ſtraightly, thoſe that are gone to *Venice*, upon pretence to ſpend the beginning of Lent in their own Churches, but with intention to come no more, that they ſuddenly return, without Reply. For the whole Importance of the *Reformation* will conſiſt in the next *Seſſion*, and as the *Mutiners* ſhall then ſucceed, they will reſolve either to oppoſe in other Occaſions, or to remain quiet and obedient.

The Legats are troubled with the matter of the *Cenſure*, and with the manner.

And give the Pope a ſtrict account of all.

And deſire him to ſend unto them more of his Dependants, that they may overcome by number.

This Advice being ſent to *Rome*, the Legats, in the next Congregations, propoſed the *Reformation* of divers Abuſes. The firſt was of thoſe who take a Benefice and Title without Orders, or Conſecration anſwerable to them. All deteſted the Abuſe, and deſired a Remedy. But the Cardinal *Pacceco* ſaid, that all Remedy would be in vain, if *Commendaes* and *Unions* were not removed, it being manifeſt, that a Cathedral Church might be commended to a Deacon, and he that would have a Pariſh Church without Orders, may cauſe it to be united to a ſimple Benefice, which requireth them not, and ſo will hold the one in conſequence of the other, without being conſecrated. The other *Reformations* were concerning divers *Exemptions* from the *Viſitations* of Biſhops, from their Examinations, from the hearing of Civil Cauſes, and from the reviſion of the Government of *Hoſpitals*. Herein the Legats thought to gain the Favour of the Biſhops, by enlarging their

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their Authority. But he that pretended Right to all, is commonly offended by the Reſtitution of half. So the Biſhops, (eſpecially the *Spaniards*) thought they were wronged, becauſe the *Reformation* was not compleat. Yet they ſpake more reſervedly, in regard the number of the *Italians*, who adhered to the Legats, did increaſe, and becauſe they expected an Anſwer concerning their Propoſitions from *Rome*, having diſcovered that they were ſent thither.

The Pope having received the Advice, wrote moſt effectual, but, withal, moſt loving Letters to his *Nuncio* at *Venice*, to make the Prelats return, who were almoſt all in that City. Who performed the Buſineſs in ſuch ſort, that all took the Journey for a Favour, in regard they were to do his Holineſs ſo great Service. The Pope commanded the Deputies to conſult of the *Spaniſh Cenſure*, and the Reſidue, which was of greater Importance, together with other things, whereof he was advertiſed before, he reſerved to his own Determination.

The Determination made in *Rome* concerning the *Spaniſh* Cenſure.

The Deputies, weighing the Buſineſs, did conſider that the Propoſition made by the Legats was more honourable, and more profitable, if it did ſucceed; but if not, more pernicious. That it was not Wiſdom to run ſo great Hazards, in Matters of ſo great Moment: And that to deny all, or to grant all, was equally dangerous. Their Concluſion was, that if the Legats were not more than certain to overcome, they might grant part of, or all the underwritten Modifications, as occaſion was offered in handling of the Buſineſs: Which were digeſted by way of Anſwer to every Article of the *Spaniſh Cenſure*. To the firſt, to renew the *Lateran* Council, in the two Points, it ſeemeth that the Prelats may be ſatisfied, ſo that in the Reſidue, the Canons that ſhall be made be reaſonable. To the ſecond, to bind the Cardinals to Reſidency, for thoſe who remain in *Rome*, and actually ſerve the Univerſal Church, it is not convenient; and for the others, his *Holineſs* will make proviſion, as is ſaid in the Letters. To the third, to conſtitute that Reſidency is required by the Word of God, firſt the Decree being applied to particular Churches, would perhaps not be true: Then for the Effect, it cannot chooſe but make greater Confuſion, there being a Contradiction, that the Decree ſhould be made, and the contrary permitted, at the leaſt tacitely, for half of the Year. To the fourth, to declare the Plurality of the Cathedral Churches to be an Abuſe, the ſame Anſwer may be made as unto the third, and for the Cardinals, his Holineſs will provide, as hath been ſaid before. To the fifth, of the Plurality of the leſſer Churches, the Proviſion propoſed by the Legats, ſeemeth to be ſufficient, and yet, if for the time paſt it be thought fit to make it more ſevere, his Holineſs is contented: Who doth advertiſe them, that too much Severity in this Part, may work a contrary Effect, by the Reſiſtance which is like to be made, by thoſe who are in Poſſeſſion: And doth conſider withal, that ſimply to leave the Judicature of the Diſpenſations to the Ordinaries, may cauſe Abuſe, and bring forth no other Effect, than the increaſe of their Authority. To the ſixth, to revoke the *Unions* for Life, howſoever his Holineſs thought to make a fit Proviſion therein, yet if it be deſired to take them all away, it may be granted, ſo that a convenient Time be given to the Poſſeſſors, to diſpoſe of the *Benefices*. To the ſeventh, that Non-reſidency in Benifices with *Cure*, ſhould preciſely carry with it *Deprivation*, without any *Diſpenſation* to be granted, but in Caſes permitted by the Law, is too rigorous, and would be obſerved very hardly, in caſe it ſhould be determined. To the eighth, that he that hath a *Benefice* with *Cure*, if it

it be found he is Unlearned, or Vicious, may be deprived by the Ordinary, it being underſtood of ſuch inhability, as by the Law doth deſerve it, it may be granted; otherwiſe the Demand is not Honeſt, becauſe all would be left to the Conſcience of the *Ordinaries*. To the ninth, That *Benefices* with *Cure*, be not given before diligent Examination, in regard it is neceſſary to leave the Manner and Quality thereof, to the Conſcience of him who is to confer the Benefices, it ſeemeth that to make any other Decree herein, is ſuperfluous or unprofitable. To the Tenth, To make the Proceſs in *partibus*, concerning thoſe who are promoted to Cathedral Churches, there appeareth no Fruit of this Diligence, it being as eaſy to find a Falſe Witneſs in *partibus*, as at *Rome*: where becauſe every Thing may be ſufficiently examined, it is ſuperfluous to ſeek further. To the eleventh, That none be ordained but by his own Biſhop, it ſeemeth that the *Bull* may ſuffice, becauſe it doth provide many ways, againſt the Inconveniences pretended in this Point. 1547. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Henry* VIII. *Francis* I.

The *Pope* did preſently diſpatch the Anſwer to *Trent*, leaving it to the diſcretion of the Legats to reſolve, by the Counſel of their Friends, what they thought fit to grant according to Occaſions, either part, or all, ſo that they contained themſelves within the Limits ſet down by the Deputies in *Rome*; or to deny all, in caſe they found themſelves able to do it. He adviſed them of the Requeſt made to thoſe in *Venice*, and that they ſhould hold the Seſſion in the due time, wholly omitting the Doctrine of the Sacraments, and publiſhing the *Anathematiſms* only, in which they are all agreed, becauſe the Doctrine cannot be expounded without danger. That they ſhould leave wholly the Decree of the Abuſes of the Sacraments, of Baptiſm and Confirmation, it being impoſſible to touch that ſtring, without offending the whole Order of poor Prieſts and Fryars, and giving the Hereticks too great a Conqueſt, by confeſſing they had formerly approved ſuch notable Abſurdities. He concluded, That they ſhould labour to make the *Seſſion* as quiet as was poſſible, but yet with the Honour of the *Apoſtolick See*. Is diſpatched to *Trent*.

Afterwards the Pope, conſidering with himſelf, and with his inward Friends, the Advices ſent unto him from *Trent*, and from his *Nuncio* in *Germany*, was full of ſuſpicion, that the Council would produce ſome great Monſter, to the Prejudice of himſelf and the Papacy. He conſidered the Factions amongſt the Divines, eſpecially Dominicans and Franciſcans, ancient Enemies, and contrary in Doctrine, and feared that, taking courage in the Council, they would go beyond the Bounds of thoſe Contentions, which have been hardly compoſed by the wiſer ſort: whoſe Differences being no leſs than thoſe with the Lutherans, and themſelves very bold in taxing one another, except pains were always taken to make them agree, there would be danger of ſome great Inconvenience. He was much troubled with the Diſputation of *Reſidency*, whether it be required *Jure Divino*, and with the boldneſs of Fryar *Bartholomew Caranza*, who, being encouraged by many, dared to call the contrary Opinion, the Doctrine of Devils. He ſaw how eaſily ſuch another Miſchief as that of *Luther* might ariſe; and that, if an Article of Faith were made of Reſidency, the *Papacy* was reduced to nothing. He conſidered, that all the Reformations aimed to reſtrain the Pope's Authority, and to enlarge the Power of the Biſhops, and how little himſelf was eſteemed, in that, the Council having given hope to refer the *Reformation* to him, whereof he had The Pope is troubled with the Advices ſent from the Council, and from his *Nuncio* in *Germany*.

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framed a Bull, and recalled the whole Matter to *Rome*, they had treated thereof more ſharply, without any reſpect of his Authority. He had great ſuſpicion of the Spirit and Courage of the Spaniards, conſidering the Qualities of that wiſe Nation; that it doth not work by chance, that it maketh greater ſhew of Reverence than it beareth; that it ſtandeth united in it ſelf, and ſteppeth not one foot forward, without looking a great way before them. It ſeemed to him a great Matter, that they met together, and had made a common Cenſure; and thought it probable that this Web was ſecretly ſpun by the Emperor, in regard his Ambaſſador did daily treat with them. He ſuſpected the Emperor alſo for his preſent Proſperity, which ordinarily doth make Men not able to ſet Bounds to their Deſigns. He conſidered his Connivency at Religion, and thought it was to gain the Lutherans Favour. He remembred the Complaints uſed, not only by the Emperor, but by his Miniſters alſo, when the *Italian* Souldiers departed, that he was abandoned in time of need; and he knew that he attributed the Sedition of *Genua* to his Son the Duke of *Piacenza*. But he weighed above all, his words uſed to the *Nuncio*, that he had no greater Enemy than the Pope. He feared, that when he had eſtabliſhed an Abſolute Authority in *Germany*, he would think to do the like in *Italy*, making uſe of the Council to ſuppreſs the Papacy. He ſaw that all was in his Power, in regard of the incurable Indiſpoſition of the *French* King, and his approaching Death. Of the *Dolphin*, being young, and not experienced, he knew not what to promiſe himſelf: and was aſſured that the Prelats, who did until then adhere to the Court of *Rome*, whenſoever the Emperor would unmask himſelf, would profeſs to be on his ſide, either for fear of greater Power, or for emulation at the Pope's Greatneſs: which they would diſcover, when they ſhould ſee a ſecure way laid open to moderate it.

And after conſultation, reſolveth to tranſlate the Synod to *Bolonia*.

Theſe Reſpects made him reſolve to ſecure himſelf in ſome ſort of the Council. To end it, did not ſeem ſeaſonable, in regard there did remain ſo many things to be handled. The *Suſpenſion* did require ſome great Cauſe, and would be to little purpoſe, in regard he ſhould be preſently deſired to take it away. To tranſlate it to a place where himſelf had Abſolute Authority, ſeemed the beſt Counſel. And ſeeing this was to be done, he would ſo do it, as that all Danger ſhould be prevented: which could not be, if the Council were not celebrated within his own Territories. He did not think *Rome* was fit, becauſe it would raiſe too much diſcourſe in *Germany*. *Bolonia* ſeemed the beſt Place, becauſe it was near the Mountains, Fertile, and of great Receipt. For the Manner, he reſolved to conceal his own Perſon, and to cauſe it to be done by the Legats; by the Authority given them in the Bull, dated the 22*d* of *February*, and ſent unto them in *Auguſt* 1545. For doing ſo, if the *Tranſlation* were oppoſed, the Legats would be blamed, and himſelf, as not intereſſed, might the more eaſily uphold them: and if, by accident, he ſhould change his Opinion, he might do it without diſhonour. Being thus reſolved, he ſent a private Gentleman of the Family of the Cardinal of *Monte* with Letters of Credit, to do this Ambaſſage to both the Legats: commanding him, not to arrive there before the *Seſſion*, and then to give them Authority to tranſlate the Council to *Bolonia*, making ſome apparent Cauſe to ariſe, or making uſe of ſome Cauſe already in being; putting it in execution ſo quickly, that, after the Enterpriſe begun, they ſhould conclude before any Impediment could be interpoſed.

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But in *Germany*, a great part of thoſe Cities about the *Rhine*, having made Compoſition with the Emperor, the Elector *Palatine* cauſed his Miniſters to deſiſt; the Emperor ſeeing himſelf now able to exclude the Archbiſhop of *Collen*, ſent two Commiſſioners to aſſemble all the Orders of his State, and to cauſe them to abandon him, and to receive for their Archbiſhop, Prince *Adolphus* his Coadjutor, yielding Obedience, and ſwearing Fidelity unto him. The Clergy was ready to do it, for the Cauſes before recited: but the Nobility and Ambaſſadors of the Cities refuſed, ſaying, they could not abandon a Prince unto whom they had ſworn. The Duke of *Cleves* bordering upon him, ſent to the Archbiſhop, and cauſed the chief of the Nobility to go thither alſo, to pray him to find a Means that the whole State might not be diſſolved, with the great Dammage of the Neighbour Countries. The Archbiſhop moved with Compaſſion, to free the State from War, and that the Innocent People might not ſuffer, did generouſly renounce the State, and abſolve his Subjects from their Oath; and ſo *Adolphus* was received for his Succeſſor, whom he had always loved as his Brother, and communicated to him whatſoever he had done for Reformation of the Church; who was now of another Opinion, either becauſe he was truly changed, or for ſome other reſpect.

The Emperor doth leave to temporize with the Archbiſhop of *Collen*.

Who doth generouſly nounce his State.

In *February*, news came to *Trent* of the Death of the King of *England*, which happened the Month before. The Fathers gave thanks to *God*, and went almoſt all to the Biſhop of *Worceſter*, congratulating that himſelf and the Kingdom were (as they ſaid) delivered from the Tyranny of a cruel Perſecutor, ſaying, it was a Miracle that he had left a Son of but nine Years of Age, that he might not be able to tread in his Father's Steps. And it is true, that he did not tread in them all; for *Henry*, though he had wholly taken away the Pope's Authority, and puniſhed his Adherents capitally, yet he did ever conſtantly retain all the reſidue of the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*. But *Edward* (for ſo his Son's Name was) governed by his Uncle on the Mother's ſide, the Duke of *Somerſet*, who was inclined to the Doctrine of the Proteſtants, changed Religion, as ſhall be ſaid in its place.

Thanks given to God, and great Joy in *Trent*, for the Death of the K. of *England*.

The Pope's Letters being come, the Cardinal *Sancta Croce* was of Opinion, that it was good to mollify the Prelats combined, by granting ſome of the Petitions, which were granted from *Rome*, thinking, they would eaſily be pacified with that Determination. The Cardinal of *Monte* ſaid, That to condeſcend to an Inferior (eſpecially to a Multitude) was to make them pretend a greater Satisfaction; that firſt he would try his Friends, and when he found he was fortified with the greater Number, he would not retire an Inch; but if he found it otherwiſe, he would uſe Art. After many Diſcourſes, as it hapneth between Colleagues, *Sancta Croce* yielded to *Monte*, who was more paſſionate. They received Advice, that the abſent Prelats would be returned before the end of *February*, whoſe Minds were ſounded, and many of them were found to adhere to the Pope. Theſe being confirmed with Hope, and others enſnared with the ſame Bait, that the Pope would take notice of every ones Merit, they cauſed the Decree to be made, with fifteen Heads, and propoſed it in Congregation.

A Decree containing fifteen Heads, is propoſed in Congregation.

By this, greater Difficulties were raiſed. In the Proheme, by this Exception; Saving always the Apoſtolical Authority, in all things. Every Fool ſaw at what it aimed, and that it inferred a pertinacious obſtinacy, in the Abuſes which they ought to remedy, by preſerving their Cauſes. Yet none durſt oppoſe; but the Biſhop of *Badacoz*, who ſaid, it had need

And is there oppoſed.

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of Declaration, becauſe the Council ought not, nor could impeach the Authority of any, much leſs of the Apoſtolick See, acknowledged for *Head* of all the Catholicks. But it ſeemed that the words there placed did ſignify, that in *Rome* the Proceeding ſhould be in thoſe Things as before, and that the Moderation ſhould not have Power over Diſpenſations, and other Inventions, by which the Authority of the old Canons hath been always weakened. In Defence of the Exception it was ſaid, That the Laws of Councils, are not as the Laws natural, where Equity and Rigour are the ſame thing; that they are ſubject to the common Defect of all Laws, which by reaſon of their Univerſality, ought to be moderated by Equity in Caſes not foreſeen, when it would be unjuſt to put them in Execution. But becauſe there is not always a Council, to which recourſe may be had, nor it being poſſible to attend this, when there is one, the Pope's Authority is neceſſary. It was replied, that though all Laws have the defect of Univerſality, yet all were publiſhed without Exceptions; that ſo they ſhould now do, or otherwiſe it were as much as to ſay, that ordinarily, and not only in rare Caſes, and not foreſeen, the Pope might diſpenſe with the contrary.

But the Oppoſers are ſilenced.

This Opinion was not openly approved by all, who in their Conſcience thought it true; whereupon the Legat *Monte* taking courage, ſaid it was a Subtilty, not to attribute as much to the Apoſtolick See, as they were bound, and ſo he made them all ſilent. The Biſhop of *Badacoz* demanded, that mention ſhould be made in that Proheme, that the Article of Reſidency was not quite left off, but deferred only. The Legats anſwered, that this was a diſtruſt of their Promiſes, and a vain Obligation, to do that which was always in their Power: Yet, to ſatisfy ſo great a Deſire, he ſaid, it ſhould be added in the Proheme, that all was decreed in proſecuting the Point of Reſidency, which they had begun; whereby it would appear, that it was not ended in the other Seſſion, and that part did remain to be handled.

Diſcourſes about the Qualities of Biſhops and Curats.

Concerning the *Heads* of the Qualities of Biſhops and other Curats, the Arch-biſhop *Torre* ſaid, that they did not only remedy the Corruptions brought in, but did weaken the Ancient Remedies. For with ſuch general Terms of Age, Manners, Knowledg, Ability and Worth, every one might be canonized for an Able Man; and to alledge the Decrees of *Alexander*, was to nullify all other Canons, which preſcribe other Conditions. For when one is always named, and the others purpoſely concealed, it ſeemeth that there is ſome derogation to theſe; that it was neceſſary to ſay plainly what this gravity of Manners, and knowledg of Letters is: which if it were done, every Courtier would be excluded for ever. That the Manners requiſite are well repeated by St. *Paul*, and yet not regarded. The Learning and Doctorſhip which *Paul* requireth, is the Knowledg of Chriſtian Doctrine, and of the Holy Writ: that *Honorius* the Third, is not to be imitated, who deprived a Biſhop of the Lower *Saxony*, becauſe he had not learned Grammar, nor ever read *Donatus*. For the Gloſs, ſaith he, could not teach the People Grammar; as if Sermons were to be made by Grammar Rules, and not according to the Goſpel. The Biſhop of *Hueſca* added, that neither the Reference to, nor the Allegation of the Decretals or Conſtitutions did pleaſe him. For it is done, either to give greater Authority to them, or to receive it from them, or to make one Aggregate of theſe, and the Synod, of greater force; and that all theſe ways it was unfit, becauſe the Authority of both would be diminiſhed

ſhed. That then it was fit to do it, when the Conſtitution was too long to be repeated: but when it did contain but the ſame thing, there was no cauſe for it, in regard it would cauſe undeterminable Contentions, by diſputing whether thoſe Conſtitutions be approved as the Letter doth ſimply ſound, or with the Limitations and Ampliations of the Doctors, and with the divers Interpretations; which is to confound the World. That they have need of Decrees which may cauſe Peace, Charity, and a ſerious Reformation in the Church, not which may give occaſion of Strifes, and new Inconveniencies. To what purpoſe were it now to inflict upon the Ordinaries, the Puniſhments of the Chapter; *Grave nimis*, the execution whereof is committed to the Provincial Councils, which are diſuſed, if order be not taken to bring them in uſe again? Then the Benefices conferred by the Ordinary, by reaſon of divers Reſervations, being fewer than a tenth part, why ſhould Proviſion be made in this, and the Abuſe ſuffered to run to the nine Tenths, which the Court doth confer? Likewiſe in matter of *Plurality*, to approve the Conſtitution, *De multa*, is to eſtabliſh it the more, becauſe Diſpenſations are permitted in that.

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The Articles were much diſputed on. The *Spaniards* did require, that the Cardinals ſhould be ſpecified; but anſwer was made, that it was not convenient, in regard of the greatneſs of the Order, being the chiefeſt in the Church, and repleniſhed with Men of ſingular Merit, to ſhew ſo plainly that there were Corruptions in it, worthy of Amendment, and that they did not amend themſelves. But it was ſufficient to do it in general Terms, which ſhould include them alſo; as to command every one, of what Dignity, Degree, or Preeminence ſoever. Others ſaid to the contrary, that the Canoniſts have declared, that the Cardinals are not contained under any general Terms, if they be not expreſſed by Name, and therefore that there was no other way to provide againſt the bad Example which the World taketh, but to reform them in particular. That there is ſmall need to reform the inferiour Clergy, whoſe Corruptions are but ſmall, and themſelves, as it were, compelled to imitate the greater Prelats. That in curing a ſick Body, one ought to begin with the greater Diſeaſes, and the more principal parts; which being healed, the others will heal of themſelves, or will need but light Medicines. For the Abuſe of Perpetual *Unions*, they ſaid, it was ſufficiently provided, by referring to the Biſhops the Examination of thoſe which are already made, and by preſuming them to be Surreptitious, which are not grounded upon reaſonable Cauſes. But all was overthrown by the Modification following, that is, if the Apoſtolick See ſhould not think otherwiſe: for this was to eſtabliſh them, and to put the Biſhop to Trouble and Charge. It was deſired again, that *Unions* for Life ſhould be prohibited, and thoſe nullified which are already made.

A Diſpute whether the Cardinals ought to be ſpecified in the Reformation.

But the Major Part did approve the Decrees as they were propoſed; ſome for the good Affection they bare to *Rome*, and ſome becauſe they had been perſwaded; and ſome good Men alſo, who were promiſed, that the Pope, by his Bull, would take away both theſe, and many other Diſorders; but that for Reputation of the Holy See, he ought to do it himſelf, and not ſeem to be compelled to receive Laws from the Synod, againſt his Will. And theſe put together, were three quarters of the whole Number of the Synod. The time of the *Seſſion* approaching; and the *Anathematiſms* being read over again, ſome required that the Doctrine ſhould be added; and ſome demanded why the

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Decree of the Abuſes was not reſolved on. To theſe it was ſaid, that the Matter was not well diſcuſſed, and that it was more fit to handle them after all the Sacraments, giving Remedy withal to the Abuſes occurring in the Miniſtery of every one, and to the general Abuſes of them all. In giving a Reaſon why the Doctrine was omitted, the moſt concluding Argument was, that ſo it was done in the Seſſion concerning Original Sin, and that a Doctrinal Declaration is neceſſary, when the *Anathematiſms* cannot be underſtood without it; therefore that it was neceſſary in the Decree of Juſtification; but in this of the Sacraments, the *Anathematiſms* be ſo plain of themſelves, that they may ſerve alſo for Doctrine. The approaching of the Time, and the conſent of the Major Part, made them reſolve for this Opinion, and compelled them to be ſilent who demanded the Doctrine, and the Reformation of the fore-named Abuſes.

The Seſſion, *March* 3.

The Decrees being made, though with theſe Difficulties, and the third of *March* being come, and the Prelats, according to their uſual Order, aſſembled in the Church, to celebrate the *Seſſion*; *James Cocius* Archbiſhop of *Corfu*, ſaid Maſs; *Coriolanus Martirahus*, Biſhop of Saint *Mark*, was to make the Sermon, who for the Diſtaſtes received in the Congregation, thinking he could not well be preſent, and not perſiſt in the ſame Opinion, in regard it was not ſecure to contradict in Publick Seſſion, he made choice to feign ſome Indiſpoſition, and ſo to be abſent: by which means there was no Sermon that Morning: as if among ſixty Biſhops, thirty Friers, exerciſed in Preaching, not one was able to ſpeak four words with premeditation of four hours. And it was noted in the Acts, that there was no Sermon, becauſe the Biſhop of Saint *Mark*, deputed to make it, was hoarſe, and ſo it was printed. Which as it ought to be attributed only to the pleaſant Vein of the Secretary who wrote it, ſo it is a ſure Argument, that they did not then think the time would come, when all the Actions of that Aſſembly ſhould be eſteemed equal to thoſe of the Apoſtles, when they met together, expecting the coming of the Holy Ghoſt.

A jeſting Act concerning the Biſhop of S. *Mark*.

When the Maſs, and other Ceremonies were ended, the two Decrees were read.

The Decrees are read.

The firſt concerning Faith, contained in Subſtance, That for complement of the Doctrine, defined in the former *Seſſion*, it was meet to handle the Sacraments; and, the better to extirpate the Hereſies, the Synod did for the preſent, conſtitute the Canons following, meaning to add others afterward, when time ſhould ſerve.

The Canons of the Sacraments in general.

The *Canons*, or the *Anathematiſms*, of the *Sacraments* in general, were thirteen. 1. Againſt him that ſaith, that the *Sacraments* of the new Law, have not been all inſtituted by *Chriſt*, or that they are more or leſs than ſeven, or that any of them is not truly and properly a Sacrament. 2. And that they differ not from thoſe of the old Law, but in the Ceremonies and Rites. 3. And that none of them is, in no reſpect, more worthy than another. 4. That they are not neceſſary to Salvation, and that the Grace of God may be gained by Faith alone, without them, or without any purpoſe to receive them. 5. That they are ordained only to nouriſh Faith. 6. That they do not contain in them the Grace ſignified, or do not give it to him that doth not reſiſt, but are external Signs of Juſtice, and *Characters* of the Chriſtian Profeſſion, to diſcern the Faithful from Infidels. 7. That Grace is not always given by the Sacraments, nor unto all, for as much as belongeth to God, though they be lawfully received. 8. That by Sacraments

Grace

Grace is not given, in virtue of the Adminiſtration of them; called, *Opus Operatum:* but that it ſufficeth only to believe the Promiſe. 9. That in *Baptiſm*, *Confirmation*, and *Order*, no indeleble *Character* is imprinted in the Soul, for which cauſe they can be received but once. 10. That all Chriſtians have Power to adminiſter the *Word* and all the *Sacraments*. 11. That in miniſtring the Sacraments, the Miniſter's Intention, at the leaſt to do what the Church doth, is not neceſſary. 12. That the Miniſter, who is in mortal Sin, giveth not the true Sacrament, tho he obſerve all things neceſſary. 13. That the uſual Rites, approved by the Church, may be deſpiſed, or omitted, or changed for others, by every Paſtor.

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The Canons of *Baptiſm.*

Of Baptiſm there were fourteen *Anathematiſms*. 1. Againſt him that ſaith, The Baptiſm of *John* had the ſame Virtue with that of Chriſt. 2. That True and Natural Water is not neceſſary to Baptiſm. 3. That in the Church of *Rome*, which is the *Mother* and *Miſtris* of all the Churches, there is not to be found the true Doctrine of Baptiſm. 4. That *Baptiſm*, given by Hereticks, *in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*, with intention to do what the Church doth, is not true *Baptiſm*. 5. That the *Baptiſm* is free, that is, not neceſſary to Salvation. 6. That the Baptized cannot loſe Grace, though he Sin, ſo that he leave not to believe. 7. That the Baptized are bound only to believe, and not to obſerve the Law of *Chriſt*. 8. That they are not bound to obſerve the Laws of the *Church*. 9. That by the Memory of *Baptiſm*, all Vows made afterwards are of no Force, but derogate from Faith, and Baptiſmal Profeſſion. 10. That Sins committed after Baptiſm, by Faith and Memory thereof, are remitted, or made Venial. 11. That Baptiſm is to be renewed in him, who hath denied the Faith. 12. That none ſhould be baptized but in the Age of *Chriſt*, or at the time of Death. 13. Againſt him who putteth not Children Baptized in the number of the Faithful, or ſaith, they muſt be rebaptized at the Years of Diſcretion, or that it is better to omit their Baptiſm until then. 14. That Children baptized, when they come to Age, ought to be required to ratify the Promiſe made in their Name, and to be left to their Will if they refuſe, not compelling them to Chriſtian Life, but by denying them other Sacraments.

The Canons of *Confirmation.*

Of *Confirmation* there were three *Canons*. 1. Againſt him that ſaith, It is an idle Ceremony, not a Sacrament properly; or that it was formerly uſed, that Children might give a publick Account of their Faith. 2. That to give Virtue to the *Chriſm*, is to wrong the *Holy Spirit*. 3. That every ſimple Prieſt is the ordinary Miniſter of *Confirmation*, and not the Biſhop only.

The Decree of *Reformation.*

After this the Decree of Reformation was read, which, in the Acts bare this Title. A Canon concerning Reſidency. And it contained in ſubſtance; 1. That no Biſhop be created but of lawful Matrimony, of ripe Years, Learned, and of good Behaviour. 2. That none may have or keep more Biſhopricks than one, in *Title*, *Commenda*, or any other way, and whoſoever hath now more than one, ſhall chuſe one, and quit the reſt within ſix Months, if they be of the Popes free Collation, or elſe within a Year: otherwiſe all ſhall be accounted void but the laſt. 3. That other Benefices, eſpecially with Cure, be given to worthy Perſons, able to take charge of Souls; otherwiſe the Ordinary Patron is to be puniſhed. 4. That hereafter whoſoever ſhall receive many incompatible Benefices, by way of *Union* for Life, perpetual *Commenda*, or otherwiſe; or ſhall keep thoſe that he hath received againſt the

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the *Canons*, ſhall be deprived of all. 5. That the Diſpenſations of thoſe who have many Benefices with Cure, or incompatible, ſhall be ſhewed to the *Ordinaries*, making Proviſion afterwards for the Cure of Souls, and other Obligations. 6. That perpetual *Unions*, made within forty Years, ſhall be reviewed by the *Ordinaries*, as Delegats; and thoſe that are Unjuſt, ſhall be nullified; and thoſe that have not been in Poſſeſſion, or ſhall be made hereafter, ſhall be preſumed to be ſurreptitious, if they be not made for reaſonable Cauſes, and with Citation of all that be intereſted; and nothing to the contrary of this ſhall be declared by the Apoſtolick See. 7. That Benefices with Cure, united, ſhall be viſited by the Ordinaries every Year, and ſhall have Vicars aſſigned, Perpetual or Temporal, with ſuch a Portion of the Fruits as to them ſhall ſeem meet, without reſpect of Appeals or Exemptions. 8. That the Ordinaries ſhall every Year, by the Apoſtolick Authority, viſit the Churches exempted, providing for the Care of Souls, and other Duties, without reſpect of Appeal, Privileges, or Cuſtoms preſcribed. 9. That Biſhops ſhall be conſecrated within the time ſet down by the Law, and all Prolongations for more than ſix Months, ſhall be void. 10. That the *Chapters* of Churches, in Vacancy of the Biſhoprick, ſhall not grant Dimiſories for Orders, but to him that is obliged to take them, becauſe of a Benefice. 11. That Licences to be promoted by any Biſhop ſhall be void, if a Lawful cauſe be not expreſſed, for which they may not be promoted by their own Biſhop; and, in that caſe, they ſhall be promoted by a Biſhop that reſideth in his Dioceſs. 12. That Faculties not to receive due Orders, ſhall not ſerve for longer time than a Year, but in caſes expreſſed in the Law. 13. That Men preſented to Benefices, by any Eccleſiaſtical Perſon whatſoever, ſhall not be inſtituted before examination made by the Ordinaries, except thoſe who are preſented by Univerſities, Colledges, and general Studies. 14. That in the Cauſes of the Exempted, a certain Form ſhall be obſerved; and where the Queſtion is of Reward, or concerning thoſe who ſue *in forma Pauperis*, the Exempted alſo, who have a Judg deputed, ſhall be convented before the Ordinary: but thoſe who have no Judg deputed, ſhall be convented in all cauſes. 15. That the Biſhops ſhall take care of the Hoſpitals, that they be well governed by the Adminiſtrators, tho exempted, obſerving a certain Form.

A modeſt Oppoſition is made, but not regarded by the Legats.

The Prelats who oppoſed in the Congregations, did the ſame in the Seſſion, but with a greater Modeſty: deſiring that the Degrees of the Perſons comprehended might be expreſſed, and that beſides the Proviſions againſt future Evils, Remedies might be added for the preſent, which are more hurtful, and dangerous. But the Legats harkening unto theſe words as unto idle Talk, concluded the Seſſion, and appointed the next for the 21 of *April*.

The Credence concerning the Tranſlation is delivered.

The ſame day the Pope's Meſſenger, concealed until then, even from the Legats, did appear, and declared to them his Credence; and immediatly went from *Trent* to *Iſpruc*. The Cardinal *Santa Croce* was confounded; but *Monte*, being without fear, ſaid, That he ever knew the Pope to be a wiſe Prince, and that he then ſaw in him the height of Judgment, that it was neceſſary to do ſo, if they would preſerve the Authority of the See Apoſtolick: and therefore that it was fit to ſerve his Holineſs with Fidelity, Secrecy, and Diligence. And it happened fitly that many in the Families of the Prelats were ſick, either by the Diſorders of the *Carnaval*, or becauſe the Air had been moiſt many days before. *Monte* ſuborned ſome to ask the Phyſicians, whether thoſe Infirmities

firmities were not Contagious. The Phyſicians, who in their Prognoſticks, always ſay the worſt they can, becauſe if they prove true, they ſeem Learned in having foreſeen them, if not, they ſeem more learned in remedying or preventing them, ſpake ſome ambiguous word, which was ſtudiouſly ſpread abroad, and believed by ſome of the meaner ſort. Some others alſo were credulous of it, eſpecially thoſe who were willing to depart, and therefore wiſhed it were true. And after the Seſſion, a Biſhop dying opportunely, interred with the Obſequies of the whole Council, made the Matter more conſpicuous. Whereupon all *Trent* was full, that the Diſeaſe was Contagious, and the Fame was ſpread in all the bordering Places. The Legats, to ſhew they had no finger in diſperſing this Fame, held a general Congregation the next day after the Seſſion, to digeſt what ſhould be diſcuſſed concerning the Euchariſt, and, the week following, the Congregations of the Divines did begin. But the Fame being increaſed, *Monte* gave order to *Hercules Severolo*, Proctor of the Council, to make a Proceſs concerning the Peſtilent Infirmity. The Phyſicians were examined, and *Jeronymus Fracaſtorius* amongſt others, who had the Title of the Phyſician of the Council, and other Perſons beſides. It was reported, that the neighbour places would have no more Commerce with the City: which made many Prelats ask leave to depart, either for fear, or for deſire to go from thence by all means. *Monte* gave leave to ſome, that their departure might be alledged as one of the Cauſes; others, with whom he was more familiar, he perſwaded to tarry, indeed, not to want adherence when he would propoſe the Tranſlation of the Council, but, in ſhew that the Council might not diſſolve; and therefore he wiſhed them to require the Congregations, that ſome order might be taken. The Proceſs was proſecuted until the 8*th* day; when news came, either true or feigned, that *Verona* would Traffick no more with them: which troubled them all, becauſe they ſhould be as it were all in Priſon.

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Therefore the 9*th* day a general Congregation was held concerning this: in which the Proceſs was read, and a Propoſition made, what Remedy might be found that they might not be confined, with a Diſeaſe in their Houſes, and deprived of Victuals and other Neceſſaries. Many proteſted they would depart, and could not be held; and when much had been ſpoken, *Monte* propoſed the Tranſlation of the Council, ſaying, He had Apoſtolick Authority to do it from the beginning; and cauſed the Pope's Bull to be read, directed to the 3. Legates, *Monte*, *Santa Croce*, and *Pool*. In which having declared that he had eſtabliſhed the Council in *Trent*, and ſent them thither, as his Legats, and Angels of Peace, to the end that ſo Godly a Work might not be hindered by the incommodity of the Place, he giveth power to any two of them, in abſence of the third, to Tranſlate it into ſome other City, more Commodious, Opportune, and Secure; and to command the Prelats, upon Cenſures and Puniſhments, not to proceed any further in *Trent*, but to continue it in the City, unto which they ſhall transfer it, and to call thither the Prelats, and other Perſons of the Council of *Trent*, upon pain of Perjury, and other Cenſures, ſet down in the Letters of the Convocation, and that he will ratify whatſoever they ſhall do, any thing to the contrary notwithſtanding. The Emperor's Prelats anſwered immediatly, That the Diſeaſe and the Dangers were not ſo great, that the timorous might have leave to go, until the Opinion were paſt, which, by the help of God, would vaniſh quickly; and if the Seſſion were deferred, it was no matter: that many departed the Year before, for the ſuſpicions of War, and the Seſſion was deferred more than ſix months, and that they might do ſo now, if there were occaſion. And other

The Bull of the Tranſlation is read.

The Emperor's Miniſters do diſcover the Plot.

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other ſuch Reaſons they brought. The Diſputation concerning this was long. When the Congregation was ended, the Imperialiſts, conferring among themſelves, and ſeeking curiouſly that which before they cared not to know, they ſmelt out that it was not a general Diſeaſe, but a Pretence.

The next day a Congregation was called to conſult upon the ſame Matter. It was found, that 11 Prelates were already parted, and they began to ſpeak of the Place whither to go. That it ſhould be in *Germany*, all did abhor. It could not be in the State of any Prince, becauſe they had treated with none. There remained only the State of the Church. The Legats propoſed *Bolonia*; which pleaſed all thoſe that approved the Tranſlation. The Imperialiſts did contradict, and ſome did almoſt proteſt: but the major part conſented. Some doubted the Pope would take the Tranſlation ill, becauſe it was made without his knowledg. But *Monte* ſaid, that ſudden Changes, and Perils of Life are free from theſe reſpects, and that he would undertake the Pope ſhould be contented. Conſideration was had of the Emperor, and other Princes, and it was concluded, that if they made mention of them in the Decree, they gave Satisfaction to the Reverence which they did owe them: and to ſatisfy, in ſome ſort, thoſe, who approved not the Tranſlation, they made ſome mention of returning. The Decree was propoſed by way of deliberation. Doth it pleaſe you to declare that this Diſeaſe is manifeſt, in regard of the Predictions, and other Things alledged ſo notoriouſly, that the Prelats cannot remain in this City without danger of their Life, nor can be kept here againſt their Will; and becauſe of the Departure of many, and Proteſtations of others, by whoſe Departure the Council would be diſſolved; and for other Cauſes alledged by the Fathers, notoriouſly true and lawful; Doth it pleaſe you to declare, that, for the ſecurity of the Prelats Lives, and proſecution of the Council, it ought to be transferred to *Bolonia*, and is now transferred, and that the Seſſion intimated, for the 21 of *April*, ſhall be celebrated, and all things proſecuted there, until the Pope and Council ſhall think fit to reduce it into this or ſome other place, by the advice of the Emperor, the *French* King, and other Chriſtian Kings and Princes?

A Seſſion is held to read the Decrée of the Tranſlation to *Bolonia*.

The next day the Seſſion being held, and the Decree read, 35 Biſhops, and three Generals did aſſent. But the Cardinal *Pacecco*, and 17 other Biſhops oppoſed. Among thoſe that conſented, there was not one of the Emperor's Subjects, but *Michael Saracenus*, a Neapolitan, Archbiſhop of *Matera*. But amongſt thoſe that conſented not, there was *Claudius della Guiſche* Biſhop of *Mirpois*, and *Martelli* Biſhop of *Fieſole*; and *Marcus Viguerius*, Biſhop of *Sinigaglia*, whom the Cardinal of *Monte* did upbraid, that his Uncle being drawn from a baſe Eſtate to the height of the *Cardinality*, from whence the greatneſs of his Houſe and his own Biſhoprick did proceed, he did ill requite the Apoſtolick See. For anſwer he uſed the words of S. *Paul*, *God is not mocked*. The Legats departed, with the *Croſs* carried before them, accompanied with the Biſhops of their faction, with Ceremonies and Prayers.

The *Imperialiſts* were commanded by the *Emperor's Ambaſſadour* not to depart until his Majeſty were informed, and gave them order. In *Rome* the *Court* was glad they were delivered from Danger. For there was already great confuſion and ſale made by the Poſſeſſors of many Benefices, who ſought to unburthen themſelves, but ſo as that they would loſe no Commodity. The Pope ſaid, that having given his Legats power to tranſlate the Council, and promiſed to ratify what they ſhould determine

Which is approved by the Pope.

determine, and cauſe it to be executed, and they having judged the Infection of the Air to be a lawful Cauſe, he could not chuſe but approve it, and the rather, becauſe the Major Part of the Prelats did conſent. 1547. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI. *Francis* I.

But none was ſo ſimple as not to believe that all was done by his Commandment, it being certain that nothing, how little ſoever, was handled in the Council, without Order firſt had from *Rome*. For which purpoſe, Letters coming once every week, and ſome weeks twice, it was not credible, that a Matter of that importance, was hatched in the Legat's Brains. Beſides, only to bring ſo many Perſons into a City, ſo jealous as *Bolonia*, without conſent of the Prince thereof, ſeemed to be a thing which the Legats would never have attempted. Many did believe that the Bull had not a true Date, but was newly made, though the Date were old, and with the Name of Cardinal *Poole*, to give greater Reputation: otherwiſe that Clauſe, in which Authority is given unto two of them, the other being abſent, to tranſlate the Council, would ſeem a kind of Prophecy, that *Poole* ſhould depart a Year after; and the liberty to transfer it to what City they liſted, ſeemed too large, and improbable, conſidering the ſuſpicion always fixed in the Mind of the Popes, that the Council ſhould be celebrated in an unfaithful City, ſhewed more than ever by Pope *Paul*, when he did call it. So that it was incredible that he would, unneceſſarily, expoſe himſelf to the diſcretion of another, in a Matter of ſo great weight. Yet, following the Notes which I have ſeen, as I have ſaid before, I aſſure my ſelf, that it was made two Years, and ſent 18 Months before this time. But that which could not be concealed, and which did ſcandalize every one, was, that, by that Bull it appeared that the Council was in ſervitude. For if the two Legats could command all the Prelats, at once, to part from *Trent*, and compel them by Puniſhments, and Cenſures, let any Man ſay that can, what liberty they had. The Emperor hearing the News, was much diſpleaſed, becauſe, it ſeemed, he was deſpiſed, and becauſe he ſaw a Weapon taken out of his Hand, by managing whereof, according to opportunity, he thought to ſet Religion at peace in *Germany*, and ſo to put it under his Obedience. The News came not to the *French* King, who the 21*ſt* of the ſame Month, changed this Life for a better.

The Date of the Bull is ſuſpected by many.

It appeareth by the Bull, that the Council was not free.

The Emperor is offended with the Tranſlation.

The *French* King dieth.

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THE HISTORY OF THE Council of Trent.

BOOK III.

I Am not ignorant of the Laws of Hiſtories, and how they differ from Annals, and Diaries. I know likewiſe, that the Narration of Uniform Accidents, breedeth ſatiety in the Writer, and tedioufneſs in the Reader: and that to recount ſmall Matters too particularly, deſerveth the Name of a Fooliſh Knowledg. Yet I obſerve frequent Replies, and little Narrations, in *Homer*, and that, in the expedition of *Cyrus* the Younger, *Xenophon* doth more raviſh and inſtruct the Mind, by reciting the ſerious and merry Diſcourſes of the Souldiers, than by relating the Actions and Counſels of Princes. I am of Opinion, that every Matter hath his proper Form, and that this of mine, cannot be compoſed with ordinary Rules. I aſſure my ſelf, that this Work will be read by few, and is of a ſhort Life; not ſo much for want of Form, as for the Nature of the Subject. And I am ſo perſwaded, by that which I ſee happen in the like things. But not regarding perpetuity, or continuance of Time, it ſhall ſuffice me that it will pleaſe ſome one, to whom I will ſhew it, becauſe I know he will make uſe of it; and I am aſſured that, for hereafter, that will happen to it which the Conjunctures ſhall comport.

The Cenſure of the Author concerning this Work.

The Prelats remaining in *Trent*, were in great ſuſpence, until Letters came from the Emperor, commending them for contradicting the Tranſlation, and abiding in *Trent*, with expreſs Order not to part from the City. They conſulted among themſelves, whether they ſhould do any Conciliary Act: and it was uniformly reſolved, that it would make a Schiſm, and therefore was not to be attempted: but that they ought to ſtudy the Points, and to expect what opportunity would bring. There paſſed ſome Writings between the Divines of *Trent*, and

The Emperor's Prelats remain in *Trent*.

Writings paſs between the Prelats of *Trent* and of *Bologna*.

of

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of *Bolonia*. Theſe did, with affectation call it the *Synod* of *Bolonia*, and thoſe, the *Holy Synod*, be it whereſoever it will. And ſome of them remain ſtill in Print in *Bolonia*. The Legats, and other Cardinals of *Rome*, made divers Requeſts in private, unto ſome of thoſe who remained in *Trent*, to cauſe them to go to *Bolonia*, or at the leaſt, to make them depart from thence. But they gained none, but *Galeatius Florimante*, Biſhop of *Aquila*. They laboured to bring to the *Seſſion*, all their Friends that parted from *Trent*, and that more ſhould come alſo: which was eaſy to do by reaſon of the commodious Paſſage from *Rome* thither. Divers Congregations were made, in which nothing was handled, but how they might defend the *Tranſlation* to be Lawful, and to ſhew that thoſe of *Trent*, were bound to joyn with them.

The firſt Seſſion in *Bolonia*.

The 21*ſt* of *April* being come, the day appointed for the Seſſion, with great concourſe of all the People of *Bolonia*, and much Solemnity, the Legats, accompanied with thirty four Biſhops, went to the Council-houſe; where nothing was done, but a Decree read, which ſaid, That, it being reſolved in *Trent* to tranſlate the *Synod* to *Bolonia*, and to celebrate the *Seſſion* that day, publiſhing Canons in Matter of the Sacraments, and of Reformation, yet conſidering that many Prelats of the Council, were imployed in their Churches, by reaſon of the Holy-days of *Eaſter*, hoping they will return ere long, that all may be done with Honour and Gravity, the *Synod* hath deferred the celebration of that Seſſion, until the ſecond of *June*, reſerving Power to themſelves to abbreviate the term. It was decreed alſo, to write Letters in the Name of the *holy general Synod*, to the Fathers remaining in *Trent*, exhorting them to go to *Bolonia*, and to unite themſelves with the Body, from which being ſeparated, they cannot be called an Eccleſiaſtical Congregation, but do give much ſcandal to Chriſtendom. Theſe Letters, being received in *Trent*, were thought not to be diſcreet, and did rather exaſperate than mollify their minds. Therefore they reſolved not to anſwer, for fear of making a Contention, and ſo to let the Attempt fall; which was aſcribed to the Cardinal of *Monte* his too much liberty, not to the moderation of that Aſſembly.

The Elector of *Saxony* is taken Priſoner in Battel, and the Landgrave of *Haſſia* doth yield.

The Emperor, who was in *Saxony* with a puiſſant Army, in the very face of that Elector, wholly buſied in Martial Affairs, had laid aſide all thoughts of the Council. And the 24*th* of the ſame Month, having put his Army in order, upon the River *Elb*, called by the Latines *Albi*, came to a ſet Battel; where the Duke Elector was wounded and taken Priſoner, and his Army defeated. The Proteſtant Forces being weakned hereby, the Landgrave was enforced to yield, and ſome few days after, by the Mediation of his Son in Law *Mauritius*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg*, did willingly make his perſonal appearance. The Duke was firſt condemned to die as a Traytor, and then his Life was given him, upon divers hard Conditions; all which he accepted, but his ſubmiſſion to the Council, in matter of Religion. And *Cæſar* was content, that he others being obſerved, this ſhould be omitted. Other Conditions were propoſed alſo to the Landgrave; amongſt which one was to obey the Decrees of the Council of *Trent*; whereunto he conſented not, but ſubſcribed to refer himſelf to a Godly and free Council, where the Head and the Members might be reformed, which alſo the Duke *Maurice*, and the Elector of *Brandenburg* would do. They were both impriſoned, the Saxon for ever, and the Landgrave during the Emperor's Pleaſure. *Cæſar* being made Lord of *Germany* by this Victory, became Maſter of a great deal of Artillery, and drew much

The *Saxon* is condemned to die, but his Life is given upon hard Conditions.

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Mony from the Cities and Princes; and to give a peaceable Form to what he had atchieved by War, he ordained a Diet in *Ausburg*.

The Pope is afflicted in Mind with the Emperor's Prosperity.

These Things did much afflict the Pope, who considered that *Italy* was without help, and remained at the Emperor's Discretion: Yet he was comforted, that having gotten the Conquest by Force, he would be compelled to maintain it by the same Means, and could not remove his Army from thence very soon. In the mean space he had time to Treat and Agree with the new *French* King, and the *Italians*, and to secure himself. In all these Troubles he was consolated, being delivered from Fear of the Council. He commended above measure the Resolution of the Cardinal *Monte*, to whom he attributed this Benefit. He resolved to send into *France*, *Jeronymus Boccaferrius*, a *Roman* Cardinal of Saint *George*, in shew to condole with the King, for the Death of his Father, and to give him Joy of the beginning of his Kingdom, but with Commission to make Intelligence, and Confederation with him. The Pope gave the Legate most ample Power to grant the King all his Demands, in Matter of Benefices, without regarding the Decrees of the Tridentine Council. And, to be ready to embrace all Occasions, which might arise in *Germany*, to trouble the Emperor; and that no Resolution might be taken in the Diet to his Prejudice, he sent *Francis*, Cardinal *Sfondrato*, for Legat, with Instruction to treat with the Clergy, and to keep them in Devotion; to make divers Propositions to the Emperor, to establish the Council in *Bolonia*; which, if it were not in a place of his own Subjection, he feared more than the Emperor's Arms in *Italy*.

Maketh a Confederation with the new *French* King.

And sendeth a Legat into *Germany*.

A great Commotion is raised in *Naples*, by bringing in the *Inquisition*.

At this time there was a great Sedition in *Naples*, because the Viceroy, D. *Pedro de Toledo*, desired to bring the *Inquisition* into the Kingdom, according to the Custom of *Spain*. The *Neapolitans* resisted, and made a seditious cry throughout *Naples*, *God save the Emperor*, and confound the *Inquisition*: then, being assembled, they chose a Magistrate to defend them, saying, That when they yielded their Obedience to the Catholick King, they made an express Capitulation, that Causes of Heresy should be censured by ordinary Ecclesiastical Judges, and that the particular Office of the *Inquisition* should not be brought in. For this Cause the *Spaniards* and *Neapolitans* did seditiously take Arms, and many were slain, and there was danger of Rebellion. When all things were set in order, fifty thousand Men being put in Arms, assembled by the sound of Bells, the *Spaniards* being retired into the Castles, and the People fortified with Artillery, in convenient places, there was, as it were, a formal War, between the City and the Castles. The Tumult lasted from the end of *May*, until the midst of *July*, and more than three hundred Persons were slain on both sides. In which *interim* the City sent Ambassadors to the Emperor and the Pope, offering to yield, if they might be received. It was enough for the Pope to nourish the Sedition; which he did with much dexterity, having not Forces to maintain the Enterprise. But the Cardinal *Theatinus*, Archbishop of that City, promising them the Adherence of all his Kindred, who were many, and Potent, and his own pains also; who, to that purpose, would go in Person, did effectually exhort them not to let slip an Occasion so profitable for the Service of the Church, gaining unto it so great a Kingdom. The *Spaniards*, calling Succours from divers Parts, became more Potent; and Letters came from the Emperor, that he was content there should be no *Inquisition*, and pardoned the City, except Nineteen, all which he named but One, whom he would discover when time served: yet the City paid for a Fine, an hundred thou-

And nourished by the Pope.

sand

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ſand Crowns. Theſe Conditions were of neceſſity received, and thoſe few of the Nineteen who could be found, were put to Death; and ſo the Tumult was appeaſed.

But appeaſed by the Emperor.

In *Bolonia* the Legats did not well know as yet what to do; and the Pope had commanded them not to proceed to any Action, which might be oppoſed, or make a Diviſion, but to go on ſlowly, deferring the Seſſions, and making ſome Congregations, to ſhew they were not idle. But it was not eaſy to make them in a good Form, to diſcuſs the Point of the Euchariſt, in regard the principal Divines, accuſtomed to handle Matters of Faith in *Trent*, were wanting. Yet ſome Congregations were held, and divers Divines did ſpeak, but no Decree was framed. There is no cauſe to ſpeak any more of the Reformation, becauſe it was then buried in deep ſilence.

The Council in *Bolonia* proceedeth ſlowly.

The Reformation is wholly forgotten.

The ſecond Seſſion is held and nothing done.

The ſecond of *July* being come, the Seſſion was celebrated with the ſame Ceremonies; where they did nothing but prorogue it, with a Decree like to that of the Form, ſhewing that the Synod had deferred it until that Day, becauſe the Fathers were abſent and expected: whereupon, being deſirous to deal lovingly with them, they added another Prorogation, until the fifteenth of *September*, not ceaſing in the mean ſpace to examine the Points of Doctrine and Reformation, reſerving to themſelves power to abbreviate or prolong that Term, though in a private Congregation.

A ſtrong Alliance is made between the Pope and the *French* King.

In *France* it was not hard for the Legat to obtain of the King whatſoever the Pope deſired. For he alſo was no leſs jealous of the Emperor's Fortune, and there was good Intelligence between them, and very ſecret Propoſitions did paſs. Amongſt the Publick, one was, That the King ſhould ſend to the Council of *Bolonia*, as ſoon as might be, as many Prelats as was poſſible. Marriage was contracted between *Horatius Farneſe*, the Pope's Nephew, and *Dania* the Kings Baſtard Daughter, of the Age of nine Years. The King ſent nine *Frenche* Cardinals, to remain in the Court, to give the Pope Reputation, and to nouriſh Friendſhip between them. The Pope created Cardinals the ſix and twentieth of *July*, at the King's inſtance, *Charles de Guiſa*, Archbiſhop of *Reins*, and *Charles* of *Vandoſme*, of the Blood Roya!.

Two Cardinals are created at the King's inſtance

The Emperor holdeth a Diet in *Ausburg*.

In the end of *Auguſt*, *Cæſar* went to *Ausburg*, to celebrate the Diet there, having about the City, the whole Army of *Spaniards* and *Italians*, and ſome Companies of Foot within the City. It began the firſt of *September*, where the Emperor deſiring principally to pacify *Germany*, did impart what he had formerly done in divers Diets, to reconcile it; and how, for this end, he had cauſed the Council to be called, and to begin in *Trent*: but that his Pains availing nothing, he was conſtrained to paſs to another Remedy. And becauſe it pleaſed God to give a happy Iſſue to his Reſolution, reducing *Germany* to thoſe Terms that he was aſſured to reform it, he had aſſembled the Princes for that end. But for that the difference of Religion was Cauſe of all thoſe Troubles, it was neceſſary to begin there. The Opinions of the Princes in that Diet were divers; for amongſt the Electors the Eccleſiaſticks deſired, and urged, that the Council of *Trent* ſhould be held, and demanded no Condition. The Seculars, adhering to the Lutherans, were content with theſe Conditions, That it ſhould be Free, Pious; that the Pope ſhould not preſide, neither in Perſon, nor by his Miniſters, ſhould releaſe the Oath by which the Biſhops are bound unto him; that the Proteſtant Divines ſhould have a Deciding Voice, and that the De-

In which the Princes differ in Opinion.

crees

crees already made ſhould be reexamined. The other Catholics demanded that the Council ſhould be continued, and the Proteſtants have ſafe-conduct to go thither, and ſpeak freely, and be inforced to obey the Decrees. 1547. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI. *Henry* II.

While the Pope was in expectation of the ſucceſs of the Diet in *Germany*, the 20*th* of *September*, his Son, *Petrus Aloiſius*, Duke of *Piacenza*, was ſlain in his own Palace by conſpiracy, and his Body ignominiouſly expoſed; and, ſome few hours after, Souldiers came from *Milan*, ſent by the Vice-Duke, *Ferrandus Gonzaga*, who made themſelves Lords of the City. This afflicted the Pope above meaſure, not ſo much for the Death of his Son, and the Ignominy, as for the Loſs of the City, and becauſe he ſaw plainly that all was done with the Emperor's knowledg. *The Pope's Son is murdered in his own Palace, and his City Piacenza poſſeſſed by the Governor of Milan.*

But the Legats in *Bolonia* thought that in this Affliction and Buſineſs of the Pope, it was not fit to write two Letters every week of what did paſs in the Council, as they were wont; and therefore that it was convenient to prorogue the Seſſion for a long time, and to intermit all Acts of the Council; which would be done with Honour enough, if the Seſſion, intimated for the fifteenth, were celebrated, and the next deferred. Yet the publick Grief for the Duke's Death, requiring that no Solemnity ſhould be made, they deemed it was better to anticipate, and defer it in a Congregation. Therefore the fourteenth, the Prelats being all called into the houſe, where the Cardinal of *Monte* was lodged, he ſpake unto them, thus in ſubſtance. That the morrow was appointed for the Seſſion; but every one ſaw in what ſtraits the Synod was; that not many Prelats are arrived, who are in their Journey, eſpecially the *French-men*, and thoſe who are lately come, are not well informed; yea, even thoſe who have been preſent the whole Summer, at the Diſputation of the leſſer Divines, are not well in order: whereunto was to be added the cruel Murder of the Duke, which held every one in ſuſpence, and themſelves buſied in providing for the Security of the Cities belonging to the Church: that he was glad he had reſerved Power to Prorogue the Seſſion, that they may be freed from the pains of going to the Church to celebrate it: that his Advice was, yea, that it was neceſſary to make uſe of that Reſervation, prolonging the Seſſion now, and not celebrating it to morrow. The Prorogation pleaſed all the Fathers. The Cardinal added, that, having conſidered much of it, they were not able to ſet down a certain day whereon to reſt: that when they were in *Trent*, thinking to diſpatch the Decree of Juſtification in fifteen days, they were fain to ſweat in the Buſineſs ſeven Months together, oftentimes making two Congregations every day: that where the Queſtion is of Faith, and confounding the Hereticks, one ought to go with Leaden Feet, and often to employ much time in diſcuſſing a little Word; that one cannot know whether it will be neceſſary to celebrate the Seſſion within few days, or not within many Months; therefore that his Opinion was to prorogue it during pleaſure of the Council; and that this Reſolution was undoubtedly the beſt. And if any ſay, that, the prefixed time being known, one might better diſpoſe of his Buſineſs; theſe may aſſure themſelves, that it will appear within few days, what Courſe and Progreſs the Synod is like to have. All were content it ſhould be Prorogued during the Councils pleaſure, and ſo they have leave to depart. *C. Monte* maketh a Speech to the Fathers in his own Lodging, for Prorogation of the Seſſion.

The Prelats of *Germany*, aſſembled in the Diet the very ſame day, wrote to the Pope, for ſo the Emperor's Pleaſure was, demanding that the Council ſhould be brought back to *Trent*. In the Letter was mixture of Prayers and Threats. It expounded the bad Eſtate and Danger *The Prelats aſſembled in the Diet, writ to the Pope to reſtore the Synod to Trent.*

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of *Germany*, againſt which Proviſion might have been made, if the Remedy of the Council had been applied in time, and held in *Germany*, as was deſired. For having ample Juriſdictions, they could not long remain in remote Places; for which Cauſe none went to *Mantua*, or *Viconza*, and but few to *Trent*, a City which belongeth alſo rather to *Italy*, eſpecially in time of War. Now all things being in Peace, they conceived great hope, that the Ship was ſafe in the Haven; when, beyond all expectation, they underſtood the Council, in which all their hope conſiſted, was tranſlated to another place, or rather divided. Therefore being deprived of this Remedy, there did nothing remain, but to have recourſe to the Apoſtolick Church, praying his Holineſs, for the ſafety of *Germany*, to reſtore the Council to *Trent*; which if he did, there was no Service which he might not promiſe himſelf from them; and that otherwiſe they knew not whither to flee for Aid, againſt the Miſchiefs and Dangers that were imminent; that therefore he would vouchſafe to conſider of their Demand, and think that if he made not Proviſion, it was very poſſible they ſhould think of other Courſes, to put an end to theſe Difficulties: Praying his Holineſs to take their Letter in good part, being compelled to write thus, by their own Duty, and by the Condition of the Times.

The Emperor obtaineth of the Princes, and *Granvel* of the Cities, a Conditional Submiſſion to the Council.

Moreover, the Emperor uſed all diligence, that all ſhould ſubmit to the Council, urging, praying, and deſiring them to rely upon his Credit. His Prayers to the Elector *Palatine* were a kind of Threats, in regard of his former Offence, lately pardoned. *Maurice*, Duke of *Saxony*, was neceſſarily to yield, becauſe of ſo great Benefits newly received from his Majeſty, and becauſe he deſired the enlargement of the *Landgrave*, his Wives Father. Therefore the Emperor, having promiſed they ſhould have due Satisfaction; and deſiring them to truſt unto him, they finally conſented, and were followed by the Ambaſſadors of the Elector of *Brandenburg*, and by all the Princes. The Cities refuſed (becauſe they thought it very dangerous) to ſubmit themſelves indifferently to all the Decrees of the Council. *Granvel* did negotiate very much, and very long, with their Ambaſſadors, holding them obſtinate, in refuſing what the Princes had approved, adding ſome Threats, to condemn them in a greater Sum than they had already paid. Therefore they were compelled, in fine, to condeſcend to *Cæſar*'s Will, yet with Caution of obſerving the Promiſes. Being called before the Emperor, and demanded if they would conform themſelves to the Reſolution of the Princes? They anſwered, They ſhould be too bold, if they went about to correct their Anſwer; and, withal, gave up a Writing; which contained the Conditions with which they would receive the Council. This was taken, but not read, and they were commended, in the Emperor's Name, by his Chancellor, for that they had referred all to *Cæſar*, as others had done, and relied upon him: and the Emperor himſelf made ſhew to be well-pleaſed with it: So the one and the other Party was willing to be deceived.

The Negotiation of Card. *Sfondrato* with the Emperor.

The Cardinal *Sfondrato* failed not of his Duty, in propoſing many Advantages to the Emperor, in caſe he would conſent to the Council in *Bolonia*: He ſhewed him in what Confuſions *England* was, being under a King who was a Child, whoſe Governours were at Variance, and People in diſtruſt one of another, becauſe of Religion: He diſcovered unto him the Intelligence which the Pope held in that Kingdom, all which ſhould be to his Favour, and that he would aſſiſt him in that Enterpriſe with Men and Ships, and would give him leave to make uſe of the

the Eccleſiaſtical Rents of all States. The Emperor knew the Pope's Aim was to intangle him in a new Enterpriſe, and ſo to trouble him in that which he had already brought to a Concluſion. Therefore he anſwered, That he would be united with the Pope in Religion, but, in Point of War, was reſolute to proceed alone, and not to be his Captain, who would abandon him in the beſt Time of Service, as he had done in the War of *Germany*. And, on the other ſide, he propoſed divers Advantages to the Pope, in caſe he would conſent to the return of the Council to *Trent*. The Legat having anſwered, He had no Commiſſion herein; the Emperor ſent, in diligence, the Cardinal of *Trent* to the Pope, to negotiate the Reſtitution of the Council, and other Particulars which ſhall be related. The Pope having heard him often, and not being able to diſcover his Intention, did finally anſwer him, That he ſhould ſpeak hereof in the Conſiſtory. 1547. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI. *Henry* II.

The Cardinal having, the ninth of *December*, in preſence of the whole Colledge, declared, what Pains and Dangers the Emperor had undergone, only to maintain the Dignity of the Council; and how finally, by his Diligence and Authority, he had induced all the Princes and States of *Germany*, to adhere, and ſubmit themſelves unto it, he prayed his Holineſs, in the Name of *Cæſar*, *Ferdinand*, and the whole Empire, that, for the Love of God, he would cauſe the Biſhops who were at *Bolonia*, to return to *Trent*, to finiſh the neceſſary Work begun; and would be pleaſed to ſend one or two Legats into *Germany*, with full Pontifical Power, not keeping from them any *Faculty*, that the manner of living, until the Council began, might be ſet down by their Advice, and the Clergy reformed, that he would have conſideration, and determine, if the See were vacant, during the Time of the Council, whether the Fathers thereof, or Cardinals, ſhould elect the Pope, that, in caſe it ſhould happen, no new Stirs might ariſe. This third Point was added, to put the Pope in mind of his old Age, and approaching Death, and ſo to make him condeſcend more eaſily, that his Poſterity might not inherit the Diſpleaſure which the Emperor took at his Retinency. The Pope, in anſwer of theſe Propoſitions, commended the Emperor's good Will, and his Pains, for publick Service of the Church; concluding, he would have ſuch conſideration of theſe Propoſitions, as they deſerved, and reſolve, as *God* would inſpire him. The Cardinal, having in divers private Audiences, aſſayed in vain to have ſome good Reſolution from the Pope, leaving the Inſtruction to *Don Diego di Mendoza*, whom the Emperor had cauſed to go for that purpoſe to *Rome* from *Siena*, where he was to accommodate the Differences of that Republick, he departed, and returned to *Ausburg*. *Don Diego*, in publick Conſiſtory, aſſembled to give the Cap to the Cardinal of *Guiſe*, where all ſorts of Men might be preſent, preſented himſelf before the Pope, and expounded unto him the ſame Things which the Cardinal had done, adding, That he had Commiſſion, in caſe his Holineſs did interpoſe any delay or excuſe, to proteſt that the Synod of *Bolonia* was not lawful. The Pope anſwered, That he would firſt underſtand the Opinion and the Reaſons of the Fathers of the Council of *Bolonia*, and impart the Propoſition to the Kings and Princes of Chriſtendom, that he might reſolve maturely, for the Service of God, and Satisfaction of all.

And of the Cardinal of *Trent* with the Pope.

The Pope is put in mind of his old Age.

The Card. of *Trent* returneth, leaving *Don Diego* in his room.

The Pope's Anſwer concerning the return of the Council.

The Cardinal of *Guiſe* made a publick Diſcourſe in the ſame Conſiſtory, in the Name of the *French* King, and ſpake thus in ſubſtance; That King *Francis* had never ſpared any Coſt or Danger, to maintain the

The diſcourſe of the Cardinal of *Guiſe* in the Conſiſtory.

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the Liberty of other Princes. In conformity whereof, *Henry*, not degenerating from the Virtue of his Anceſtors, ſo ſoon as he left to mourn for his Father's Death, was willing to declare his Obſervance towards the See of *Rome*. That the Merits of the Kings of *France* towards the Pope, were famous, and exceeded all thoſe of other Nations: but this was above all which the King now doth, promiſing all his Forces to preſerve the Papal Dignity, now when it is ſo contemned. He prayed the Pope to receive the King for his Son, and to promiſe to himſelf all Aſſiſtance from him, and to take care that the Church ſhould receive no Damage or Shame, in regard, that from ſmall Beginnings, great Factions have riſen, which have brought the Popes into great Calamities. He exemplified in many Popes, afflicted, who were defended, and raiſed by the Kings of *France*, concluding that the preſent King will not yield to his Anceſtors, in preſerving the Dignity of the Apoſtolick See.

Many did think that the Pope made *Guiſe* ſpeak ſo, to encourage the Cardinals his Dependents, and to daunt the lofty Spirits of the Imperialiſts, and to make them ſee they could not enforce him. And to execute what he had ſaid to *Don Diego*, he wrote to *Bolonia*, to the Cardinal of *Monte*, the Propoſition made unto him, and his own Determination, giving him order, that ſo ſoon as might be, invocating the Holy Ghoſt, he ſhould deliver all to the Fathers; and when he had underſtood their Opinion, ſhould write back what the Council thought. The Legat, the Fathers being aſſembled, declared the Commiſſions, and gave his own Voice firſt, which all the others followed. For the Spirit which was wont to move the Legats to think as the Pope did, and the Biſhops to believe as the Legats, did work as formerly it had done. The Voices being collected, the Cardinal, by the Conſent, and in the Name of all, anſwered, That the Synod, when the Lawful Decree was made to tranſlate it from *Trent* to *Bolonia*, having admoniſhed all to put themſelves into the Journey, and, after that they were arrived in *Bolonia*, underſtanding that ſome remained in *Trent*, having again lovingly exhorted them to part from thence, and join with the Body of the Council, they made none account thereof, continuing ſtill in that City, with Contempt of the Council, and Scandal of many, as if they pretended to be a Lawful Council, or were not bound to obey this: And therefore that the Fathers did not know how the Return to *Trent* could be treated of, with the Honour and Reputation of the Synod, if thoſe who remain there do not firſt go to *Bolonia*, to unite with the reſt, and acknowledg the Power of the Council. When this is done, the Return, in contemplation of *Germany*, may be handled, if that Nation will give ſufficient Security to obey the Decrees, as well to be made, as made already. He added, That there was a Fame ſpread, That when the Council returned to *Trent*, the Proceedings ſhould be Popular and Licentious. Therefore the Fathers thought it neceſſary to have good Security, that the Order continued in the Celebration of Councils, from the Apoſtles Time until this Age, ſhould be obſerved; deſiring alſo Caution, to ſtand ſecure, and to be able to depart, and tranſlate alſo the Council, when it ſhall ſeem fit to the major part, and to end it when they ſhall judg that they have attained the End for which it was called; deſiring his Holineſs not to compel them to that which would be againſt the Honour of God, and Liberty of the Church.

The manner how the Spirit did work in this Council.

The Anſwer ſent from *Bolonia* concerning the return of the Council.

The Pope having received theſe Letters, when the Maſs was ended, on

on Saint *John* the Evangeliſt's Day, being returned to the Chamber of the Robes, with the Cardinals, did communicate the Councils Anſwer unto them: which being approved by the major part, he cauſed *Mendoza* to be called, and related unto him the Opinion of the Synod, approved alſo by the Cardinals, adding, That there was nothing that he was not willing to do for *Germany*'s Sake: that the Emperor was a good Witneſs hereof; that he was ſure that the Demand, which he the Ambaſſador had made, in the Name of *Cæſar*, *Ferdinand*, and the Empire, had a Condition annexed, that is, if it may be with the Peace and Profit of other Nations, and Liberty of the Church: which being aſſembled in a General Council, ſeeing it hath judged otherwiſe, and that the College of Cardinals was of the ſame Opinion, he could not chuſe but repute it Juridical, and Reaſonable, and approve it, as he alſo did. That, for his Fatherly Affection towards the Emperor, and the King, he wiſhed he could give a more acceptable Anſwer; but from a Pope, Head of the Church, nothing could be expected but what the well-governing of the Publick did compel him to reſolve: that he knew the Emperor's Wiſdom, and his Filial Love, and was confident he would receive this for Good, which was thought neceſſary by ſo many Fathers, and would command the *Spaniſh* Prelats in *Trent*, to go preſently to *Bolonia*, and labour to make *Germany* receive the Conditions propoſed by the Council, and ſend, as ſoon as might be, the *Dutch* Prelats, and give the Synod caution, that the Conditions propoſed ſhould be obſerved. *Mendoza* underſtanding the Pope's Reſolution by his Anſwer, would inſtantly have proteſted, that the Aſſembly of *Bolonia* was not a lawful Council, and that his Holineſs, if he brought it not back to *Trent*, would be Cauſe of all the Miſchances that ſhould happen to Chriſtendom; and that, he failing, the Emperor, as Protector of the Church, would make Proviſion. But the Cardinal of *Trani*, Dean of the College, and ſome other Cardinals interpoſing, he was content to relate the Anſwer to *Cæſar*, and expect Order from him.

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Which the Pope doth communicate to the Cardinals in Conſiſtory, and to the Emperor's Ambaſſador.

Who would have proteſted, if he had not been diſſwaded by the Card. of *Trani*.

The Pope, conſidering the Action of *Mendoza*, thought that this Buſineſs might make ſome Difference between him and the Emperor, in which caſe he thought it not fit to have the Prelats of *Germany* ill-affected to him. At the receiving of their Letter, whereof mention was made before, he was offended with the laſt Particle, that they would think of other Courſes, holding it to be a plain Threat, and reſolved to give them no Anſwer, and continued three Months in that Opinion: But now, better adviſed, he doubted, that, if they held themſelves to be contemned, they would take ſome raſh Reſolution, to which the Emperor would give way, that he might be intangled in greater Difficulties. Therefore being reſolved to prevent the Danger, by honouring them with an Anſwer, he made it very Modeſt and Artificial, yet not without a convenient ſenſe of his own Honour. The Letter began with Commendation of their Piety, which appeared in their care to remedy the Hereſies, and Seditions, and that himſelf was no leſs ſollicitous, in regard of his Paſtoral Office, ſo that he hath not ſuffered, nor doth ſuffer any Time to paſs without thinking of ſome Remedy; and had, from the beginning of his Popedom, recourſe unto that which hath been mentioned by them, that is, unto the Council. And here relating what happened in the Convocation of it, and the Impediments, why it came not preſently to execution, he added, That, it being aſſembled, many Decrees have been made, as well to condemn a great number of the Hereſies, as to reform a great part of the Church;

The Pope writeth to the Prelats of *Germany* in anſwer of their Letter.

That

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That the Council parted from that City without his knowledg, but the Synod having Power to do it, he preſuppoſeth the Cauſe was lawful, until the contrary doth appear: and that although ſome few have diſſented, yet it cannot be ſaid that the Council is divided. He added, That it is not tranſlated into a City far remote, and not ſafe, and that the being of it ſubject to the Church, doth make it ſecure for *Germany*, which hath received Chriſtian Religion, and many other Benefits from it. That he cared not whether the Council were celebrated there or elſewhere, and would not hinder the Fathers to chuſe another Place, ſo they were not forced. But what did hold them from returning to *Trent*, they might ſee by the Letters of *Bolonia*, whereof he ſent them a Copy. That he hath deferred to anſwer their Letters, becauſe the Cardinal of *Trent* coming to him in *Cæſar*'s Name, and afterwards *Don Diego di Mendoza*, he was willing to anſwer the Emperor firſt. That, by the Letters of the Fathers of *Bolonia*, they will ſee what is fit to do before the return be reſolved on. Therefore he prayed them to come or ſend Proctors to *Bolonia*, and to aſſiſt in the Council. His concluſion was, That he was not troubled with that Point of their Letters, where they intimate that new Courſes ſhall be taken, being conſcious to himſelf not to have omitted any part of his Duty, and to have embraced *Germany* with all Charity. That he promiſed himſelf from them and *Cæſar*, that they would do nothing without maturity; but if Courſes ſhall be attempted againſt the Authority of the See of *Rome*, he cannot hinder it, *Chriſt* having foretold as much, when he founded it, yet he feared not that their Attempts would ſucceed, becauſe it was grounded upon a moſt ſure Rock. That others had oftentimes endeavoured the like, but their Plots were ever overthrown: and that *God* gave Example in thoſe, what others, who would tread in the ſame ſteps, might hope for. And if the Miſeries paſt, will not move thoſe that are preſent to deſiſt, yet he is ſure they will remain conſtant in their ancient Piety and Faith, and in their Congregations will not give place to Counſels contrary to the dignity of the Church.

The Emperor perceiveth the Popes cunning, and ſendeth Ambaſſadors to *Bolonia*, *Vargas* and *Velaſco*.

The Emperor, being adviſed by his Ambaſſador of the Conditions propoſed by thoſe of *Bolonia*, and the Pope's reſolute Anſwer, though he ſaw plainly that his Holineſs covered himſelf with the Name of the Council, and Fathers of *Bolonia*, who did notoriouſly depend on him in all Matters, and receive all Motion from him, to let the World know that he omitted no Means to ſet the Council on foot again, he ſent *Francis Vergas*, and *Martino Velaſco* to *Bolonia*. Theſe coming into the Aſſembly, the ſixteenth of *January*, where there were no more Fathers with the Legats, the Cardinals of *Monte* and *Santa Croce*, than in the laſt *Seſſion*, they preſented the Emperor's Letters, which were thus addreſſed; *Conventui Patrum Boloniæ*. Which being read, and *Vargas* beginning to ſpeak, *Monte* interrupted him, and ſaid, That though the Holy Synod was not bound to hear him, in regard the Letters were not addreſſed to it, becauſe it was not a Convent, but a Council, yet they refuſed not to give him Audience, with *Proteſtation* that it ſhould not Prejudice them, or give Advantage to others; and that it ſhould remain free to the Fathers, to continue the Council, and to go on, and to proceed againſt the Obſtinate and Rebellious, by inflicting the Puniſhments of the Laws. *Vergas* required, That an Inſtrument ſhould be made of the *Proteſtation*, before the *Propoſition* was underſtood; then he prayed the Fathers, in the Name of all Chriſtendom, to proceed with Equity; becauſe, perſiſting in their Opinion, not wiſely

Vargas is twice interrupted in his Speech.

and

and maturely embraced, it muſt needs end with ſome great publick Calamity; but yielding to the Emperor, all would ſucceed well. He went about to ſhew how dangerous an Error it would be, not to change their Determination, and how well *Cæſar* was affected to the Service of God, and the Church. In theſe words he was again interrupted by *Monte*, who ſaid, I am here Preſident of this moſt Holy Council, and Legat of *Paul* the Third, Succeſſor of *Peter*, and Vicar of *Chriſt* on Earth, together with theſe moſt Holy Fathers, to proſecute, for the Glory of *God*, the Council, lawfully transferred from *Trent*, and we pray *Cæſar* to change Opinion, and to aſſiſt us herein, and to curb the Perturbers of the Council, in regard his Majeſty knoweth that he who hindreth Holy Councils, be he of what degree ſoever, incurreth moſt grievous puniſhments of the Laws; and we are reſolved, that, whatſoever happeneth, we will not care for any Threats, nor will be wanting to the Honour and Liberty of the Church, of the Council, and our own. 1548. *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI. *Henry* II.

Then *Valaſco* read the *Proteſtation*, which he had written in his Hand; the Sum whereof was; That Religion being ſhaken, Manners corrupted, and *Germany* ſeparated from the Church, the Emperor had demanded a Council of *Leo*, *Adrian*, *Clement*, and at laſt of *Paul* the Third, and ſhewing the Impediments and Difficulties in calling it, he touched the things handled in it, and added, That while his Majeſty made War, principally for Religion, and put *Germany* in quiet with his Vertue, having great hope to make them go to the Council, who until then had refuſed, they moſt reverend Legats, againſt the expectation of all, without the Pope's knowledg, making a light feigned cauſe to ariſe, propoſed to the Fathers the Tranſlation of the Council, without giving them time to think on it; whereunto ſome godly Biſhops oppoſing, proteſting they would remain in *Trent*, they, with the conſent of a few *Italians*, decreed the ſaid *Tranſlation*, and parted the next day, and went to *Bolonia*. That the Emperor being Victorious, ſollicited the Pope many ways, praying him to make them to return to *Trent*, ſhewing the Scandals and imminent Dangers, if the Synod did not end in that City; and in the mean ſpace, endeavoured, in the Diet of *Ausburg*, to make all the *Dutchmen* ſubmit themſelves unto it. Finally, that he ſent the Cardinal of *Trent* to his Holineſs, to ſignify this unto him, and to pray him to make the Council return to *Trent*. That he cauſed alſo *Mendoza* to go to *Rome* to negotiate the ſame thing: and that the Pope had taken time to treat with them in their Aſſembly; who have given a vain Anſwer, Captious, full of Deceit, worthy to be Condemned by the Pope, who notwithſtanding hath Approved it, calling the unlawful Congregation of *Bolonia* by the Name of a General Council; giving them ſo great Authority, that he knoweth not how to arrogate ſo much to himſelf. That it was certain, that the Council could not be tranſlated, but by urgent Neceſſity, diligent Diſcuſſion, and Conſent of all; that, for all this, they, who call themſelves Legats, and others, did raſhly run out of *Trent*, feigning certain Fevers, and Infections of the Air, and Teſtimonies of Doctors, which the Event hath ſhewed to be Cauſes not ſo much as of any vain Fear. That in caſe of any ſuch Neceſſity, it was fit to treat firſt with the Pope, and the Emperor, who is Guardain of Councils. But their haſte was ſo great, that they did not ſo much as conſult with themſelves. That it was meet to hear and examine the Contradictions and Opinions of thoſe Fathers who did ſpeak for Conſcience-ſake; who, though

The Emperors Proteſtation againſt the Council in *Bolonia*.

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though not ſo many in number, ought to be preferred, as more wiſe. That in caſe it were fit to depart, they ought not to quit the Country, but, according to the Decrees of the holy Councils, to chooſe another place in *Germany*. That the choice of *Bolonia*, ſubject to the Church, could no way be defended, becauſe it was certain that the *Germans* would not go thither; and that every one might refuſe it for many Reaſons: which was to diſſolve the Council, without warning. Therefore the Emperor, to whom it belongeth to defend the Church, and protect General Councils, to compoſe the Diſſentions of *Germany*, and alſo to reduce *Spain*, and his other Kingdoms and States, to a true Chriſtian Life, ſeeing that the unreaſonable departure from *Trent* doth diſturb his whole Purpoſe, he deſireth them, who call themſelves Legats, with the other Biſhops, to return to *Trent*, from whence they parted. That they cannot refuſe this, becauſe they promiſed to do it when the ſuſpicions of the Peſtilence did ceaſe: which if they will do, it will be moſt acceptable to all Chriſtendom. But if not, they, the Emperor's Proctors, by ſpecial Mandate, do proteſt that the Tranſlation or Receſs is unlawful, and void, together with all the things that do, or will follow; and that the Authority of them pretended Legats, and of the Biſhops there preſent, is not ſufficient to give a Law to all Chriſtendom, in Matter of Religion, and Reformation of Manners, eſpecially to thoſe Provinces whoſe Manners and Laws are not known unto them. Likewiſe they proteſt, that the Anſwer of his Holineſs is not Good, but Unlawful, full of Deceit, illuſory; and that all the Damages, Tumults, Ruines, waſtings of Countries which have happened, do, or may happen, ought not to be imputed to *Cæſar*, but to that Congregation which calleth themſelves a Council, it being able moſt eaſily and canonically to give Remedy thereto. Proteſting alſo that the Emperor, in the Defect, Fault, or Negligence of them, and the Pope, will make Proviſion with all his Forces, not leaving the protection and care of the Church, which belongeth unto him as Emperor and King, according to the Laws, conſent of the Holy Fathers, and of the whole World. In fine, they demanded a Publick Inſtrument of whatſoever was handled by them, and to have the Emperor's Mandate, and their proteſtation inſerted in the Acts of the pretended Congregation.

Card. *Monte* anſwereth with great reſolution.

Valaſco, after the Proteſtation, preſented the ſame Writing which he had in his hand, and required again that the Inſtance ſhould be regiſtred. The Cardinal of *Monte*, with conſent of the Synod, did moſt gravely proteſt, that they would rather die, than ſuffer ſuch an example to be brought into the Church, that the Secular Power ſhould call a Council. That *Cæſar* is Son of the Church, not Lord, or Maſter. That himſelf, and his Colleague, are Legats of the Holy Apoſtolick See, and refuſe not to render an account to God and the Pope, of their Legation; and that they would anſwer, within few days, the Proteſtation read unto them.

The Emperors Ambaſſador in *Rome* proteſteth alſo.

Mendoza in *Rome*, having received the Emperor's Anſwer, that he ſhould go on, and proteſt to the Pope, in preſence of the Cardinals, and Ambaſſadors of Princes; and underſtanding what was done in *Bolonia*, by *Vargas* and *Velaſco*, appeared in Conſiſtory, and kneeling before the Pope, read the *Proteſtation*, which he held written in his Hand. He began with the Emperor's Vigilancy and Diligence, to reunite Chriſtendom, divided into divers Opinions of Religion. He ſhewed what requeſts he had made to *Adrian*, *Clement*, and *Paul* himſelf

to perſwade them to call the Council; unto which the Rebels of *Germany* refuſing to ſubmit, he had compelled them to Obedience, by force of Arms; wherein though the Pope (to ſhew he would not be wanting to the publick Cauſe) did contribute ſome ſmall aſſiſtance of men, yet it may be ſaid, that the War is finiſhed only by the Emperour's Forces. In which while he was buſied, behold the good work begun in *Trent*, was interrupted by a pernicious attempt of transferring the Council, upon pretences, neither true nor probable, to this purpoſe only, that publick quiet might be hindered, notwithſtanding the more godly and ſound part of the Fathers did oppoſe, and remain in the place. That the name of the Council ſhould be given to theſe, not to thoſe, who are retired to *Bolonia*, honoured by his Holineſs, with the Name of his Adherents, whoſe Will he preferreth before the Prayers of the Emperour, and *Ferdinand*, and Princes of the Empire, not regarding the good of *Germany*, nor the converſion of thoſe that err, to reduce whom, ſeeing they are content to ſubmit to the Council of *Trent*, there remaineth nothing but to reduce it to that City. For which being requeſted, in the foreſaid Names, by him the Ambaſſadour, he hath given an anſwer full of cunning, but void of reaſon. Wherefore ſeeing that the Evangelical requiſitions, made by him, the Emperor's Ambaſſadour, to his Holineſs, the *14th*, and *27th* of *December*, and, the *16th* of *January*, by other Proctors of his Majeſty in *Bolonia*, have been neglected in both places, he did then proteſt, that the departure from *Trent*, and Tranſlation of the Council to *Bolonia*, were void and unlawful, will bring Contention into the Church, and put the Catholick Faith and Religion in danger, and do for the preſent give Scandal to the Church, and deform the State thereof. That all the Ruines, Scandals, and Diſſentions, which will ariſe, ought to be imputed to his Holineſs, who, though he is bound to provide againſt them, even with the loſs of his Blood, yet doth favour and cheriſh the Authours of them. That the Emperour, in defect and fault of his Holineſs, will employ all his Forces, to make proviſion herein, according to the form ſet down by the holy Fathers, and obſerved by conſent of the whole World. Then turning to the Cardinals, he ſaid, That, the Pope refuſing to take care for the peace of Religion, uniting of *Germany*, and reformation of manners, if they alſo will be negligent, he made the ſame Proteſtation unto them; and leaving the writing, which he had in his hand, he departed.

1548
Paul III.
Charles V.
Edward VI.
Henry II.

The Pope conſidering the *Proteſtation* of *Mendoza*, and adviſing of the buſineſs with the Cardinals, ſaw he was in a ſtrait, and that to be taken for a party, and to have the contention turned againſt him, was much againſt his Reputation: neither was there any remedy, but by finding a way to make himſelf *Neutral*, and Judge between them who approve, and who oppugn the Tranſlation. To do this, it was neceſſary to decline the *Proteſtation*, that it might ſeem not to be made againſt him, but, before him, againſt thoſe of *Bolonia*, in which not being able to diſſemble ſufficiently, he reſolved to lay to the Ambaſſadour's charge, the tranſgreſſing of his Maſter's *Mandate*; thinking, that the Emperour, ſeeing his dexterity in blaming his Miniſter, that he might not break with his Majeſty, would imitate him, and proceed as if he had proteſted againſt thoſe of *Bolonia*, acknowledging the Pope for Judge. Therefore, on *Wedneſday*, the firſt of *February*, calling *Mendoza* into the Conſiſtory, he made a very long Anſwer, and ſaid in ſubſtance. That to proteſt, was a thing of bad example, uſed by thoſe who have ſhaken off Obedience, or are not conſtant in it: That himſelf, and the Colledge of Cardinals, are ſorry for that unexpect-

The Pope uſeth art to make himſelf Neutral and Judge in the cauſe.

1548 *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI. *Henry* II.

The Answer of his Holiness to the Protestation.

ed action, in regard of the Fatherly love he has always born the Emperour, and because it was done when it was least looked for, having made War, and gained the Victory against his own and the Churches Enemies, and been assisted by the Pope's men, maintained with his immense charge: which succours were great, and came in fit time, and deserved not such a reward after victory; That is, that the end of the War, should be the beginning of protesting against him. But he did mitigate his grief, because the Ambassador had exceeded the bounds of the Emperours Commission, in which he had commanded his Proctors at *Bolonia*, to protest to the Legates, and to him, to protest against the Council of *Bolonia*, in presence of the Pope and Cardinals, but not against the Pope. That the Emperour had done the Office of a modest Prince, knowing the Pope to be the only lawful Judge in the cause of Translation, which if he should refuse to determine, then the *Protestation* against him should take place: and therefore that it was more fit, that if the Fathers, remaining in *Trent*, had cause of complaint against those of *Bolonia*, they should make the process before him. But the Ambassador had perverted the Order, leaving the Petition which ought to be made, and requiring an undue prejudice against the Council; So that, the Act of the *Protestation* falling of it self, there was no need of an Answer. Yet to clear all mens minds, he would make one. And first for that he taxeth him as negligent, and commendeth the Emperour as industrious, he said, he would not detract from the good meaning and actions of his Majesty; but yet, that he did precede him, as in Age, so in diligence. He said, he had ever desired the Council, and shewed it by effects. And here he discoursed of all his Actions, done to this end, and how others did cross him, and sometimes the Emperour himself, with divers Wars. He added, That to judge whether the causes of the *Translation* be lawful or no, was reserved to himself. That to praise those of *Trent*, was to praise those who were separated from the Church. That he refused not, nor ever did, that they should return to *Trent*, so that it might be done lawfully, and without Offence of other Nations. That to think only *Trent* fit to celebrate the Council, was to wrong the Holy Ghost, which is worshipped, and present in all places. Neither ought regard to be had, that *Germany* hath need of a Medicine, for, by that reason, there should be a general Council held in *England*, and elsewhere. That a commodious place is not sought for those, for whom the Laws are made, but for those who make them, which are the Bishops. That oftentimes Councils have been made, out of the Provinces where the Heresies have reigned. That he knoweth why he was displeased with the Answer given him; That is, That the Decrees made, and to be made, are received, and that the manner, used ever since the Apostles time, is observed. That he will avoid all negligence in providing for the Church, and if *Cæsar* will be diligent, let him keep himself within the limits prescribed to him by the Laws and Fathers. The Functions of them both being distinct, will be profitable to the Church. And concerning the *Translation*, whether it were lawful or no, he called the cause to him, and deputed Four Cardinals, *Paris*, *Burgos*, *Pool*, and *Crescentius*, to hear it, commanding every one, that, until it was ended, they should attempt no Novity, giving the Term of a Month to the Fathers of *Bolonia* and *Trent*, to produce their reasons. And he caused this Decree to be written by the Secretary of the Consistory, in the accustomed judicial form of the Court, inhibiting the Prelates of *Bolonia* and *Trent*, to innovate any thing, while the cause depended.

The

1548
Paul III.
Charles V.
Edward VI.
Henry II.

The Imperialiſts did laugh extreamly at the Pope's diſtinction, of proteſting againſt the Pope, and before him. But *Diego* made a new Proteſtation, ſaying, he had a ſpecial Mandate from the Emperour, to proteſt as he had done. The Pope's Inhibition being received in *Bolonia*, and no more Aſſemblies of Biſhops, or Congregations of Divines being made, all departed by little and little, except the Popes ſtipendaries, who could not do it with their honour. Thoſe of *Trent* moved not, according to the Emperor's will, that they might keep there ſome ſign of the Council, and hold the Catholicks of *Germany* in hope, and the Proteſtants in their duty, and that their promiſe, to obey the Council of *Trent*, might not be void, there being none at all.

Don Diego maketh a new proteſtation.

The Pope cauſed his Anſwer given to *Mendoza*, to come to the knowledge of the Fathers of *Trent*, and expected fifteen days, that ſome Overture would be made by him or them, that he ſhould be Judge, as he had deſigned. But ſeeing nothing ſucceeded, he wrote a Brief to the Cardinal *Pacceco*, and to the Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops of *Trent*, in manner of a Citation: in which having delivered the Cauſes, which moved him to intimate the Council, and the Impediments and Delays, which happened in calling it, and the Joy he had to ſee it begun, which was encreaſed by the happy Proceeding, hoping, that in a ſhort time Proviſion would be made againſt the Evils of the Church, he added, That he received as much Sorrow from the contrary Encounters; So that underſtanding the departure of his Legates, and *Major* part of Biſhops from *Trent*, ſome remaining ſtill there, he was grieved, for that it might hinder the Progreſs of the Council, and give Scandal to the Church. This being as well known to them as to him, he marvelled, why, if the Tranſlation of the Council ſeemed juſt unto them, they went not in company with the others; If unjuſt, why they made not their Complaint to him. That it was a clear Caſe, whereof they could not be ignorant, and they were bound to do the one or the other; either of which, if it had been embraced, would have taken away all Occaſion of Scandal. That he could not chuſe but write to them with Grief; That they were defectuous in the one or the other; and that he was ſooner adviſed by the Emperour of their Complaints, than by any of them, ſo much as by Letter or Meſſenger: and that, for this Negligence, he had more Cauſe to complain of the Cardinal, who was more obliged, by reaſon of his Cardinality. But becauſe that which they ſhould have done, was prevented by *Cæſar*, who hath complained by his Ambaſſador, that the Tranſlation is void and unlawful, he doth readily offer unto them, that which ſhould not have been denied, if they had made the Caſe known; That is, to hear their Complaints, and take knowledge of the Cauſe. And though he ought to preſuppoſe, that the Tranſlation is lawful, yet to do the part of a juſt Judge, he willingly offereth to hear them and their Reaſons, which they ſhall bring to the contrary: That herein he would hold and eſteem of the *Spaniſh* Nation, and of their Perſons, not ſuffering the great Preſumptions to prevail, which ought to be had againſt them. Therefore having by advice of the Cardinals, called the Cauſe of the Tranſlation of the Council unto him, and given Commiſſion to ſome of them to relate it in Conſiſtory, all that pretend Intereſt being cited, and the Prelates of *Bolonia*, and *Trent*, inhibited to attempt any thing, while the Cauſe dependeth, as was contained in the Writing, whereof he ſent them a Copy, deſiring to conclude the Cauſe as ſoon as may be, he commandeth them, that, pretending the Tranſlation to be of no force, they ſend three at the leaſt;

The Pope writeth to the Fathers in *Trent* by way of citation.

1548 *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI. *Henry* II.

leaſt; well inſtructed, to aſſiſt in Judgment, and to alledge their pretenſions, and to render their preſence, as ſoon as may be; concluding, that the preſentation of the Brief to the Cardinal, or to two or three of them, affixed at the Church door of *Trent*, ſhall bind them all as if it had been perſonally intimated to every one. The Pope ſent alſo to thoſe of *Bolonia*, to intimate the ſame Decree, who ſent immediately to *Rome*.

But the Cardinal *Pacceco*, and the other *Spaniards* in *Trent*, who were in number Thirteen, having firſt ſent to know the Emperour's Mind, anſwered the Pope's Letter the Three and Twentieth of *March*, thus in ſubſtance. That they truſted in his Benignity and Wiſdom, which will eaſily know that, in contracting the Tranſlation, in being ſilent, in remaining in that City, they thought of nothing leſs, than of offending his Holineſs; yea, that the principal Cauſe, why they diſſented, was, becauſe a matter of ſo great weight was handled, without his knowledge: wherein alſo they deſired, that ſo ſmall Account ſhould not be made of the Emperour. That it ſeemed clear to them, that the Tranſlation would not be well expounded, nor eaſily approved by his Holineſs, whom they prayed not to believe, that the Emperour had prevented their Complaint, exacted by his Beatitude, becauſe they had complained firſt to him, but that he did it of his own motion, who thought the Protection of the Church belonged to him: That they ſhould never have thought that his Holineſs would have deſired to have been aſſiſted by them, to whom they believed an abſolute Account was given by his Legates, in regard what they ſpake was in publick, and written by Notaries; that it ſeemed enough for them to deliver their Opinion, and then to be ſilent. Therefore they did not believe their Preſence was neceſſary in ought elſe. That if there be any Defect, yet their plain meaning is clear. That they thought it enough to diſſent from the Tranſlation, and for modeſty and humility, not to trouble his Holineſs, whom they ſuppoſed would not be wanting, to perform what he thought fit, for the good of the Church. That they ſaw not why they ſhould depart with the Legates, who promiſed, in the general Congregation, and in the publick Seſſion, to return to *Trent*, ſo ſoon as the ſuſpicion of the ſickneſs did ceaſe, eſpecially if *Germany* would ſubmit to the Council. That they remained there, believing they would return, eſpecially when they underſtood, that, by the Grace of God, and Vertue of the Emperour, *Germany* did ſubmit it ſelf. And that ſome have received Scandal by their abiding in *Trent*, as his Holineſs ſaith, it is ſufficient for them that they have not given it; and on the other ſide, the departure of others hath troubled many. That the Succeſſor of Saint *Peter* hath ever been very venerable to their Nation; wherein themſelves have not been defectuous. They pray his Holineſs, that they may not be blamed for what they have done to a good end: and do humbly beſeech him not to conſent they ſhould be put into a Suit, in regard the Cauſe is not theirs, but God's; ſaying, That if it were theirs, they would be content to endure any Wrong; but being God's, and *Chriſt*'s, as it is, it belongeth more to none than to his *Vicar*. In fine, they prayed his Holineſs to ſet the interrupted Council on its Feet again, and cauſe the Legates and Fathers to return to the ſame place, and to do this by a Brief, without treating of *Tranſlation*. They prayed him to take their Words in good part, not ſpoken to ſignifie what the Duty of his Holineſs was, but what they hoped from him.

The *Spaniards* Anſwer being received by the Pope, it was ſent to the

the Cardinals, to whom the cauſe was committed; by whom it was communicated to the Proctors of thoſe of *Bolonia*, that they might proceed. Theſe anſwered, that they were glad that the *Spaniards* do acknowledge the judgment and the Judge, and that they will not be a party. Yet it was neceſſary to retort ſome things delivered in their anſwer, to make the Truth appear. In that they ſay his Holineſs ſhould firſt have been adviſed with, it was ſuperfluous, in regard a ſpecial Bull was then read. That the Emperour had been neglected, it cannot be ſaid, becauſe ſo great eſteem hath been held of his Majeſty, as of the Pope, the cauſe it ſelf not comporting any delay, ſeeing it was neceſſary to diſſolve, or tranſlate the Council in regard of the progreſs which the peſtilent ſickneſs made in the City, and Borders, of the actual and eminent departure of many Fathers, of the Doctors Oath, eſpecially of *Fracaſtorius*, who had a publick ſtipend, and of the fear that the Commerce of the neighbour Cities would be taken away. All which appeareth in the Acts tranſported to *Rome*, by his Holineſs commandment. That the Legates, after the Decree, exhorted them to go to *Bolonia*, and being arriv'd there, did admoniſh them by Letters, ſo that they cannot ſay they ought not to follow the Legates, becauſe they conſented not to the *Tranſlation*, for the ſuffrages of all in Council being free, they might diſſent with a ſafe conſcience: but the major part having made a Decree, it was meet the leſſer part ſhould yield, or elſe, never any thing would be determined. That the return hath been promiſed is true, but it may be ſeen in the Decree, in what form the promiſe was made. If they tarried, believing that the others would return, why did they not anſwer the Legates Letters, who admoniſhed them to go to *Bolonia*? but when they ſay the ſuſpicion of the Peſtilence was pretended, it is probable they ſpake it by chance; otherwiſe having nothing to ſay againſt the *Tranſlation*, and not ſending, according to the Popes Decree, they ſhould incur the *Cenſures*. Neither is that diviſion ought worth, if the cauſe be theirs, or of God. For as it belongeth to them, no man will do them wrong, as unto *Chriſt*, ſeeing the queſtion is of the fact, it is neceſſary to clear that which is not manifeſt in the fact. Whereupon the Emperour having called the Legates pretended, and the Fathers of *Bolonia* not a Council, but a private Aſſembly, and uttered many opprobrious terms againſt the *Tranſlation*, it was reaſonable the Pope ſhould aſſume the cauſe, not to cheriſh, but to appeaſe Contentions. Whether ſcandals have riſen by the *Tranſlation*, or by their remaining in *Trent*, may be ſeen by this only, that their remaining is the cauſe why the return cannot be. And when they pray his Holineſs to cauſe the interrupted Council to return, if they underſtand it of the uſual Congregations, they have never been intermitted; if of the publication of the Decrees, this hath been referred for their ſake: and ſo many things are already diſcuſſed in *Bolonia*, as well of Faith as Reformation, that a long Seſſion may be made thereof. Therefore they pray his Holineſs to give ſentence, conſidering that no Council, but in time of ſchiſm, hath laſted ſo long as this, ſo the Biſhops are deſired by their Churches, unto which it is fit they ſhould be reſtored. This writing was preſented in the end of *April*.

1543
Paul III.
Charles V.
Edward VI.
Henry II.

The reply of the Proctors of the Fathers of *Bolonia* to the *Spaniards* anſwer

After which there was no further proceeding in the cauſe, for that the deputed Cardinals knew not how to conclude. To pronounce the *Tranſlation* lawful, in the abſence of the Contradictors, was to make a Schiſm, having no means to enforce them to receive the ſentence; and they

The Cardinals deputed in this Cauſe, knew not how to proceed.

1548 *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI. *Henry* II.

they ſaw leſs means to force them to aſſiſt in the Cauſe. The Pope was much troubled, ſeeing no way to compoſe the difficulty, without form of judgment.

While theſe things were in queſtion, after the death of the Duke his Son, the Pope did continually demand the reſtitution of *Piacenza*, and of other places, uſurped in the *Diſtrict of Parma*, making uſe of the intereſts of the Emperours Daughter, Wife to Duke *Octavius*, Son of him that was dead. But the Emperour, purpoſing to joyn that City to the Dukedom of *Milan*, and to recompence his Son in Law in ſomething elſe, delayed the time with divers anſwers and offers, hoping that the Pope, being eighty years of age; and grieved for his Sons death, and having many other diſtaſtes, would end all the Controverſies by his death. But the Pope ſeeing he was deluded with delayes, moleſted with requeſts for the return of the Council to *Trent*, and offended by the remaining of the *Spaniards* in the City, to make a diverſion at the leaſt, he let the Emperour know, that the Uſurpers of *Piacenza*, a Town belonging to the Church, had incurred the Cenſures; to the Declaration of which he would proceed: fulminating alſo more of them, if within a certain time prefixed, it were not reſtored to him. The Emperour wrote back a ſharp Letter, adviſing the Pope not to cheriſh the Fugitives of *Naples*; ſhewing that all the Practices were known unto him, and that he did underſtand the Calumnies raiſed againſt him, that he procured a Schiſm, when he demanded a Council in *Trent*, to unite Chriſtendom; and for *Piacenza*, that it was a member of the Dutchy of *Milan*, many years unjuſtly uſurped by the Popes: and if they have title to it, let it be ſhewed, and he will not fail to do juſtice. The Pope ſeeing his Spiritual Weapons would do no good, without the Temporal, changed his Opinion, and ſought to make a ſtrong League againſt the Emperour; wherein he found many Difficulties, not being able to perſwade the Venetians to enter into it, and the *French Men* requiring the conſent of the Conſiſtory, in regard of the Popes decrepite age, and a Pawn of Money; which the Pope was not willing to lay down, in regard of the great charge he was at, fearing it would be greater, for which cauſe he had laid as great Burthens on his Subjects as they were able to bear, and ſold and pawned as much as he could, and given order for granting of all ſorts of Diſpenſations, and Favours, to whomſoever would give Money, to ſupply the wants of the Apoſtolick See. For the Council, he was moſt reſolute not to let it be out of his own Territories, and beſides other urgent Reaſons, that of his own and the Popedoms reputation was added, that the Emperour ſhould not compel him. But he knew not how to induce him and *Germany*, to give conſent. To let it vaniſh, ſometimes ſeemed good unto him, and ſometimes not, and he often diſcourſed thereof with the Cardinals, both in Conſiſtory, and privately. But finally, he reſolved to put to hazard the determination, for which he knew he was inſufficient, not only for the Reaſons before alledged, but for other weighty Reſpects, which paſſed in *Germany*. For *Cæſar* at the return of the Cardinal of *Trent* to *Auſburg*, underſtanding the Popes mind, and the Anſwer he gave to *Mendoza*, at the end of *December*, (which cauſed him to give over for the Proteſtation, as hath been ſaid) and thinking that the Pope, by requiring the reſtitution of *Piacenza* ſought to divert all ſpeech of the Council, was aſſured, that, ſo long as he lived, either the return would not be, or the reſolution would be protracted, and therefore thought

Differences between the Pope and Emperour, about the reſtitution of *Piacenza*.

His Holineſs endeavoureth to make a ſtrong League againſt the Emperour, but finding difficulties in it, knoweth not what to do.

thought fit, before he departed, to set Germany at peace, in matters of Religion. Hereupon a Proposition was made in the Diet, and order taken that choice should be made of Persons, fit for this good Work. They were chosen who were esteemed the best; who not agreeing, all was referred to *Cæsar*. He elected three, *Julius Phlugius*, *Michael Sidonius*, and *Joannes Islebius*. These after long consultation, composed a form of Religion, which was often examined, reviewed and changed, first by themselves, and then by divers persons, unto whom the Emperour caused it to be shewed; and some of the Principal Ministers of the Protestants were also called, that they might approve it. But it had so many alterations, additions, and diminutions, that it appeared to be the work of many Men, who had contrary ends. Finally, it was reduced into that form in which it now is; and the Legate sent a Copy thereof unto *Rome*, by the Emperours consent, who was willing to understand the Popes opinion, and by the counsel of the major part of the Prelates, who seeing the Controversies between the Pope and the Emperour, feared that the Emperour would obey him no longer; a thing much abhorred by them, for the inbred, and inveterate opinion of the *Dutch-men*, to maintain the dignity of the Pope, which is the only Counterpoise of the Emperours Authority, whom without his Assistance they were not able to resist: if according to the use of ancient Christian Princes, they would keep them within their bounds, and remove the abuses of the renowned liberty of the Clergy.

1548 | Paul III. | Carol. V. | Henr. II.

The Emperour resolveth to settle a peace of Religion in the Diet.

Therefore a form is composed, called the *Interim*.

The Book contained twenty five Heads, Of the state of man in Innocency. Of the state of Man after Sin. Of the Redemption by *Christ*. Of Justification. Of the Fruits thereof. Of the manner how it is received. Of Charity and good Works. Of Belief of the remission of Sins. Of the Church. Of the Signs of the True Church. Of the Authority thereof. Of the Ministers of the Church. Of the Pope and Bishops. Of the Sacraments. Of Baptism. Of Confirmation. Of Penance. Of the Eucharist. Of Extream Unction. Of Order. Of Marriage. Of the Sacrifice of the Mass. Of the Memory, Intercession, and Invocation of Saints. Of the Communion. Of the Ceremonies, and use of the Sacraments. To recite here the substance of them would be too long, tedious and unprofitable, because the Consequences which began from that Book, lasted not long. It had the name of the *Interim*, prescribing what to believe, until all was established by a general Council.

Which containeth 25. heads.

Doth not continue long.

When the Copy came to *Rome*, every one was amazed; first in general, that a Temporal Prince, in a Secular Assembly, should meddle with Religion, and not in one Article only, but in all. The Learned called to mind the Ἑνωτικὸν of *Zeno*, the Ἔκθεσις of *Heraclius*, and the Τύπος of *Constance*, and what Divisions these Imperial Constitutions in matter of Religion made in Christendom, and said, that, until then there were three Names, unlucky to the Church, bringing into it many Divisions, under pretence of Unity: to which may be added this fourth, the *Interim* of *Charles* the Fifth. They doubted that this beginning of the Emperour would end, where *Henry* the eighth, King of *England* did arrive, to declare himself Head of the Church: which would have so much more compass, as *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and other adjacent Countries were greater than one Island, which, in appearance, did make shew to contain the Catholick Doctrine, but was very far from it. Descending to particulars, they reprehended that, in the points of Original Sin, Justification, the Sacraments, Baptism, and Confirmation, the

And is censured in *Rome*.

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the Doctrine determined by the Council was not ſet down: and that Collection being made to be obſerved until the Council, in regard the Council concerning thoſe Points, was made already, what elſe could be ſaid, but that it was preciſely to be obſerved? But to have publiſhed another Doctrine, was to annihilate the Council, and that the Emperours cunning was more to be ſuſpected than ever, ſeeing that he made ſo earneſt a requeſt, that the Council ſhould return to *Trent*, and did at the ſame time, take away all Authority from whatſoever was conſtituted by it. They condemned the whole Body of that Doctrine, for that it contained ambiguous Speeches, which ſuperficially conſidered, did receive a good Sence, but, inwardly, were full of Poyſon, that in ſome parts, it did purpoſely ſtand only upon the general, that the Lutherans might expound it for themſelves: but in the Article of Concupiſcence, it ſpake juſt as the Lutherans did; as alſo of Juſtification, placing it in the belief of the Promiſes, and attributing too much, yea, all, to Faith. In the Article of good Works, nothing was ſaid of the merit of Condignity, which is the principal point in that matter. In the Article of the Church, that it hath not derived Unity from the Viſible Head, which is eſſential; and, which is worſe, hath made a Church inviſible by Charity, and then made the ſame viſible. That it is a ſecret Artifice to deſtroy the Hierarchy, and eſtabliſh the Lutheran opinion. That to have made Notes of the Church, Soundneſs of Doctrine, and the lawful uſe of the Sacraments, hath given a way to all Sects to hold, obſtinately, themſelves to be the Church; concealing the true mark, which is the Obedience to the Pope of *Rome*. That the ſaying that the Pope was appointed for remedy of Schiſm, and Biſhops by the Law of God, was not to be endured. That the Sacrament of Penance was made moſt Lutheran-like, in that it was ſaid, that believing to receive with this Sacrament that which *Chriſt* hath promiſed, it happeneth to every one as he believeth. That the principal point of Sacrifice is concealed, that it is expiatory, and propitiatory for the living and the dead. That having granted Wives to Prieſts, and the Cup in the Communion of the Laity, every one might ſee, that with thoſe two abuſes the whole Catholick Faith was overthrown. All the Court ſaid with one voice, that the principal point was in queſtion; that the Foundations of the Church was ſhaken; that it was neceſſary to employ all their Forces, to excite all Princes, to ſend to the Biſhops of all Nations, and by all means to reſiſt this beginning, from whence would undoubtedly follow, not the ruine of the Church of *Rome* (for that was impoſſible) but a greater deformation, and diſhonour, than ever.

Where the Pope differeth in opinion from all others.

But the old Pope, being moſt ſenſible, who, with the acuteneſs of his judgment, ſaw more than them all, did immediately penetrate to the bottom, and judged that the enterpriſe would be good for him, and pernicious for the Emperour. He marvelled much at the Wiſdom and Councel of ſo great a Prince, that, by one Victory, he ſhould think he was made Judge of all Mankind, and preſuppoſe he was able to conteſt with both Parties. That a Prince, adhering to one might oppreſs another, but to contend with both, was too much boldneſs of Vanity. He foreſaw that the Doctrine would generally more diſpleaſe the Catholicks, than the Court, and the Proteſtants moſt of all, and that it would be impugned by all, and defended by none: wherein there was no need of his pains, becauſe his Enemies would work for him, more than himſelf could do; and that it was better to permit the

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publication of it, than to hinder it; and rather being in this ſtate in which it is, than when it is reformed, that it may more eaſily fall. Only there was need of three things. That the Emperour ſhould not know this. That he ſhould be put upon the buſineſs as ſoon as might be. And that the firſt blow ſhould be againſt the Proteſtants. To effect the firſt, it was fit to make a light oppoſition, in ſome things: for the ſecond, to ſet on foot the intereſts of the *German* Prelates: and for the third, to make it cunningly appear, that this Doctrine was collected, not to unite both Parties, but only to curb the Proteſtants; by which means a great point was gained, that is, that a Secular Prince did not make Articles of Faith for the Faithful, but for thoſe that erred.

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Therefore he ſent Inſtructions to Cardinal *Sfondrato*, to make ſome oppoſition, and when the Doctrine ſhould be publiſhed (that he might not be preſent) to take leave and be gone. The Cardinal, according to his Commiſſion, declared, in the Popes name, that the Permiſſion to continue the receiving of the Cup in the Holy Communion, though he that receiveth it is not to be reprehended, (the cuſtom of receiving the Sacrament under both kinds being abrogated long ſince) was a thing reſerved to the Pope, as alſo the granting of Marriage to Prieſts: and the rather, becauſe it hath never been uſed in the Church: and the Greeks and Eaſtern people, who do not bind them to a ſingle life, do grant that married Men may receive Orders, and keeping their Wives, may exerciſe the Miniſtry, but do not, nor ever did, permit them to marry, who were in Orders before. He added, that without doubt, if his Majeſty would grant theſe things to be lawful he ſhould grievouſly offend the Majeſty of God: but holding them unlawful, he might permit them to the Hereticks, as a leſſer evil. It is tolerable, and belongeth to the wiſdom of a Prince, when all evils cannot be removed, to ſuffer the leaſt, that the greater may be rooted out. That his Holineſs peruſing the Book, ſaw it was only a permiſſion to the Lutherans, that they may not without end, paſs from one errour to another: and that it is not granted to the Catholicks to believe or do any thing, but according to the preſcript of the Holy Apoſtolick See, which only, as Miſtreſs of the Faithful, may make Decrees in point of Religion. And being aſſured that this was his Majeſties purpoſe, he told him it would be neceſſary to make an expreſs declaration thereof, and not to give the reins ſo much to the Lutherans, eſpecially in the power of changing Ceremonies, conſidering that, in the laſt point, he ſeemed to give them too much liberty, where he granteth, that the Ceremonies, which may give cauſe to Superſtition, ſhould be taken away. He added, that the Lutherans would hold it lawful to retain the Eccleſiaſtical Goods, and Juriſdiction uſurped, if they were not commanded to make reſtitution: wherein a Council was not to be expected, but execution preſently made, and that, the Spoils being notoriouſly known, he need not obſerve the nice points of Law, but proceed ſummarily, and with his Princely Power.

His Inſtructions to his Legate in *Germany*.

This Cenſure was imparted by *Caſar* to the Eccleſiaſtical Electors, who did approve it; but, particularly, for the point of reſtitution of Eccleſiaſtical Goods, they affirmed it was neceſſary, without which the Worſhip of God could not be reſtored, nor Religion preſerved, nor peace well aſſured. And that becauſe the Spoil was manifeſt, Juſtice did require a ſhort Proceeding. All the Biſhops were of the ſame opinion. The Secular Princes were ſilent for fear of offending the Emperour;

The Eccleſiaſtical Electors approve the Popes cenſure of the Interim eſpecially concerning reſtitution of goods uſurped by the Proteſtants.

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Emperour; and by their Example, the Ambaſſadours of the Cities ſpake but little, and of that little little account was made. In regard of the Legates Remonſtrance, the Emperor cauſed a Proheme to be made to the Book to this purpoſe. That, ayming at the peace of *Germany*, he found it was impoſſible to make it, until the differences of Religion were compoſed, from whence all the Diſſentions and Heart-burnings have riſen; and perceiving that a general Council in *Germany*, was the only remedy herein, he had cauſed it to begin in *Trent*, and perſwaded all the States of the Empire to adhere, and ſubmit unto it: but thinking not to leave things in ſuſpence, and confuſion, until the Council be celebrated, a form was preſented to him by ſome great, and zealous perſons, which ſome Learned having examined, by his appointment, they have found it not abhorring from the Catholick Religion, it being underſtood in a good Sence, except two Articles, the Communion of the Cup, and Marriage of Prieſts. Therefore he requireth the States, who until then have obſerved the Laws of the Univerſal Church, to perſevere in them, and, as they have promiſed, not to change any thing; and thoſe that have innovated, either to return to Antiquity, or to conform themſelves to that Confeſſion, if, in any thing they have exceeded it, and to be contented with it, not teaching, writing, or printing to the contrary, but expecting only the Declaration of the Council. And becauſe, in the laſt Point, leave is given to take away Superſtitious Ceremonies, he reſerveth the Declaration thereof to himſelf, and of all other difficulties that ſhould ariſe. The fifteenth of *May*, the Book was read in the Publick Aſſembly. The Voices were not taken according to the uſe; but only the Elector did riſe, and thanked the Emperour in the name of them all; who took the thanks for a general Approbation and Aſſent. No Man ſpake then a word; but the Princes, who did long ſince follow the Confeſſion of *Ausburg*, when they were by themſelves, did ſay they could not accept it: and ſome of the Cities ſpake Words which ſignified the ſame, though not openly, for fear of the Emperour. The Book was printed in Latine and Dutch, by order from *Cæſar*, and afterwards tranſlated, and printed in Italian and French.

Wherefore the Emperour maketh a Proheme to the Interim.

With which the Proteſtants are diſtaſted, though they accept it for fear.

The Emperor publiſheth a Reformation of the Clergy containing 23. heads.

Beſides this, the Emperour publiſhed, the fourteenth of *June*, a Reformation of the Clergy, which had been maturely digeſted and collected by Learned and Religious Men. It contained 23. Points. Of Ordination and Election of Miniſters. Of the Office of the Eccleſiaſtical Orders. Of the Office of Deans and Canons. Of Canonical Hours. Of Monaſteries. Of Schools and Univerſities. Of Hoſpitals. Of the Office of a Preacher. Of the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments. Of the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm. Of the Adminiſtration of Confirmation. Of Ceremonies. Of the Maſs. Of the Adminiſtration of Penance. Of the Adminiſtration of Extream Unction. Of the Adminiſtration of Matrimony. Of Eccleſiaſtical Ceremonies. Of the Diſcipline of the Clergy and People. Of Plurality of Benefices. Of the Diſcipline of the People. Of Viſitations. Of Councils. Of Excommunication. In theſe Points were contained about an hundred and thirty Precepts, ſo juſt, and full of Equity, that if one ſhould ſay, never any Reformation before was made more exact, and leſs partial, without Cavils and Traps to enſnare the unadviſed, he could not eaſily be reproved; and if it had been made by the Prelates only, it would not have diſpleaſed at *Rome*, except in two Points, where it giveth Authority to the Council of *Baſil*, and in ſome other places, where it medleth with Diſpenſations,

and

and exemptions, and other things reſerved to the Pope. But being made by the Emperours Authority, it ſeemed more unſupportable than the *Interim*. For it is a Fundamental Maxim of the Court of *Rome*, that the Seculars, of what Degree or Honeſty ſoever, cannot give a Law to the Clergy, though to a good end. But, becauſe they could not chooſe, they ſupported the Tyranny (for ſo they ſaid) which they were not then to reſiſt. 1548 *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI. *Henry* II.

A little after the Emperour gave order, that the Dioceſan Synods ſhould be held at Saint *Martins* day, and the Provincial before Lent. And becauſe the Prelates deſired that the Pope ſhould conſent, at the leaſt to thoſe Points, which ſeemed not to diminiſh his Authority, the Emperour offered them, by his hand-writing, dated the eighteenth of *July*, to uſe all diligence to perſwade his Holineſs not to be wanting in his Duty. This Reformation was printed in many Catholick places of *Germany*, and alſo in *Milan*, the ſame year, by *Innocentius Ciconiaria*. The Diet of *Ausburg* ended the laſt of *June*, and the Receſs was publiſhed; in which the Emperour promiſed that the Council ſhould be continued in *Trent*, and that he would take order that it ſhould be reaſſumed quickly; in which caſe he commanded all the Eccleſiaſticks to be preſent, and thoſe of the Auguſtan confeſſion to go thither with his ſafe conduct, where all ſhould be handled according to the word of God, and Doctrine of the Fathers, and themſelves ſhould be heard.

The Emperor giveth order for Dioceſan Synods.

Concludeth the Diet.

And promiſeth the reſumption of the Council in *Trent*.

The Cardinal of *Ausburg*, and other Prelates, jealous that with theſe beginnings of Confeſſions and Reformations, made and publiſhed in Diets, the Popes Authority would be thruſt out of *Germany*, prayed the Emperour to invite the Pope, to ſend an expreſs Legate, to aſſiſt in the execution of the Decrees; alledging that it would be a means to facilitate the buſineſs very much, becauſe many who ſtill reſpect the Pope, will labour more willingly, when they ſee his Authority is in it. The Emperour being perſwaded that, when the ſtirs of Religion were pacified, *Germany* would remain under his obedience, did imbrace every propoſition of facility, thinking the Concluſion ſhould be as pleaſed him. He cauſed an account to be given to the Pope, of whatſoever was done for Reformation, and invited him to ſend one or two Legates. His Holineſs ſent immediately the Biſhop of *Fano* for his *Nuncio*, a Prelate acceptable to the Emperour, with pretence to underſtand better his Majeſties will concerning his Requeſt, and to propoſe the reſtitution of *Piacenza*, and to remove the *Spaniards* from *Trent*. But having received the firſt anſwer from *Fano*, and conſulted with the Cardinals, he ſoon reſolved that it was not honourable for him to ſend a Miniſter to execute the Emperours Decrees. Yet, for the reaſon which moved the Cardinal of *Ausburg*, he took a middle way, to ſend *Nuncii*, not for that end, which the Emperour deſigned, but to grant Abſolutions and Graces, thinking it would do Miracles for maintenance of his Authority, without prejudice of conſenting that another ſhould aſſume the Power, which he pretendeth to belong only to himſelf.

The Pope ſendeth the Biſhop of *Fano* for his *Nuncio* into *Germany*.

Therefore after *Fano*, he ſent the Biſhops of *Verona*, and *Ferentino*, for his *Nuncii* into *Germany*, to whom, by advice of the Cardinals, he directed a Bull, dated the laſt of *Auguſt*, giving them Commiſſion, to declare to all that will return to the Catholick Truth, that he is ready to imbrace them, and will not be hard in pardoning them, ſo that they will not give, but receive Laws, referring to the Conſcience of his

An Afterwards two Biſhops more to whom he giveth ample Faculties by his Bull.

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Nuncii, to remit ſomething of the old Diſcipline, if they think it may be done without publick Scandal, giving them *Faculty* to abſolve fully, in both Courts, all Secular Perſons, though Kings and Princes, Eccleſiaſtical and Regular, Colledges and Communities; from all Excommunications, and other Cenſures, and even from Temporal Puniſhments, incurred for matter of Hereſie, though they be relapſed; and to diſpenſe with Irregularities, in what caſe ſoever, even for *bigamy*, and to reſtore them to Fame, Honour, and Dignity; with Authority alſo to moderate or wholly remit, every Abjuration and Penance due, and to free Communities, and particular Perſons, from unlawful Bargains and Conventions contracted with thoſe that do err, abſolving them from Oaths, and Homages made, and Perjuries committed until that time, for any former obſervances, and to abſolve alſo the Regulars from Apoſtaſie, giving them power to wear the regular Habit, under the Habit of a Secular Prieſt, and to give leave to every perſon, though Eccleſiaſtical, to eat Fleſh, and forbidden Meats, in Lent, and on Faſting Days, by the counſel of the Corporal Phyſician, or Spiritual only, or without any, if it ſeem good to them, and to moderate the number of Feaſts; and for thoſe who have received the Communion of the *Chalice*, if they will humbly demand it, and confeſs that the Church doth not err in denying it to the Laity, to grant it unto them for life, or for ſo long as they ſhall think fit, ſo that it be done neither in the ſame time nor place with that which is done by Decree of the Church. He granted them Power alſo, to unite Eccleſiaſtical Benefices to Studies, Schools, or Hoſpitals; and to abſolve the Uſurpers of Eccleſiaſtical moveable Goods, after the reſtitution of the Immoveables; compounding alſo for the Fruits uſurped, and Moveables conſumed, with Authority to communicate theſe *Faculties*, to other Perſons of note.

Which is confuted in *Germany*.

This Bull paſſed in all places, being printed upon the occaſion which ſhall be related, and afforded matter of diſcourſe. Firſt for the Proheme; where the Pope ſaid, that, in the Troubles of the Church, he was comforted by the Remedy left by *Chriſt*, that the Corn of the Church winnowed by Satan, ſhould be preſerved by the Faith of *Peter*, eſpecially after he had applied the Remedy of the general Council; as if the Church had no Foundation but upon him, and ſixty Perſons of *Trent*. Then they thought it a great preſumption to reſtore Kings and Princes to Honours, Fame, and Dignity. There was alſo obſerved a Contradiction, to abſolve from unlawful Oaths, which need no abſolution, and from true Oaths no Man can abſolve. And it was thought another contradiction, to grant the *Chalice* only to him, who believeth the Church doth not err, in forbidding it to the Laity. For how is it poſſible to believe ſo, and to deſire not to be comprehended in the Prohibition? But they could not forbear laughing, when they read the condition, to abſolve the Friars who forſook their Cloyſters, to wear the Habit covered, as if the Kingdom of God did conſiſt in a Colour, or Veſtment, which being not worn in ſhew, yet it was neceſſary to have it in ſecret. But though the *Nuncii* were ſoon deputed, yet their diſpatch was deferred until the next year, becauſe the Emperour was not pleaſed with the manner of it, in which no mention was made to aſſiſt or authorize the Proviſions made by him; neither would the Pope ever be perſwaded that any Miniſter of his ſhould be preſent.

Why the diſpatch of the two *Nuncii* was deferred.

The Emperours *Interim* doth pleaſe neither the Proteſtants nor the Catholicks.

The Emperour being parted from *Ausburg*, uſed all diligence, that the *Interim* might be received by the Proteſtant Cities; but found reſiſtance and difficulty every where, becauſe they did deteſt it more than

than the Catholicks. They ſaid, it was a total Eſtabliſhment of the Papacy. Above all, they found fault with the Doctrine of Juſtification, and that the Communion of the Cup, and Marriage of Prieſts was queſtioned. *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*, though Priſoner, ſaid freely, That *God*, and his Conſcience, unto which he was bound above all, did not permit him to receive it. Where it was admitted, divers Accidents, Varieties, and Confuſions did ſucceed, ſo that it was brought into ſome places diverſly, with ſo many limitations and conditions, that one may ſay, it was rather rejected by all, than accepted by any. Neither did the Catholicks care to help forward the buſineſs, becauſe they did not approve it themſelves. That which did hinder the Emperour moſt, was the modeſt liberty of a little weak City, which deſired him, That being Lord of their Goods and Life, he would ſuffer that their Conſcience might belong to *God*: That if the Doctrine propoſed to them, were received by himſelf, they ſhould have a great Example to follow. But if his Majeſty would compel them to accept of, and believe that which himſelf thought not true, they knew not how it could be done. In *September* the Emperour went into *Low Germany*, where he found greater difficulties. For the Cities of *Saxony* uſed many excuſes, and *Magdeburg* did oppoſe with a kind of ſcorn. Wherefore it was *bandited* by the Emperour, and ſuſtained a long War, that maintained the fire alive in *Germany*, which burned his Trophees; as in its place ſhall be ſaid. By reaſon of this confuſion, and to give Order that the *Flemings* ſhould ſwear Allegiance to his Son, the Emperour, quitting *Germany*, went into *Flanders*; and though he ſeverely forbad, That the Doctrine of the *Interim* ſhould be impugned by any, or written, taught, or preached againſt, yet many Proteſtants did write againſt it. And the Pope, thinking it fit for his affairs to do it, gave Order to *Franciſcus Romeus*, General of the *Dominicans*, That, aſſembling the moſt learned men of his Order, by their Opinion and Pains, he ſhould make a ſtrong, and ſound Confutation. Many in *France* wrote againſt it alſo: and in a ſhort time there was, as it were, a whole Squadron of Writers againſt it, Catholicks, Proteſtants, eſpecially of the Hanſe-Towns. And that did follow which doth ordinarily happen to him that will reconcile contrary Opinions, that he maketh them both agree to impugn his, and every one more obſtinate in defending his own. There was alſo ſome cauſe of Diviſion among the Proteſtants. For thoſe who had in part yielded to *Cæſar* againſt their wills, and reſtored the old Ceremonies, excuſed themſelves, and ſaid, That the things done by them were indifferent, and by conſequence, that it did not concern their Salvation to reprove or receive them; and that it was lawful, yea, neceſſary, to tolerate ſome Servitude, when no Impiety was joyned with it; and therefore that, in theſe, the Emperour was to be obeyed. Others, whom Neceſſity had not compelled, ſaid, It was true, that indifferent things concern not ſalvation: yet, by means of them, pernicious things are brought in; and going on, they framed a general concluſion, That Ceremonies and Rites, though by nature indifferent, do become then bad, when he that uſeth them hath an Opinion that they are good, or neceſſary. And hence aroſe Two Sects, and afterwards more differences amongſt them, which were never well reconciled.

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And is written againſt by both

A diviſion among the Proteſtants.

Which was never well reconciled.

And in *England* there were no leſs Tumults for Religion. For *Edward* Earl of *Harford*, Uncle, by the Mother, of *Edward* the young King, having gained authority with his Nephew, and the Grandees of the

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the Kingdom, together with *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, did favour the Proteſtants, and brought in ſome of their own Doctors: and having laid ſome foundation of Doctrine, eſpecially amongſt the Nobility, they aſſembled the States of the Kingdom, which they call a Parliament, and by publick Decree of the King, and of that, baniſhed the Maſs: For which a little after, a popular Sedition being made, by thoſe who required the reſtitution of the Edicts of *Henry* 8. in favour of the old Religion, a moſt grievous confuſion and diſſention did ariſe in the Kingdom.

1549 Saint *Martin*'s Day being come, though the Confuſions of *Germany* were great, the *Dioceſan* Councils were held in many Cities, and the new Reformation of the Emperour was received, changing the form only, as it ſeemed to agree beſt to the manner of decreeing in every Dioceſs; yet without proviſion made for the Execution: and all ſeemed to be well done meerly for ſhew. Before Lent no Provincial Synod was held according to the Imperial Decree. In the beginning whereof the Elector of *Collen* began his: and ſhewing the neceſſity to amend the Clergy, added, That all hope was in the Council of *Trent*, which was begun with ſome happy ſucceſs: which hope being quite loſt, by the unexpected delay, cauſed by the Diſcords of the Fathers in tranſlating it, the Emperour, not to fail in his Duty, having conquered the Rebels, did reſtore the Catholick Doctrine and Ceremonies, referred to the Council only the determination of Two Articles, and ordained the Reformation of the Clergy; for execution whereof, the Synod had, againſt *Paſſion-Sunday*, eſtabliſhed a Form, agreeable to their Mother-City. Then he added the Decrees, in which no matter of Faith was handled, but only the means to reform the Diſcipline, to the number of ſix. The Reſtauration of Studies. The Examination of thoſe who are to receive Orders. The Office of every Order: Viſitation: Synods: Reſtitution of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction: with many Decrees in every point, upon each of which a long Diſcourſe being made, with many precepts, a thing fit for a ſpeculative Treatiſe, in concluſion 38. points were added, for reſtitution of ancient Eccleſiaſtical Ceremonies, and Uſes. The *Low Countries*, the Emperour's Inheritance, are ſubject to *Collen*, as the Metropolitan City: whereupon the Emperour taking notice of that Council, and cauſing it to be examined by his Counſellours, and Divines, approved it by his Letters dated the Fourth of *July*, and commanded it ſhould be received, and obſerved, in all his Countries, charging the Magiſtrates to ſee the Execution of it, if they were required.

The *Dioceſan* Councils are held, and the Emperours reformation is received. The Provincial Council of *Collen*.

The Decrees whereof the Emperour would have obſerved in the *Low Countries*, as being ſubject to that See.

Sebaſtian, Elector of *Mentz*, obſerved not the ſame ſtile; who, the Third Week after Eaſter, in the Council of his Province, made 48. Decrees in Doctrine of Faith, and 56. in matter of Reformation. In the points decided by the Council of *Trent* he followed the ſame Doctrine; in others, the more common Opinion of the School-men, abſtaining from places controverſed among them. Amongſt theſe the 41. and 42. points are remarkable; where he teacheth and repeateth again, that Images are not propoſed to be adored, or have Divine worſhip done unto them, but only to call that to our memory which is to be worſhipped: and if, in any place, a popular concourſe be made to any Image, and it appear that ſome Divinity is attributed to it, it ought to be taken away, and another put in the place, differing from it in quantity, that the people may not be perſwaded to believe, that God, and the Saints are induced to do that which is demanded of them, by

The Provincial Council of *Mentz*.

In which two points are remarkable.

By means of the Image, and not otherwiſe. And the 45. is as well worthy to be obſerved: where he ſaith, That the Saints are to be honoured, but with the Worſhip of Society and Love, as alſo godly men may be honoured in this Life, but only that the bleſſed Saints are to be honoured with more Devotion, becauſe their State is more ſecure. Which Explications, being well conſidered, do ſhew how much the Opinions of the Catholick Prelates of *Germany*, do differ from thoſe of the Court of *Rome*, and from the practice brought in after the Council of *Trent*. And every one, taking example by this Council, which hath decreed ſo many Articles of Religion, may aſſure himſelf how true that is which the Popes have cauſed to be ſpoken ſo often in *Germany*, That Religion cannot be handled in a National Council. And though one may ground himſelf more upon divers Provincial Councils of *Africa*, *Egypt*, of *Syria*, and other parts of the *Eaſt*, yet this, being modern, though not of ſuch conſequence, will perhaps more provoke the Reader to make it. The Elector of *Triers* did celebrate alſo his Synod: and other Metropolitans, not departing from the Communion of the Pope, did all publiſh the Imperial Edicts of *Ausburg*, as well for the *Interim* of Religion, as for the Eccleſiaſtical Reformation. 1547 *Paul* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI. *Henry* II.

Other provincial Councils are held.

The *Nuncii*, deſtinated by the Pope the year before, and deferred, for the cauſes aforeſaid, began their Journey for *Germany*; who, in every place where they paſſed, were deſpiſed, even by the Catholicks themſelves: ſo odious was the Pope's Name, and the very Habit of his Miniſters, in regard of his differences with the Emperour, and of the Courſes he took. And finally, in the end of *May*, they went to *Cæſar* into the *Low Countries*, where, after long diſcuſſion how to execute the Pope's Commandments, there being difficulty in every propoſition for one part or other; in fine the Emperour reſolved, That having Faculty from the Pope to ſubſtitute, they ſhould ſubſtitute the Biſhops, every one in his own Dioceſs, referring all to their Conſciences. This match was not readily made by the *Nuncii*; yet condeſcending at the laſt, a Subſtitution was printed in the Name of the Three *Nuncii*, leaving a place for the Name of the Prelate, unto whom it was to be directed; and inſerting firſt the Tenor of the Pope's Bull, and, alledging for cauſe of the Subſtitution, their not being able to be in every place, they did communicate their Authority, with advice, not to grant the Communion of the Cup, and uſe of eating Fleſh, but with great maturity and evident profit, prohibiting that ought ſhould be paid for thoſe Graces. *Cæſar* undertook to ſend them to whom, and where it was fit, and to what place ſoever he addreſſed them, he gave them to underſtand, that the proceeding ſhould be with gentleneſs and dexterity. There was very little uſe of theſe Faculties; for thoſe that continued in the Pope's Obedience, had no need of them, and thoſe who were alienated, did not only not care for them, but refuſed them alſo. A few days after, *Ferentino* departed, *Fanoe* and *Verona* remained with *Cæſar*, until the Archbiſhop of *Siponto* was ſent by *Julius* the Third, as ſhall be ſaid in its place.

The *Nuncii* go into *Germany*, and are deſpiſed in all places.

Their *Faculties* did but little good.

At the ſame time the *French* King, making his firſt entry into *Paris*, the Fourth of *July*, cauſed a ſolemn Proceſſion to be made, and publiſhed an Edict, rendring a Reaſon thereof, That he did it to ſignify unto all, that he received the protection of the Catholick Religion, and of the Apoſtolick See, and the care of the Eccleſiaſtical Order: and that he abhorred the Novity of Religion, and teſtified to all his will to perſevere

The *French* King maketh his firſt entry into *Paris*, and publiſheth an Edict in favour of the *Roman* Religion.

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perſevere in the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, and to baniſh the new Hereticks out of all his Dominions; and he cauſed this Edict to be printed in *French*, and ſent it into all parts of his Kingdom. He gave leave alſo to his Prelates to make a Provincial Aſſembly, to reform the Churches; which being known at *Rome*, was thought to be a bad Example, and might be a beginning to make the *French* Church independant of the Church of *Rome*. He cauſed alſo many *Lutherans* to be put to Death in *Paris*, himſelf being preſent at the Spectacle: and in the beginning of the next Year he renewed the Edict againſt them, laying grievous puniſhments upon the Judges, who were not diligent in detecting and puniſhing them.

And uſeth much ſeverity againſt the *Lutherans*.

But the Council in *Bolonia* having ſlept Two Years, the Seventh of *November*, the Pope, ſeeing a Letter of Duke *Octavius*, his Nephew, that he would make an Agreement with *Ferrandus Gonzaga*, to enter into *Parma*, which City the Pope cauſed to be held in the Name of the Apoſtolick See, he was ſo aſſaulted with perturbation of Mind and Anger, that he ſwooned; and, after ſome few hours, coming to himſelf, he fell into a Feaver, whereof he died within Three days. This made *Monte* part from *Bolonia*, to be at the Election of the new Pope, and all the other Prelates to retire to their Houſes. The Cuſtom is, That the Cardinals do ſolemnize the *Obſequies* of the defunct Pope Nine Days, and enter into the Conclave the Tenth. Then, by reaſon of the abſence of many, they entred not until the 28*th* of the Month. The Cardinal *Pacceco* left not *Trent* until the Emperour, underſtanding of the Pope's Death, gave him Order to go to *Rome*, where he arrived many days after the Conclave was ſhut up. The Cardinals being aſſembled to create the Pope, and making Capitulations according to the cuſtom, which every one ſweareth to obſerve, in caſe he ſhall be elected; the firſt was to proſecute the Council. Every one thought the new Pope would have been elected before *Chriſtmas*. For the Holy Gate, for the *Jubile* of the next Year, 1550. being to be opened on the *Eve* of the Feaſt, at which the Pope's preſence was neceſſary; and there being that Year a great concourſe of people to that Devotion, every one believed that this would move the Cardinals to proceed quickly to the Election. Theſe were divided into Three Factions; *Imperialiſts*, *French*, and Dependants on the dead Pope, and by conſequence, on his Nephews. The *Imperialiſts* would have created Cardinal *Poole*; and the *French*, *Salviati*: But neither of theſe parties was able to make the Election of it ſelf, nor to agree, in regard of the contrary ends of their Princes. The Dependants of the *Farneſe* were able to conclude the Election, to which part ſoever they adhered: and they were contented to chooſe Cardinal *Poole*, for the goodneſs of his Diſpoſition, and his continual obſervance of the Pope and the Cardinal *Farneſe*. But Cardinal *Theatino* oppoſing him, and ſaying he was blemiſhed with *Lutheraniſm*, made many retire. *Farneſe* did not adhere to *Salviati*, and was reſolved not to conſent, but upon ſome Creature of his Uncle. The Intereſts of the Factions were ſo great, that the reſpect of the Holy Year, and the expectation of ſo much people, who were aſſembled all that day until night, could not prevail.

The Pope dieth with paſſion.

The election of the new Pope.

Card. *Poole* was named to be Pope.

But not elected for ſuſpicion of *Lutheraniſm*.

At the laſt, the party of *Farneſe*, aſſiſted by the *French-men*, did overcome, and *John Maria di Monte*, Legate of the Council in *Trent* and *Bolonia*, was created, upon whom *Farneſe* did concur, thinking him a faithful Servant to him, and his Grandfather, and the *French-men* thinking he would favour their King, and croſs the Emperour, in re-

Card. *Monte* is created Pope.

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gard of the *Tranſlation* of the Council to *Bolonia*. Neither were the *Imperialiſts* againſt him, becauſe *Coſmo*, Duke of *Florence*, made them believe that he favoured the *French* no more than his thankfulneſs to the Pope had conſtrained him, whoſe intereſts he thought he was bound to maintain; ſo that this cauſe being removed he would carry himſelf uprightly. Many did love in him his natural liberty, free from Hypocriſie and Diſſimulation, and open to all. Immediately after the Election, in conformity to that which was capitulated, he did ſwear to proſecute the Council. He was elected the eighth of *February*, and crowned the twenty third, and the twenty fifth he opened the holy Gate. 1549 *Julius* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI. *Henry* II.

The Emperour perceiviug that the Affairs of Religion in *Germany*, did not go as he would have them, hoping to remove the difficulty by his preſence, did intimate a Diet for that year in *Ausburg*, and ſent *Lewis d' Avila* to congratulate with the Pope for his Aſſumption, and to deſire him to ſet the Council on foot again. The Pope anſwering with as much courteſie, made great offers of his good will. For the Council, his anſwer was in general Terms only, being not as yet reſolved in himſelf: and ſpake hereof with the ſame irreſolution to the Cardinal of *Guiſe*, who was to return into *France*; but affirmed that he would not do it, before he had communicated every thing to the *French* King. And to Cardinal *Pacceco*, and other Imperialiſts, who often ſpake thereof with him, he ſaid, he would eaſily accord with the Emperour in this particular, ſo that the proceeding were ſincere, to confound Hereticks, to favour the Emperours Deſigns, and not to diſfavour the Apoſtolick See: whereof he had many conſiderations, which, in fit time, he would make known to his Majeſty. He preſently gave a taſte what his Government would be, ſpending whole days in Gardens, plotting out Delicious Buildings, and ſhewing himſelf more inclined to pleaſure than buſineſs; eſpecially when any difficulty was annexed. The Emperours Ambaſſadour, *Don Diego*, having curiouſly obſerved theſe things, wrote to the Emperour, that all the Negotiations of his Majeſty with the Pope, would eaſily ſucceed; for that, being carried away with Delights, one might make him do what he would, by making him afraid. And the opinion was more confirmed, that he would be more addicted to his private Affection, than to the publick good, by the promotion of a Cardinal, which he made the laſt of *May*, to whom he gave the Cap, according to the Cuſtom. 1550. The Emperor ſendeth an Ambaſſadour to the Pope to congratulate, and to deſire a reſtitution of the Council. The new Pope is more inclined to pleaſure than buſineſs.

John Maria de Monte, when he was Biſhop of *Siponto*, being Governour of *Bolonia*, received into his Houſe a Boy of *Piacenza*, of unknown Parents, and loved him as if he had been his own Son. It is recorded, that, being ſick in *Trent*, of a great and long ſickneſs, whereof the Phyſicians thought he would die, he ſent him, by their counſel, to *Verona*, to change the Air; where having recovered his Health, and returning to *Trent*, the day of his Arrival, the Legate went out of the City for Recreation, accompanied with many Prelates, and met him near the Gate, ſhewing many ſigns of Joy. This gave matter of diſcourſe, whether it were by chance, or whether the Cardinal, going forth under another colour, had a ſecret purpoſe to meet him. He was wont to ſay, that he loved and favoured him, as Author of his own Fortune, becauſe the Aſtrologers had foretold, he ſhould have great Dignity and Riches, which he could not have, if he did not aſcend to the Papacy. So ſoon as he was created Pope, his will was that *Innocentius* (for ſo the young man was called) ſhould be adopted the Son of *Boldwin di Monte*, his Bro- He createth a ſtrange Cardinal.

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Brother, by which Adoption, he was called *Innocentius di Monte.* Having given him many Benefices, on the day aforeſaid, he created him Cardinal, giving ſubject of Diſcourſe, and Paſquins to the Courtiers, who did ſtrive to ſhew the true cauſe of ſuch an unuſual Action, by conjectures of divers Accidents paſt.

The Emperor eſtabliſheth the Inquiſition in the Low Countries.

Charles, before he parted out of the Low Countries, eſtabliſhed the Inquiſition there: whereat the *Dutch* and *Engliſh* Merchants, of whom there were many in thoſe parts, being much moved, had recourſe to Queen *Mary*, and the Magiſtrates deſiring a mitigation of the Edict, or, otherwiſe proteſting they would depart. Thoſe who were to execute the Edict, and inſtitute the Inquiſition, found difficulty every where; ſo that the Queen was enforced to go to *Cæſar*, who was in *Ausburg*, to celebrate the Diet, to perſwade him that the Populous Country might not be made deſolate, and ſome notable Sedition ariſe. *Cæſar* yielded very hardly; yet, in the end he was content to take away the name of Inquiſition, and to revoke whatſoever in the Edict did concern Strangers, all ſtanding firm which belonged to the Naturals of the place. The Emperour dealt with the Pope by his Letters and Ambaſſadour, to reaſſume the Council of *Trent*, deſiring a preciſe anſwer, not ſuch as he gave to *D' Avila*, nor with ſuch Ambiguity as he uſed to treat with Cardinal *Pacceco*, but that he would let him know the Capitulations which he required, that he might reſolve whether that Medicine would cure the Maladies of *Germany*, or ſhould think of other Remedies, it being impoſſible to continue longer in that ſtate.

And revoketh it as far as concerneth ſtrangers.

The Emperor requireth from the Pope a preciſe anſwer concerning the Council.

And the Pope doth ſeriouſly deliberate what anſwer to make.

The Pope conſidering with his inward Friends, that this was the moſt important deliberation which could happen in all his Papacy, did ballance the Reaſons which might perſwade or diſſwade it. Firſt he conſidered, that, remitting the Council to *Trent*, he condemned the Tranſlation to *Bolonia*, which was principally his deed, and ſo ſhould plainly confeſs he had done amiſs, either willingly, or at the inſtance of another. And if there had been nothing but the Tranſlation, it had not been a matter of ſo great weight. But having made himſelf a party to defend it, and ſo earneſtly, he could not excuſe himſelf of Malice, if he did ſo eaſily retract it. And, which imported moſt, he ſhould put himſelf into all thoſe dangers, from which *Paul*, a moſt wiſe Prince, thought fit to ſecure himſelf, and perſevered in that opinion until his death: and that it was a manifeſt Error to reenter into them. And though many were not ill affected to him, being a new Pope, yet it is certain that the major part do not pretend to be grieved at the Pope, but at the Popedom: and, for this particular, no man can be ſure, that ſome thing may not happen in the progreſs, which may raiſe him greater Hatred, though without his fault. Beſides, all men are not moved with Hatred, but thoſe that hurt moſt, deſire to advantage themſelves by depreſſing others. Therefore it may be concluded that the ſame reaſons, which moved *Paul*, would conſtrain *Julius* alſo to the ſame reſolution. He conſidered the great troubles that *Paul* ſuſtained 26. Months, for this cauſe, and the indignities which he did neceſſarily ſuffer, and the diminution of Papal Authority, not only in *Germany*, but in *Italy* alſo. And if this did derogate from *Paul*, confirmed ſo many years in the Papacy, and eſteemed by all, it would do it from him much more, being a new Pope, not having as yet made intelligences, and adherences, neceſſary for the enterpriſe of conteſting, and if a proteſtation ſhould be laid on his back, or a Decree, as the *Interim*, his Authority would be ſcorned by all. He was not to reckon of the pains in tranſlating

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the Council, and his conſtancy in defending it, becauſe with the change of fortune, whatſoever dependeth on it is changed, and the actions of *John Marii di Monte*, do not appertain to Pope *Julius*, and thoſe things which gave Reputation unto that man, do not give it unto this. Then it was fit to do as he did, to ſhew himſelf a faithful Servant of his Lord; but now, being Lord himſelf, the reſpect of conſtancy in ſerving well doth quite ceaſe, and another doth ſucceed, which requireth wiſdom, in applying himſelf to the times. He conſidered how popular the Emperour's requeſt was, in regard the reducing of *Germany* was in queſtion, and how ſcandalous it would be not to hearken unto it. The cauſes which moved to make the Council, were plain and manifeſt to all; thoſe which diſſwaded were ſecret, and known to few. Finally, the Oath made, and iterated, ought to be regarded, which though it did bind to proſecute the Council, without preſcribing the place, yet it was certain, that without the Emperour's conſent, being King of *Spain*, and *Naples*, Prince of the *Low Countries*, and having other adherences in *Italy*, it was impoſſible to make a General Council; ſo that, to refuſe to bring it back to *Trent*, and not to proſecute it, was all one. He enclined to this part moſt, as moſt agreeable to his Diſpoſition, deſirous rather to fly preſent Incommodities, than avoid future Dangers. For chooſing to celebrate the Council, he was delivered from the trouble which the Emperour would give him; and for the dangers which it brought, he began to eſteem them leſs. He thought the Emperour's fortune was not then the ſame as it was Two Years before. For at that time the expectation of the Victory, which he after obtained, gave him Reputation; which now ſeemeth rather to be burdenſome to him, than any eaſe. He holdeth Two Princes Priſoners, as Wolves by the Ears. The Cities of *Germany* do openly encline to Rebellion. The Eccleſiaſticks have a ſatiety of that Domination. There are alſo domeſtical croſſes, in regard of his Son, Brother, and Nephew, who aſpire to the Empire; a buſineſs, which perhaps may give him trouble, beyond his Forces. In fine, he concluded, according to his diſpoſition, Let us get out of the preſent difficulty, with hope that our good fortune will not abandon us.

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He concealeth his reſolution until it be confirmed by a Congregation of Cardinals and Prelates.

And concealing his Reſolution, he deputed a Congregation of Cardinals, and other Prelates, for the moſt part *Imperialiſts*, that they might fall upon the Reſolution which he had taken, mingling ſome few of his truſty Friends amongſt them, to govern the buſineſs according to his purpoſe. To theſe he propoſed the Emperour's Requeſt; giving Order, that without all reſpect, every one ſhould ſpeak what he thought convenient for the Service of *God*, and the Apoſtolick See. And in caſe they thought fit to condeſcend, they ſhould think how to do it with Honour, Security, and fruit. The Congregation, having often conſulted, related to the Pope, That they were of Opinion the Council ſhould be proſecuted, becauſe ſuch an Oath was taken in the Conclave, and by his Holineſs, after his Aſſumption, and to take away Scandal from the World, which without doubt would be very great, in caſe it were not done. And it might be proſecuted Two ways; one by continuing it in *Bolonia*, another by remitting it to *Trent*. It could not be contioned in *Bolonia*, becauſe *Paul* had called to him the cauſe of the Tranſlation, and inhibited to proceed any further. If his Holineſs did not firſt give ſentence that the Tranſlation was good, it was not lawful to go on in that City: and if he did, he would give a lawful pretence to be ſuſpected, it being known that the Tranſlation was made by him, as being

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the prime Legate, and Preſident. Therefore only the other way remained to remit it to *Trent*; and all occaſion was ſo taken away from *Germany*, to ſpurn againſt it, and the Emperour was ſatisfied, which was a very eſſential point. This advice, being brought to the Pope, was approved by him, and ſo they paſſed to that which remained.

The difficulties of remitting the Council to *Trent* are debated.

And firſt it was concluded, That the conſent and aſſiſtance of the *French* King was neceſſary, and the preſence of the Prelates of his Kingdom; otherwiſe the Reputation of the Council would be very weak, and they ſhould be in danger to loſe *France*; only to endeavour to re-gain *Germany*, which is loſt: which were, according to the Fable, to let the body fall to get the ſhadow. It ſeemed hard to perſwade that King, and to take from him all ſuſpicion, if the Council were celebrated in a place ſubject unto the Emperour, and near unto his Army. But examining what thoſe Suſpicions might be, they could find none, but that the Council might determine ſomething, in prejudice of the Government of that Kingdom, or againſt the priviledges of that Crown, or againſt the liberty of the *French* Church: in which, if he were ſecure, it could not be doubted but that, for the hereditary Obligation to protect and favour the Apoſtolick See, he would aſſiſt, and ſend his Prelates. The Second Difficulty was, That the *Italian* Prelates, being poor, could not bear the charge of that place; and the Apoſtolick Chamber, being exhauſted, could ill ſupply as much as was needful, beſides the charge of maintaining the Legates and Officers of the Council, and other extraordinaries. Whereof thinking often, they could find no way to hold the Council without expence, and that it was neceſſary to drink of this Cup: but Superfluities might well be cut off, by diſpatching the Council quickly, and not tarrying there longer than was neceſſary. The Third Difficulty was, That the Proteſtants would call into queſtion the things determined; wherein all the Congregation reſolved readily, That they ſhould make their meaning plain, that they ought to be eſteemed as Infallible, and not ſuffer them to be diſputed on: and to declare this before the Council, not deferring to make themſelves underſtood until then.

Of which the greateſt is the danger of the Popes authority.

The Fourth and moſt important Difficulty of all, was the Authority of the Apoſtolick See, as well in the Council, as out of it, and over it; which not the Proteſtants only do impugn, but many Princes alſo would reſtrain, and many Biſhops did think to moderate. This was the chief cauſe why the former Popes would not be perſwaded to call a Council; and *Paul*, who was brought to it, did perceive it in the end, and provided againſt it, by the Tranſlation. This danger was ſeen by all; but none could ſet down a way to eſcape it, but by ſaying, That God who had founded the *Roman* Church, and placed it above others, would diſſipate all counſel taken againſt it. This, ſome believing for ſimplicity, ſome for their Intereſt, ſome becauſe they knew not what elſe to ſay, ſeemed not ſufficient.

The fear whereof Cardinal *Creſcentius* removeth.

But Cardinal *Creſcentius*, grounding himſelf much upon this confidence, ſaid, That there was no humane Action in which there was not ſome danger; That the War did ſhew as much, which is the chiefeſt, which is never enterpriſed, though with never ſo much aſſurance of Victory, but there is danger of loſs and total deſtruction; neither is there any buſineſs undertaken, with ſo much certainty of a good Iſſue, which may not ſuddenly fall into great Inconveniences, for unknown, or lightly eſteemed, cauſes. But he that is forced, for avoiding other evils, to yield to ſome reſolution, muſt not care for it. Things are in

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ſuch a ſtate, that, if the Council be not held, there is more danger that the World, and the Princes, being ſcandalized, will alien themſelves from the Pope, and do more, *de facto*, than, in the Council, by Diſputations and Decrees. Danger is to be incurred either way, and it is beſt to take the moſt honourable, and leaſt dangerous part. But many proviſions may be made to divert it; as to keep the Fathers of the Council buſied, as much as may be, in other matters, and ſo to hold them in exerciſe, that they may not have time to think of this; to keep many in amity, eſpecially the *Italians*, with perſwaſions and hopes, and by other means uſed heretofore to hold the Princes counterpoiſed, nouriſhing ſome differences of Intereſts between them, that they may not joyntly undertake ſuch an Enterpriſe; and, if one do it alone, the others will oppoſe it: and a wiſe man will find other Remedies in the very Fact, by which he will be able to carry matters along, and make them vaniſh. This Opinion was approved, and a reſolution taken, that no demonſtration of fear ſhould be made, but only that it ſhould be intimated to the Emperour, that this is foreſeen, but that no man careth for it, becauſe there is a Remedy prepared.

The Pope ſendeth *Nuncii* to the Emperour, and *French* King, to give an account of his reſolution.

This conſultation being maturely made, and a reſolution taken to reſtore the Council in *Trent*, the Pope gave an account thereof to the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, and the *French* Ambaſſadour, and diſpatched an expreſs Courier to the *French* King, to ſignifie his purpoſe unto him, ſaying, he would ſend a *Nuncio* unto him, to relate more particularly the reaſons which moved him. And, in the end of *June*, he diſpatched Two *Nuncii* at once, *Sebaſtianus Pighinus*, Archbiſhop of *Siponto*, to the Emperour, and *Triulcius*, Biſhop of *Tolone*, to the *French* King. To the firſt he gave Inſtructions, to ſpeak in conformity of the reſolutions taken in the Congregation. He gave Order to *Triulcius* to go by Poſt, that he might adviſe what the King's Mind was, which he deſired to know before he proceeded any further. He gave him Inſtruction to give a particular account of the cauſes why he reſolved to bring back the Council to *Trent*; becauſe *Germany* did ſubmit to it; becauſe the Emperour did deſire it; becauſe it could not continue in *Bolonia*, for the cauſe before related; and that the Proteſtant Affairs might not be accommodated in ſome prejudicial manner, laying the blame on the Pope. But that his firſt and principal ground was the aſſiſtance of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and the preſence of the Prelates of his Kingdom: which he hoped to obtain, becauſe his Majeſty was Protector of the Faith, and an Imitator of his Anceſtors, who never departed from the Opinion and Counſels of Popes. That in the Council they would apply themſelves to the declaration and purifying of the points of Doctrine, and reformation of manners: neither ſhould any thing concerning the States, Dominions, and particular priviledges of the Crown of *France* be handled. That, to the Emperour's requeſt, to underſtand, whether the Pope would proſecute the Council in *Trent*, or not, the Pope had anſwered he would, with the conditions diſcuſſed in the Congregation; all which he gave order to his *Nuncio* to communicate to the King; whoſe mind he deſired to know as ſoon as might be, hoping to find it conformable to the piety of his Majeſty, to the love which he beareth to him the Pope, and to the confidence which he hath in him. He alſo charged the *Nuncio* to communicate all his Inſtructions to the Cardinal of *Guiſe*, and, with him; or otherwiſe, as he thought beſt, to declare it to the King, and to whom elſe he thought fit.

The inſtructions of the *French Nuncio*.

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The inſtructions of the *Nuncio* who was ſent to the Emperour.

He gave the like Inſtruction to the other *Nuncio*, in particular, to tell the Emperour, that the Pope did really ſhew the obſervation of whatſoever he had promiſed to *Don Pedro di Toledo*; That is, to proceed with his Majeſty ſimply, plainly, and without Artifice, and to repreſent unto him his willing mind to proſecute the Council, for the glory of God, diſcharge of his own Conſcience, and for the good which thereby might redound to his Majeſty and the Empire. And, to anſwer the Emperour's motion, to make known the capitulations which he required, he ſhould tell him, That he never dreamed to make any bargains or capitulations, for proſecuting the Council, but only ſome neceſſary conſiderations, which he charged his *Nuncio* to expound to his Majeſty. And they were Four. The firſt, That the aſſiſtance of the moſt Chriſtian King, and the Intervention of the Prelates of his Kingdom, was neceſſary, without which the Council would have but ſmall Reputation; and it might be feared that a National Council would ariſe, or *France* be loſt. That they ought not to deceive themſelves. For as *Trent* was a ſecure place for his Imperial Majeſty, ſo it was too unſecure for the moſt Chriſtian King: and therefore that it was fit to find a way to ſecure him. That he ſhould communicate to the Emperour the way that he had found out; which if it were not ſufficient, it would be neceſſary that his Majeſty ſhould add ſomething elſe. The Second conſideration was, the Expences which the Apoſtolick *Chamber*, exhauſted, and charged with Debts, was to make, for the Legates, and other Extraordinaries, which the Council bringeth with it, and likewiſe for the Expences which the poor *Italian* Prelates cannot bear in that place. Therefore that it will be fit to calculate the time well, as well for the proceeding as the beginning, that an Hour may not be ſpent in vain; otherwiſe the Apoſtolick See will not be able to bear the charge, nor to keep the *Italian* Prelates from being impatient, as former Experience hath taught. Beſides, it is not honourable for the Apoſtolick See to keep the Legates idle, and at Anchor, without doing any good. That it was neceſſary, that before they come to the Act, his Majeſty ſhould be ſecure of the Intention and Obedience, as well of the Catholicks in *Germany*, as of the Proteſtants, eſtabliſhing things again in the Diet; cauſing authentical Mandates of the Countries and Princes to be diſpatched; his Majeſty and the whole Diet together binding themſelves to execute the Decrees of the Council, that the pains and coſt prove not vain and ridiculous; and hereby to take all hope from whomſoever did think to diſturb the Synod. That in the third place, his Majeſty ſhould conſider that it was neceſſary to declare, that the Decrees already made in *Trent*, in matter of Faith, and thoſe of other former Councils, may not by any means be queſtioned; nor that the Proteſtants may demand to be heard concerning them. Laſtly, That he ſhould tell the Emperour, that the Pope did believe, that his Majeſties good Will towards him, was Reciprocal; and that as he did readily condeſcend to favour the Affairs of his Majeſty and of the Empire, by holding the Council in a place ſo fit for his purpoſe; ſo he deſireth that his ſincerity and reality may not bring a burthen upon him. That he hopeth if any one ſhall attempt ought againſt it by cavillations or calumnies, that his Majeſty will not marvel if he uſe the Remedies which ſhall occur, for defence of the Authority given immediately by God to him and the Apoſtolick See, as well in Council as out.

Four Conſiderations propoſed by the Pope to the Emperour.

The Pope thought it profitable for his Affairs, that his Reſolution ſhould

ſhould be fully known in *Italy* and *Germany*; and bad *Julius Cananus* his Secretary, making ſhew to favour ſome Courtiers, his Friends, to communicate the foreſaid Inſtructions unto them, with obligation of Secreſie: by which means they were ſpread every where. The Pope had a ſpeedy anſwer from his new *Nuncio* in *France*. For that King, underſtanding the cauſes, why the Pope could have but little confidence in the Emperour, in regard of ſome things paſt, thinking he was much inclined to *France*, made great demonſtration to be well pleaſed with the *Nuncio*, and his Meſſage, offered to the Pope whatſoever he was able to do for him, promiſed to aſſiſt the Council, and to ſend the Prelates of his Kingdom, and all Favour and Protection, for maintenance of the *Papal* Authority. 1552 *Julius* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI *Henry* II. The *French* King maketh large offers to the Pope.

The Emperour, hearing the Propoſition of the Archbiſhop of *Siponto*, and conſulting maturely of it, did commend the ingenuity and wiſdom of the Pope, that, knowing the publick neceſſity, of holding the Council in *Trent*, had found a convenient way to remit it, without further proceeding in the cauſe of the Tranſlation; a thing diſtaſtful, of much difficulty, and of no profit. He added, that the four conſiderations were all important, and reaſonably propoſed by his Holineſs. That, for *France*, he did not only commend what he had conſulted, but offered to joyn with him, to give all poſſible ſecurity to that King. That it was reaſonable to cut off ſuperfluous charges and not to ſuffer the Council to be open, and idle. That a Decree was made in *Ausburg*, a year ſince, that all *Germany*, even the Proteſtants alſo, ſhould ſubmit themſelves, a Copy whereof he would give to the *Nuncio*, and cauſe it to be confirmed in the preſent Diet. That he thought it not a fit time now to treat, that the things already decided in *Trent*, ſhould not be queſtioned, becauſe it would be done more opportunely in that City, when the Council was aſſembled. And for the Authority of his Holineſs and the Apoſtolick See as he hath formerly been a Protectour of it, ſo he will be hereafter, defending it with all his Forces, and even with his own life, if there were occaſion. That he could not promiſe his Holineſs that no unquiet Spirit ſhould ſpeak or treat in the Council, but he gave his word, that, in caſe it did happen, he would ſo oppoſe, that he ſhould commend him for his Pains. The Emperours anſwer to the Pope.

The Emperour, as hath been ſaid, was in *Ausburg*, to hold the Diet; which, though it was not ſo compaſſed with Arms as the former, yet it was always armed. He propoſed the Proſecution of the Council of *Trent*, the obſervation of the *Interim*, made in the laſt Diet, and the finding a way for reſtoring of Eccleſiaſtical Goods, and the renewing of Juriſdiction. It pleaſed the Catholick Princes, that the Council ſhould be proſecuted; but the Ambaſſadors of ſome Proteſtant Princes did not conſent, but with theſe Conditions. That the things already determined in *Trent* ſhould be re-examined: That the Divines of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion, ſhould not only be heard, but have a deciding Voice; that the Pope ſhould not preſide, but ſhould ſubmit himſelf alſo to the Council, and releaſe the Biſhops of their Oath, that they may ſpeak freely. The Emperour complained of the Proteſtants, that his Decree of the *Interim*, was not obeyed by them; and of the Catholicks, that the Reformation of the Clergy was not executed. Theſe excuſed themſelves, ſome by ſaying, that they were to proceed ſlowly, avoiding Diſſenſions; others, that the exempt, pretending Priviledges would not obey. The Proteſtants laid the cauſe upon the people, who in regard the matter concerned their Conſcience, did mutin, and could not He propoſeth the proſecution of the Council in the Diet of *Ausburg*, and other things. Conditions required by the Proteſtants concerning the Council.

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not be forced. The Emperour gave an account to the *Nuncio* of all theſe particulars, ſhewing not only the conſent of the Catholicks, and of the greater number of the Proteſtants, but the Limitation alſo propoſed by the others, leſt, if he had heard of it by ſome other means, it might have produced ſome bad effect. But he added, that he would not have this Limitation put into the Acts, becauſe thoſe Princes had given him their word, that they would do nothing againſt his will; and therefore he might affirm to the Pope, that all *Germany* was contented with the Council. Afterwards, he treated more ſtrictly with the Principal Eccleſiaſticks, propoſing that the beginning ſhould be before Eaſter, and that they would go thither in Perſon. Which being promiſed by the Electors, he ſolicited the Pope to make the Convocation for Eaſter, or immediately after, becauſe he was aſſured of the conſent of all *Germany*. Which the better to confirm, he prayed his Holineſs, that when the Bull was made, he would ſend him the draught, before it was publiſhed, that (ſhewing it to all in the Diet) he might, by that occaſion, make a Decree, and cauſe it to be received by all.

The Emperor haſteneth the Convocation of the Council, and deſireth to ſee the Bull before it be publiſhed.

The Pope thought that nothing was concluded of what was propoſed by him, ſo long as it was not decided, that the Decrees already made ſhould be received. He would not, that, in the very beginning of the Council, this ſhould be diſputed of; becauſe the iſſue was plain, that is, that much time would be ſpent, and nothing done, and in fine, all would be diſſolved without concluſion. It was plain to be ſeen, that the general diſpute, whether they ought to be received, did draw after it a particular of every one, and that himſelf ſhould not be able to interpoſe, becauſe it would be alledged that he was to be ſuſpected, as having been Preſident and the principal Author. To inſiſt more with the Emperour that this point might be decided, would give him more diſtaſt, and caſt all into inſuperable Difficulties. He was counſelled, that, without ſaying any more, he ſhould take the point for decided, and preſuppoſe in his *Bull*, that the Decrees already made ſhould be accepted by all. For the *Bull* going to the Diet with this Tenor, either the *Dutch* Men will be contented with it, and ſo he ſhall obtain his purpoſe, or will not accept it, and ſo the diſpute will begin in the Diet, and himſelf will be free from care of it. The Counſel ſeemed unto him good, in conformity whereof he made the *Bull*. And to ſatisfie the Emperour in part, he ſent it to him, not in a Draught, becauſe he thought it was againſt his Honour, but framed, dated, and ſealed; yet not publiſhed. The date was the fifteenth of *November*.

The Popes reſolution concerning the Decrees already made.

The *Bull* of the *Convocation* was dated the 15. of *November*.

In that *Bull* he ſaid, That for the taking away of all Differences of Religion in *Germany*, it being expedient and fit (which the Emperour had alſo ſignified unto him) to reduce the general Council into *Trent*, called by *Paul* the third, begun, ordered, and proſecuted by himſelf, then Cardinal, and Preſident, and many Decrees of Faith, and Diſcipline, being conſtituted and publiſhed therein, he unto whom it belongeth to call and direct general Councils, for the encreaſe of the Orthodox Religion, and to reſtore peace to *Germany*, which formerly hath not yielded to any Province in obedience and reverence of the Popes, the Vicars of *Chriſt*, hoping alſo that the Kings and Princes will favour and aſſiſt it, exhorteth and admoniſheth the Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and others, who, by Law, Cuſtom, or Priviledge ought to aſſiſt in Councils, to be in *Trent*, the firſt of *May*; in which day he hath ordained, by his Apoſtolick Authority, and conſent

The Council is to begin the firſt of *May*.

ſent of the Cardinals, that the Council ſhall be reaſſumed in the ſtate in which it was, and proſecuted; whither he will ſend his Legates, by whom he will preſide in the Synod; in caſe he cannot be perſonally preſent, notwithſtanding any Tranſlation, Suſpenſion, or any thing elſe, eſpecially thoſe things which *Paul* the Third in his Bull of the *Convocation*, and others, belonging to the Council, did ordain that they ſhould not hinder; which Bulls his Will is that they ſhall remain in force, with all their Clauſes and Decrees, confirming and renewing them, as much as is needful. 1550 *Julius* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI. *Henry* II.

The Emperour's Miniſters, and other zealous Catholicks, to whom the Emperour did impart it, thought it would exaſperate the Proteſtants, and give them occaſion not to accept of the Council, in which the Pope declared, that he would not only preſide, but direct alſo. Beſides, to talk of reaſſuming and proſecuting it, was to put too many Suſpicions into their Heads; and to ſpeak ſo magnificently of his Authority, was nothing but to provoke them. They counſelled the Emperour to endeavour that the Pope ſhould moderate the Bull, and reduce it into ſuch a form, as might not more alienate the Proteſtants. The Emperour treated thereof with the *Nuncio*, and wrote to his Ambaſſador to do the like with the Pope, praying his Holineſs affectionately, and effectually, and for Chriſtian Charity, to make thoſe Words more mild, which might divert *Germany* from accepting the Council. The Ambaſſador in *Rome* treated with a *Spaniſh* Dexterity, and ſaid, That as Wild Beaſts, taken in a Snare, muſt be drawn gently, making ſhew to yeild unto them, nor muſt be ſhewed the Fire, or Arms, for fear of provoking them, and putting them in deſpair, which will encreaſe their Forces; ſo the Proteſtants muſt be uſed, who with gentleneſs, and by inſtructing and hearing them, muſt be brought to the Council, where being arrived, it will be a fit time to ſhew them the Truth. That to condemn them before they were heard, was to exaſperate, and provoke them more. The Pope anſwered, according to his uſual Liberty, That he would not be taught to fight with a Cat ſhut up, but would have it at liberty, that it might flye: That to bring the Proteſtants with fair Words to the Council, where the Deeds would not be anſwerable, was to put them in deſpair, and make them take ſome raſh Reſolution; and therefore what was to be done, was to be told them plainly. The Ambaſſador anſwered, That it was true in things neceſſary, or fit to be ſpoken: but he ſaw not how it was then fit to ſay, That it belongeth to him to direct Councils. That theſe things are moſt true; but Truth hath not this priviledge to be ſpoken at all times, and in all places; and that it is good to conceal it, when the uttering of it doth produce a bad effect. That he ſhould remember, that, by the hot Speeches of *Leo* the Tenth, and his Legate, Cardinal *Cajetan*, the fire was kindled that now burneth, which, with a gentle word, might have been put out. That the Popes following, eſpecially *Clement* and *Paul*, wiſe Princes, did often complain of it. If *Germany* may now be gained with dextrous uſage, why ſhould it be more ſeparated with bitterneſs?

The Emperor deſireth an alteration of the *Bull*.

The Pope's anſwer.

The Pope, as it were, diſdaining, ſaid, That it was to be preached openly, and inculcated, which *Chriſt* hath taught, That his Divine Majeſty hath made his *Vicar Head* of the Church, and the principal light of the World: That this is One of the Truths that muſt be ſpoken in all times and places, and (as S. *Paul* ſaith) *in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon*; that to do otherwiſe would be againſt the Commandment of *Chriſt*, *Hiding the Candle under a Buſhel, which ſhould be ſet on a Candleſtick*. That it was

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not honourable for the Apoſtolick See to uſe artifice and diſſimulation, but that he ought to ſpeak plainly.

The Ambaſſador, by way of a pleaſant diſcourſe, ſaid; That to hide the Rod, and to make ſhew of Benignity, and to yield unto all, ſeemed unto him the true Apoſtolick Office; that he had heard it read in S. *Paul*, that being *free, he made himſelf Servant of all, to gain all*; with the *Jews*, a *Jew*; with the *Gentiles*, a *Gentile*; with the *weak*, *weak*, *to win them alſo*: and that this was the way to plant the Goſpel. In fine, the Pope not to enter into diſpute, ſaid, That the *Bull* was made according to the ſtile of the Chancery, which could not be altered; that he was adverſe from Novities, and muſt follow the ſteps of his Predeceſſors; that obſerving the uſual form, whatſoever ſhould happen, could not be attributed to him; but if he had invented anew, all the miſchief would be laid to his Charge. The Ambaſſador, to give him time to bethink himſelf better, concluſdeth that he would not take the Anſwer for a *Negative*; but hoping that his Holineſs would take compaſſion on *Germany*, with a Fatherly Affection, purpoſing to let *Chriſtmas* be paſt; for then it was the midſt of *December*, and then to make a new Aſſault upon him.

The Pope maketh a Brief, and cauſeth both it, and the Bull to be publiſhed.

But the Pope reſolute not to change one jot, ſaid often, I will prevent, and not be prevented; and to take away all trouble of Diſcourſe, on S. *John*'s Day he made a Brief, in which having ſummarily declared the Contents of his foreſaid Bull, pretending, that ſome, becauſe it was not publiſhed, might alledge Ignorance; he ordained, that both the Brief and the Bull ſhould be read, publiſhed, and affixed on the Churches of Saint *Peter*, and Saint *John* of *Lateran*, with Intention to ſend a Copy thereof Printed to the Archbiſhops, that by them it might be intimated to the Biſhops, and other Prelates. All means was taken from the Ambaſſador to ſpeak any more thereof with the Pope, and therefore he preſently diſpatched an expreſs Courier, to ſignifie all to the Emperour. Who ſeeing the Pope's Reſolution, and thinking on a Remedy, cauſed the Bull to be read in the Publick Aſſembly, which produced juſt the ſame effect which he foreſaw; that is, that the Proteſtants would recall their word, to ſubmit themſelves, and the Catholicks refuſe to go to the Council. It pleaſed not the Catholicks, by reaſon of the harſh and intractable ſtile; the Proteſtants, for the Cauſes aforeſaid: which were, That it belongeth to the Pope, not only to call, but alſo to direct, and govern the Councils; that he was reſolved to continue, and proſecute the things begun, which took away the re-examination of what was already handled; that unſeaſonably, and without occaſion, he had ſaid, that *Germany* had acknowledged the Popes for Vicars of *Chriſt*; that he had declared himſelf President of the Council, and had called none but Eccleſiaſticks, and with many affected Words, had confirmed the Bull of the Convocation of *Paul*. They ſaid, that the Council, with theſe grounds, would be in vain, whereunto to ſubmit ones ſelf, was to ſin againſt God, and his Conſcience. The Catholicks ſaid, That if there were no hope to reduce the Proteſtants, the Labour and Charge would be idle. The Emperour gave a Temper to both Parties, ſaying, That the Council was General of all Chriſtian Nations, all which obeying the Pope, but *Germany*, he had framed the Convocation as it did agree unto them; that for *Germany*, they ſhould leave all to his care, who knew how to handle the buſineſs; that they ſhould ſuffer other Nations to meet, and that himſelf would go in Perſon, if not thither, yet to ſome near place,

Which giveth diſtaſt both to Papiſt and Proteſtant in *Germany*.

Who are pacified by the Emperour.

and

and would take order, not by words, but deeds, that all ſhould paſs with good terms; that they ſhould not regard what the Pope ſaid, but what himſelf did promiſe upon the word of an Emperour and a King. So he paciſied their minds, and the 13*th* of *February* a reſolution was made, and a Decree publiſhed; the tenor whereof, was: 1550 *Julius* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI. *Henry* II.

That it being propoſed in the former Diet, That there is no means to compoſe the Diſcords of *Germany*, in cauſe of Religion, but by a Pious and General Council, all the States of the Empire have confirmed the Propoſition, and reſolved to accept and approve the ſame Synod, and ſubmit themſelves to it; which having not been executed as yet, the ſame Propoſition and Determination hath been made in the preſent Diet. For the Emperour having laboured, and finally obtained of the Pope, that the Council ſhould be remitted to *Trent*, the firſt of *May*, the next Year, and his Holineſs having done it, and the *Convocation* having been read, and propoſed in the Diet, it is fit they ſhould continue in the ſame Reſolution, to expect the Council, with due obedience, and to go to it, in which all Chriſtian Princes will aſſiſt, and the Emperour himſelf, as Advocate to the Holy Church, and Defender of the Councils, will do what belongeth to his Charge, as he hath promiſed. Who therefore giveth notice unto all, that his Will is, That every one who goeth to the Council, ſhall be ſecured by the Imperial Authority and Power, to go, remain, return, and propoſe freely what he ſhall think in his Conſcience to be neceſſary. And therefore that he will lodge in the Confines of the Empire, in the neareſt place he can. And he admoniſheth the Electors, Princes, and States of the Empire, eſpecially the Eccleſiaſticks, and thoſe who have made Innovation in Religion, that they prepare to be there well inſtructed, that they may be inexcuſable, himſelf taking care that all ſhall paſs lawfully, and in order, and that every thing be handled Piouſly and Chriſtianly, according to the Holy Scripture, and Doctrine of the Fathers. And for the Tranſgreſſion of the Decrees of the *Inter religion* and *Reformation*, being aſſured, that it was impoſſible to overcome the Difficulties; and that as one laboured the more, ſo things grew worſe, to the end, that greater Confuſion may not ariſe, he calleth unto him the Cognition of the Tranſgreſſions paſt, yet enjoyning the Princes, and Orders of the Empire, to obſervance hereafter.

And therefore a Decree in the Diet is made to this effect.

The World ſeeing this Decree, thought it, as it was, a juſt counterpoiſe of the Pope's Bull, in all parts. The one will direct Councils, the other will take care that all be done in order, and juridically; the one will preſide, and the other will have the deciſion according to the Scripture and the Fathers; the one will continuate, and the other will have power given to every one to propoſe, according to his Conſcience. In ſum, the Court could not digeſt this Affront, and complained, that it was another *Convocation* of the Council. But the Pope, according to his uſual pleaſantneſs, ſaid, The Emperor hath been even with me, for the publication of the Bull made without him.

Which ſeemeth to be a counterpoiſe to the Pope's Bull.

The Year 1551. being begun, the Pope, applying himſelf to the Council intimated, had Two principal Aims; to ſend truſty perſons to preſide, and to be at as little Charge as was poſſible. To avoid Charge, he thought to ſend but one Legate; but that was too great a burthen for one, becauſe there would be none who had the ſame Intereſts, on whom he might lately relye, and becauſe he ſhould be eſteemed the only Author of whatſoever was done. For which reſpects it was neceſſary to lay the burthen on more mens ſhoulders. The Pope found a

1551. The Preſidents of the Council are named.

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middle way, to ſend one Legate, and two *Nuncii*, with equal Authority, thinking that ſo he ſhould be better ſerved, becauſe hope maketh men more diligent. Caſting his Eye on all the Cardinals, he found none more truſty, and withal more worthy, than *Marcellus Creſcentius*, Cardinal of S. *Marcellus*; to whom he joyned for *Nuncii*, *Sebaſtianus Pighinus*, Archbiſhop of *Siponto*, and *Aloiſius Lipomannus*, Biſhop of *Verona*: Of the former he made choice, for the great confidence he had in him before his Papacy; of the other, for the fame of his great Piety, Goodneſs and Loyalty. Having had many ſecret Parlies with theſe Three, and opened unto them the ſincerity of his Heart, and inſtructed them fully, he gave them an ample Mandate, to be preſent in the Council, in his Name; the Tenour whereof was,

The tenor of their Mandate.

It belongeth to the Father of a Family, to ſubſtitute others, to do that which he cannot commodiouſly do himſelf. Therefore, having reduced to *Trent* the General Council, intimated by *Paul*, hoping that the Kings and Princes would afford their Favour and Aſſiſtance, he cited the Prelates, who uſually have Voice therein, to be there the firſt of *May*, to reſume the Council in the ſtate it was. But not being able to be perſonally preſent, according to his deſire, in reſpect of his Old Age, and other Impediments, that his Abſence might not be an hinderance, he appointeth *Marcellus*, a Zealous, Wiſe, and Learned Cardinal, for Legate, and the Biſhops of *Siponto*, and *Verona*, famous for Knowledge and Experience, as *Nuncii*, with ſpecial *Mandate*, and fit Clauſes. Sending them as Angels of Peace, giving them Authority to reſume, direct and proſecute the Council, and to do all things meet and neceſſary, according to the Tenour of his, and his Predeceſſors Letters of the Convocation. The Emperour, whom the Council did more concern, holding it to be the only means, to make himſelf abſolute Maſter of *Germany*, ſent a ſafe-conduct in an ample form, to all the Proteſtant Orders of that Empire, for themſelves, their Ambaſſadors and Divines.

The Emperor giveth a ſafe-conduct to the Proteſtants.

But while theſe Foundations were laid in *Rome* and *Ausburg*, to build the Council of *Trent* upon them, Webs were ſpun in other places, which obſcured the Dignity and Authority of that Synod, and Engines were framed which did ſhake and diſſolve it. The Pope immediately after his Aſſumption, to perform what he had promiſed in the Conclave, reſtored *Parma* to *Octavius Farneſe*, which the Pope had taken into his Hands, in the Name of the Church, and aſſigned to him Two Thouſand Crowns a Month to defend it. *Octavius* in regard of the Enmity of *Ferrante Conzaga*, Vice-Duke of *Milan*, and of many Arguments which he had, that the Emperour meant to be Lord of that City, the Pope alſo having taken from him the Proviſion of Two Thouſand Crowns, doubting that he was not able to defend it with his own Forces, treated with the Pope, by his Brother the Cardinal, either to aſſiſt him, or give him leave to provide for himſelf, by the Protection of ſome other Prince, able to maintain him againſt the Emperour. The Pope, without thinking more of it, anſwered, That he ſhould do for himſelf the beſt he could. Wherefore *Octavius*, by means of *Horatius*, his Brother, Son-in-Law to the *French* King, put himſelf under the protection of *France*, and received a *French* Garriſon into the City. This diſpleaſed the Emperour his Uncle, who perſwaded the Pope, that it was againſt his Honour, who was ſupreme Lord of that City and Duke. Therefore the Pope publiſhed a ſevere Edict againſt him, citing him to *Rome*, and declaring him Traytor, if he did not appear, and demand-

The Pope reſtoreth *Parma* to *Octavius Farneſe*.

Who receiveth a *French* Garriſon into the City.

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ing the Emperour's aſſiſtance againſt him; who declared, that he did approve the Pope's Cauſe, and would defend it with his Arms. This was a beginning of a manifeſt War between the Emperour and the *French* King, and of great diſtaſts of this King againſt the Pope. And in *Saxony*, upon the River *Albi*, diſcourſes began between the *Saxons* and thoſe of *Brandeburg*, to make a League againſt the Emperour, that he might not wholly ſubdue *Germany*, as ſhall be ſaid in its place. Notwithſtanding theſe Seeds of War, which in *Italy*, in the beginning of *April*, began to ſpring, the Pope would have the Legate and *Nuncii* go to *Trent*, and gave them Commiſſion to open the Council on the firſt of *May*, the day appointed, with thoſe who were there; yea, though there were none at all; by the example of the *Nuncii* of *Martinus* the Fifth, who opened the Council of *Pavia* alone, without the preſence of any Prelate.

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Julius III.
Charles V.
Edward VI.
Henry II.

Which occaſioneth a War between the Emperour & the *French* K.

A Confederation is made in *Germany* againſt the Emperour.

THE

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Julius III.
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THE HISTORY OF THE Council of Trent.

BOOK IV.

THE Legate and *Nuncii* being come to *Trent* accompanied with ſome Prelates, who followed them from *Rome*, and ſome other being arrived, who, having been ſollicited by the Pope, came thither a little after, they aſſembled, the foreſaid day, with the wonted Ceremonies, in the uſual place, played, within the Cathedral Church, which was not pulled down, where the Archbiſhop of *Torre* ſang Maſs, and the Secretary read the Pope's Bull of the Convocation, and the *Mandate* of the Preſidents; and he that ſaid Maſs, read the Decree interrogatorily. Pleaſeth it the Fathers, that, according to the Pope's Letters, the Council of *Trent* ſhould be reſumed and proſecuted? And all having given their Voices, he ſaid again; Pleaſe it you, that the next Seſſion be held the firſt of *September* next? Whereunto all agreed. And the Cardinal, Prime Preſident, concluded, by the Conſent, and in the Name of all the Synod, that the Council is begun, and ſhall be proſecuted. Nothing elſe was done that Day, nor the next, though the Prelates were often aſſembled in the Legate's Houſe; becauſe the Congregations had no form, there being no Divines. Only the things diſputed in *Bolonia* were read, to make the deliberation of that which was to be handled, more mature, eſpecially in matter of Reformation, which was eſteemed to be of the greateſt moment.

The Preſidents of the Council, and ſome Prelates arrive in *Trent*.

The next Seſſion is appointed for the firſt of *September*.

In the end of the Month, the Pope ſent *Jeronymus Francus* to the *Suiſſes*, who before had been the *Nuncio* of Pope *Paul*, to that Nation, principally to provide that the *French King* might not have Soldiers from them, and to obtain of them a Levy, for the Affairs of *Parma*. And, upon that occaſion he wrote unto them the Seven and Twentieth of *May*, that as he had taken the Name of *Julius* the Second, ſo affectionate

The Pope ſendeth a *Nuncio* to the *Suiſſes*.

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ctionate to them, ſo he would follow his example in loving them, and uſing their aſſiſtance: which he had begun to do by taking a Guard of their Nation, for the ſafety of his own perſon, and another for *Bolonia*. Now the Council being intimated, and begun in *Trent*, the firſt of *May*, he prayed them to ſend their Prelates againſt the firſt of *Sptember*, when the Second Seſſion ſhall be held.

The *French* King excuſeth to the Pope his protection of *Parma*.

The *French* King thought to perſwade the Pope, by *Termes*, his Ambaſſador, that he had, upon good Reaſons, taken upon him the defence of *Parma*, praying him to be contented with it; and to ſhew him, that doing otherwiſe, and preferring War before Peace, he ſhould not only damnifie *Italy*, but hinder the proſecution of the Council, or cauſe it to diſſolve. And that, though this did not fall out, yet, in regard no *French* Biſhop could go thither, it could not with reaſon be called a General Council. The Pope offered to do any thing elſe which the King ſhould deſire; and after many diſcourſes, it being repreſented to him, that the King could by no means retire, and that, in caſe his Holineſs would not be neutral, but make himſelf the Emperour's Miniſter, by whom the King was certain that he was guided, his Majeſty would be forced to uſe thoſe Remedies of Reaſon and Fact, which his Anceſtors have uſed againſt partial Popes. The Pope grew angry, or feigned to be ſo, and anſwered, That if the King took *Parma* from him, he would take *France* from the King; and if the King did take from him his Obedience, he would take from the King the Commerce of all Chriſtendom; and if he ſpake of Force, let him do the worſt he could; if of Edicts, and Prohibitions, and ſuch things, he let him know, that his Pen, Paper, and Ink, were not inferiour. But though the Pope ſpake ſo high, yet he was afraid; and therefore to excite the Emperour, he ſignified unto him, by his *Nuncio*, the Biſhop of *Imola*, whom he had ſent in place of the Archbiſhop of *Siponto*, all theſe Diſcourſes with the *French*, and afterwards told him, That in *Rome* there was doubt of another Sack, in regard of ſo many Rumours of the *Turks* and *French men*, and fear of National Councils. Therefore there was need of Arms, to prevent theſe Attempts, and to defend themſelves when need required.

His Holineſs is angry.

The *French* King maketh preparation for a National Council from which, and from the protection of *Parma*, he is diſſwaded by the Pope.

The King ſeeing it was impoſſible to perſwade the Pope, wrote a publick Letter to all the Biſhops of his Kingdom, as well in *France*, as elſewhere, commanding them to be at their Churches within ſix Months, and to put themſelves in order there for a National Council; and the Letter was preſented to thoſe alſo who were in *Rome*; neither durſt the Pope hinder them, for fear of doing them, and his own Reputation more hurt. But he ſent *Aſcanius della Corna*, his Nephew, into *France*, to diſſwade the King from the Protection of *Parma*: to make him underſtand, that *Octavius Farneſe*, being his Vaſſal, he ſhould by no means endure to be contemned by him, in regard it would be an eternal Infamy, and an Example to others, not to acknowledge him for Pope. That his Inclination to *France*, and his Majeſty, was great, and his Mind averſe from thoſe who were emulous of him; and that this is known to the whole World. Yet the foreſaid reſpect is ſo potent, that, if his Majeſty would not give a remedy, it were enough to make him caſt himſelf into the Arms of him that he would not. His Inſtruction alſo was, That if the King would not be perſwaded to this, he ſhould pray him to conſider well how great Inconveniences a National Council would draw after it, and that it would be a beginning to give his Subjects Licence, whereof he would repent him, and would preſently cauſe this

bad

bid effect to hinder the general Council, which would be the greateſt Offence could be done to God, and the greateſt Damage to Faith, and the Church. He prayed him to ſend an Ambaſſador to *Trent*, aſſuring him, he ſhould receive all Honour and Reſpect from the Preſidents, and all the Prelates who were his Holineſs's Friends. Which unleſs he did not condeſcend, but perſevere in maintaining the Edict, he ſhould for taking away all ſcandal, propoſe to him a temper, to declare, that his meaning was not to hinder the General Council by that Edict. 1551 *Julius* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI. *Henry* II.

The King, hearing the Ambaſſage, ſhewed alſo, that his Honour did conſtrain him to continue the protection of the Duke, and to maintain the Edict, but with ſuch Words, as made it plain he was diſpleaſed with the Diſtaſtes given him, and that he had a deſire to right himſelf. And to anſwer the Pope, he ſent the Lord of *Monluc*, the *Elect* of *Bourdeaux*, to him, not without ſome hope to pacifie the Pope's Mind. But do he what he could, he continued in the ſame rigidneſs concerning the Affairs of *Parma*, and ſent the ſame *Monluc* back, with Commiſſion to complain of the King, that he had ſent the Edict of the National Council, and Letters, to the Prelates who were Subjects to his Holineſs, even in Temporalities (underſtanding the Biſhop of *Aurgion*), as far as to *Rome*, which all the World did interpret to be done only to hinder the General Council. And, in concluſion, he prayed the King, that ſeeing they were both reſolute, himſelf to correct *Octavius*, and his Majeſty to protect him, at the leaſt their Differences might be contained within *Parma*, though his Majeſty had already proceeded further, by taking the Cardinals and Prelates from *Rome*; whoſe Departure he would not hinder, hoping that his Majeſty, having exhaled his Anger, ſhould be illuminated by God, to change his manner of proceeding. Neither theſe mutual Offices, nor the reſpect of the Council, could make either of theſe Princes remit any thing of their Rigor. The general conſent was favourable to the King. For the Emperour having ſeized on *Piacenza*, to leave *Parma* to him alſo, was to give all *Italy* into his Hands; And it ſeemed an Indignity, that the Poſterity of *Paul*, who had ſo laboured for the Liberty of *Italy*, ſhould be abandoned by all: and if the Pope did not complain that *Piacenza* was uſurped, nor made any Inſtance for the Reſtitution, why ſhould he complain, that the Duke ſhould ſecure himſelf of *Parma*? And this Reaſon prevailed ſo much with ſome, that they aſſured themſelves it was well underſtood by *Julius*; but that, to make ſomething ariſe which might hinder the Council, which not proceeding from him, might be aſcribed to another, he deſired a War between the King and the Emperour. It is certain, that he laboured more with the Emperour to move Arms againſt *Parma*, or *Mirandula*, than with the King to accommodate the Buſineſs. The King having tried all means to pacifie the Pope's Mind, paſſed to the extreim, which was to proteſt by his Ambaſſadour *Termes*, and particularly againſt the Council which was aſſembled, hoping that Reſpect would remove the Pope: the Contents of which Proteſtation, becauſe it was reiterated in *Trent*, ſhall be related upon that occaſion.

But the King ſhewed alſo, that his Honour did conſtrain him to continue the protection of the Duke, and to maintain the Edict, but with ſuch Words, as made it plain he was diſpleaſed with the Diſtaſtes given him, and that he had a deſire to right himſelf. — But he continues firm in his reſolution.

And proteſteth againſt the Council, then aſſembled in *Trent*.

But in *Germany* there was more Speech of the Council than ever. For *Maurice*, Duke of *Saxony*, ſeeing the Emperour's Reſolution, to give him a ſure Argument that he would obey him, in ſending to *Trent*, commanded *Philip Melanthon*, and ſome others of his Divines, to put together the Points of Doctrine, to be propoſed in the Council, and to aſſemble in *Lipſia* all the Doctors and Miniſters of his State to examine them. — The Proteſtant Princes reſolve to ſend to *Trent*.

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And *Chriſtopher*, Duke of *Wittenburg*, who, a little before, ſucceeded his Father, cauſed another Compoſition to be made by his People, which was the ſame thing in ſubſtance; and the one part did approve that of the other; yet did chooſe not to proceed joyntly, that the Emperour might not ſuſpect. Afterwards Duke *Maurice* wrote to the Emperour, giving him an Account of his being in Order with his Divines, and of the Writing which he had prepared; but added, that his *Safe-Conduct* ſeemed not ſufficient. For in the Council of *Conſtance* it was determined, that they might proceed againſt thoſe that came to the Council, though they had *Safe-Conduct* from the Emperour; and the Decree was approved by the Death of *John Huſſe*, who went to the Council under the Publick Faith of *Sigiſmond*. That therefore he could not ſend any to *Trent*, if thoſe of the Council did not give *Safe-Conduct*, as was done in that of *Baſil*, whither the *Bohemians*, for the Example of *Conſtance*, would not go; but under the Publick Faith of the whole Council. Therefore he prayed the Emperour to procure for them a *Safe-Conduct* from the Eccleſiaſticks of *Trent*, in that form as thoſe of *Baſil* did grant it to the *Bohemians*, becauſe they were juſt in the ſame condition now, as the *Bohemians* were then. *Cæſar* promiſed to do it, and gave Order to his Ambaſſadors, whom he then diſpatched to the Council, to procure it.

And require a *Safe Conduct* from the Council.

Which the Emperour promiſeth to procure.

The Ambaſſage conſiſted of Three Perſons, to honour the Council, and to have many Miniſters to treat: and this Colour was for the Number, That one was for the Empire, another for *Spain*, and the Third for his other States, and yet all *in ſolidum* for all. The *Mandate* was ſigned the ſixth of *July*: and contained that Pope *Julius*, to appeaſe the Controverſies of Religion in *Germany*, having recalled to *Trent*, the firſt of *May* paſt, the Council called by *Paul*, began, and intermitted, himſelf, by reaſon of his Indiſpoſition, not being able to be there in perſon, he hath ſent (not to fail of his Duty) his Proctors thither. Therefore truſting upon the Faith, Honeſty, Experience, and Zeal of *Hugh*, *Count of Mountfort*, *Don Pedro di Toledo*, and *William*, Archdeacon of *Campagnia*, he maketh them his *Orators*, and *Mandataries* for his Imperial Dignity, Kingdoms, and hereditary States, giving them, and each of them Faculty, to appear in the Council, to hold his place, conſult, treat, give Counſel and Voice, to decree in his Name, and do every thing elſe which himſelf could do if he were preſent: putting them in place of his Perſon, and promiſing to ratifie whatſoever ſhall be done by them Three, or by any One of them. The Pope, though he much deſired the Council ſhould be opened, yet after it began, he took no thought that the Prelates ſhould go thither; either becauſe he was intent upon the War, which was on fire at *Mirandula*, or becauſe he cared but little for it. All the pains was taken by the Emperour, who thruſt forward, firſt, the Electors of *Mentz* and *Triers*, and afterwards of *Collen*, together with five other principal Biſhops, and the Proctors of many who were hindred. He cauſed alſo ſome Prelates to come out of *Spain*, beſides thoſe who had entertained themſelves in *Trent*, and *Italy*, until then, and out of his States in *Italy*; beſides which there were but few: ſo that, for Eight Months that the Council laſted, the Preſidents and Princes being reckoned, the Number did not exceed ſixty four.

Who ſendeth Three Ambaſſadors to the Council.

The Contents of their *Mandate*.

The Eccleſiaſtical Electors go to *Trent*.

The number of the Prelates in the Council.

The firſt of *September*, the day appointed for the Seſſion, being come, they went to the Church with the uſual Ceremonies. The Order of precedence was thus. Firſt the Cardinal Legate, then the Cardinal *Madruccio*,

The ſecond Seſſion is held.

Madruccio, the Two *Nuncii*, the Two Electors, (that of *Collen* being not come) Two of the Emperour's Ambaſſador's (the Arch-deacon being not yet arrived) the Ambaſſador of the King of the *Romans*, and then the Archbiſhops. The *Maſs* being ſung, and the Eccleſiaſtical Ceremonies ended, the Secretary read an Exhortation to the Fathers of the Council, in the Name of the Preſidents to this purpoſe. That, by the preſence of the Two Electors, being entred into hope, that many Biſhops, of that and other Nations, will aſſiſt in the Council, they thought fit, in the mean time, in regard of the place they bare, to give a little Admonition to themſelves, and them, (though they ſaw all were ready to do the Office of good Paſtors) becauſe the matters to be handled were of great moment; that is, to extirpate Hereſies, to reform Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, from the Corruption whereof Hereſies have riſen, and finally, to pacifie the diſcords of Princes. That the beginning of the Exhortation ought to be taken from the knowledge of their own inſufficiency, flying to the aſſiſtance of *God*, who will not fail them: whereof they ſee many Arguments already, but eſpecially the coming of the Two Princes. That the Authority of General Councils was always very great, the Holy Ghoſt preſiding in them, and their Decrees eſteemed not Humane, but Divine. That an Example hereof hath been left by the Apoſtles, and the Fathers following, ſeeing that, by Councils, all Hereticks have been condemned, the Life and Manners of Prieſts and People reformed, and the Diſcords of the Church appeaſed. Therefore being now aſſembled to do as much, they muſt awaken themſelves, that they may regain the Sheep that leapt out of the Lord's Fold, and keep thoſe which have not gone aſtray as yet. Wherein the Salvation of thoſe only is not in queſtion, but their own too, in regard they muſt give an Account to *God*, by whom, if they perform their duty, they ſhall be rewarded, and all Poſterity will attribute great Praiſe to that Council; but they ſhould not aim at that, but only at their own Duty, and Charity towards the Church, which being afflicted, wounded, and deprived of ſo many dear Children, lifteth up her Hands to *God*, and them, to reſtore them to her. That therefore they would handle the matters of the Council with all gentleneſs, and without Contention, as becometh ſo great an Aſſembly, uſing perfect Charity, and conſent of minds, knowing that *God* doth behold and judge them.

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June III.
Charles V.
Febr. IV.
Hen. II.
In which the Legates make a long Exhortation to the Fathers.

The Exhortation being ended, the Decree was read by the Biſhop that ſaid *Maſs*; the ſubſtance whereof was; That the Holy Synod, which, in the Seſſion paſt, did determine to proceed in this, having deferred to do it until now, by reaſon of the Abſence of the *German* Nation, and the ſmall Number of the Fathers, rejoycing for the Arrival of the Two Prince Electors, hoping that many more of that and other Nations, will by their Example, haſten their coming, doth defer the Seſſion for Forty Days; that is, until the Eleventh of *October*, proſecuting the Council in the ſtate in which it is, having treated already of the Seven Sacraments, of Baptiſm, and Confirmation, doth ordain to treat of the Euchariſt; and, for Reformation, to handle thoſe things which do facilitate reſidency. Then the Emperour's Proxy being read, the Earl of *Montfort* ſaid, That the Emperour, after he had obtained the Reduction of the Council to *Trent*, never ceaſed to labour that the Prelates of his States ſhould go thither, which the preſence of the Electors, and the frequency of the Fathers, doth demonſtrate. And to teſtifie his Mind the more, he hath ſent *Don Pedro*, of the Kingdom of *Spain*, another of his Patrimonial States, and himſelf of

The Decree of the Seſſion is read.

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Germany, though unworthy; Praying to be received for ſuch. *John Baptiſta Caſtello*, the Speaker, anſwered, in the Name of the Council, that they were glad to hear the Emperour's *Mandate*, having by it, and the Quality of the Proctors, conceived how much they may promiſe themſelves; therefore that it hopeth for aſſiſtance from them, and doth, as much as it can, admit the Emperour's *Mandate*. Likewiſe the Proxy of the King of the *Romans*, in the perſon of *Paulus* [illegible]*rianus*, Biſhop of *Zagabria*, and of *Frederick Nauſea*, Biſhop o[illegible]*nna*, was read, and this ſecond did ſpeak, and was anſwered as thoſe of the Emperour.

The Abbot of *Balloſana* preſenteth the *French* Kings Letters, the Inſcription whereof giveth diſtaſt to the Synod.

After this, *Jacobus Amiotus*, Abbot of *Belloſana*, appeared in the Name of the *French* King, with Letters of his Majeſty, which he preſented to the Legate, deſiring they might be read, and his Credency heard. The Legate receiving them, gave them to the Secretary, to be read. The Superſcription was, *Sanctiſſimis in Chriſto Patribus Conventus Tridentini.* The Biſhop of *Orange*, and after him, the other *Spaniards* ſaid aloud, that thoſe Letters were not ſent unto them, who were a General Council, and not a Convent; and therefore that they ought neither to be read, nor opened in publick Seſſion; but, if the Meſſenger had ought to ſay, he ſhould go home. Much was ſpoken concerning the ſignification of the Word, *Conventus*, the *Spaniards* perſiſting, that it was injurious. So that the Biſhop of *Mentz* was forced to ſay, That if they would not receive a Letter from the King of *France*, who called them *Sanctiſſimus Conventus*, how would they hearken to the Proteſtants, who called them *Conventus Malignantium?* But the *Spaniſh* Prelates continuing ſtill to be more tumultuous than the reſt, the Legate, with the *Nuncii*, and the Emperour's Ambaſſadors, retired into the Veſtry, and had a long Diſputation hereof. At the laſt, returning to their place, they made it be told to the Speaker, that the Synod doth reſolve to read the Letters without prejudice, thinking that the Word *Conventus*, is not meant in an ill Sence; and, if it be, doth proteſt of the *Nullity*. Then the King's Letter was opened, and read, which was dated the 13*th* of *Auguſt*, and ſaid in ſubſtance; That it ſeemed agreeable to the obſervance which his Anceſtors have always uſed towards the Church, to ſignifie to them the Cauſes why he hath been forced not to ſend any Biſhop to the Convent, called by *Julius* by the Name of a publick Council, being aſſured that they the Fathers will not condemn any man's Fact before they know it, and that when they ſhall underſtand what he hath done, they will commend it. That he was compelled, for preſervation of his Honour, to continue in his reſolution to protect the Duke of *Parma*; from which he would not refuſe to depart, if Juſtice and Equity did permit. That he writeth to them as to *Honourable Judges*, praying them to receive the Letters, not as from an Adverſary, or a Perſon unknown, but as from the Prince and principal Son of the Church by Inheritance of his Anceſtors, whom he promiſeth always to imitate, and, while he defendeth himſelf from Wrongs, not to lay aſide his Charity towards the Church, but ever to receive whatſoever ſhall be conſtituted by her, ſo that due Order be obſerved in making the Decrees. The Letters being recited, the Abbot read a Proteſtation, containing a Narration of a Proteſtation, made by *Termes*, in *Rome*, ſaying, That the King, after he had taken upon him the Defence of *Parma*, ſeeing that thoſe laudable things which he had done were reprehended, uſed great care that *Paul Termes*, his Ambaſſador, ſhould give an account of all to the Pope, and Colledge

The Contents of them.

The Abbot readeth a Proteſtation.

of

of Cardinals, to take from them all ſiniſter Opinion, ſhewing, that the taking of the Duke into his protection, was the effect of a Pious, Humane, and Kingly Mind, wherein there was no cunning or private gain, but reſpect only of the Church; as appeared by the Propoſitions of accord, which aimed at nothing but that the Church might not be robbed, and *Italy* preſerved in Peace and Liberty. And if the Pope thought this a Cauſe to put all *Europe* into War, he was ſorry; but it could not be imputed to him, having not only accepted, but offered alſo all honeſt and fit Conditions. Neither could the diſſolution of the Council aſſembled be preſcribed to him, praying the Pope to conſider what miſchiefs would accompany the War, and to prevent them with Peace. Which if his Holineſs will not regard, but deſire rather to ſet *Europe* on fire, and hinder the Council, giving ſuſpicion that it was called not for the good of the Church, but for private Intereſts, excluding from it a moſt Chriſtian King, he could not chooſe but to proteſt to him and the Colledge, that he could not ſend his Biſhops to *Trent*, where the acceſs is not free and ſucure, and that he could not eſteem that a General Council, but private, from which he was excluded, neither could the People or Prelates of *France* be obliged to the Decrees of it. Afterwards he proteſted, that he would come to the Remedies uſed by his Anceſtors in like Occurrences; not to take away his due obſervance from the Apoſtolick See, but to reſerve it for better times, when Arms ſhall be laid down, which are diſhoneſtly taken up againſt him, deſiring of his Holineſs, that this Proteſtation might be Regiſtred, and giving him a Copy of it to peruſe. Theſe things having been already proteſted in *Rome*, he deſired ſhould be likewiſe proteſted in *Trent*, with the ſame Inſtance, that they might be Regiſtred in the Acts of that Aſſembly, and that there being a publick Inſtrument made of it, he might uſe it in time and place.

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When the Proteſtation was read, the Speaker, having talked with the Preſident, anſwered in ſubſtance; That the King's Modeſty in his Letters, was grateful to the Synod; that it doth not accept the Perſon of the Abbot, but as it is lawful; that it warneth him to be in the ſame place the Eleventh of *October*, to receive the anſwer which ſhall be made to the King's Letters; and forbiddeth the *Nuncii* to make an Inſtrument of the preſent Action, but joyntly with the Secretary of the Council. And nothing elſe being to be done, the Seſſion was ended. Then the Abbot demanded an Inſtrument of the Action, but could not obtain it.

When *Termes* had proteſted in *Rome*, though many did not know of the Act, yet it was believed that the Pope would defer the Council, becauſe it muſt needs bring forth new Diviſions, if ſuch a principal Nation did reſiſt. But he deceived the World, not for any deſire he had to celebrate it, but for that he would not ſeem to be Cauſe of the diſſolution; being reſolved, that if it were ſeparated without him, he would anſwer, with an open Mouth, to whoſoever ſhould deſire it again, that he had done his part, and would do no more. But the Proteſtation made in *Trent*, a place ſo conſpicuous, was preſently publiſhed every where, and gave matter of Diſcourſe. The *Imperialiſts* eſteemed it a Vanity, ſaying, That the Act of the major part of the Univerſality, is ever eſteemed lawful, when the leſſer, being called, either cannot, or will not be preſent: that all are called to the Council, and the *French-men* alſo might have come without paſſing by the Pope's Territories; but in caſe they could not, yet their abſence doth not derogate

The Cenſure of this Proteſtation.

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rogate from the Council, becauſe they are not neglected, but invited. It was ſaid to the contrary, That to call in Words, and to exclude in Deeds, was not to invite; and, for the Pope's Territories, one might go from *France* to *Trent* without paſſing by them, but not without paſſing by thoſe of the Emperour; and the major part hath full Authority, when the leſſer cannot appear, and is ſilent, becauſe it is preſuppoſed to conſent, and when it will not appear, becauſe it is accounted contumacious; but when it doth proteſt, it hath its place, and eſpecially, if the Impediment proceed from him that calleth the Action, in abſence, cannot be of force.

The Decrees of Councils do not bind the Churches abſent.

And the Counſellors of the Parliament of *Paris*, ſaid ſomething more; That it is true, that the Authority of the whole Univerſality is transferred into the major part, when the Cauſe is common to all, and nothing belongeth to particular men: but when the whole belongeth to all, and every one hath his part, the aſſent of every one is neceſſary, *Et prohibentis conditio potior*; and the abſent, not giving their Voices, are not bound. Of this ſort are Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies; and be the Council as populous as it will, the abſent Churches are not bound, if they think fit not to receive it. This hath always been uſed in ancient times, that the Councils being ended, the Decrees ſhould be ſent, to be confirmed, to the Churches that were abſent, in which otherwiſe they had no force; which every one that readeth *Hilarius*, *Athanaſius*, *Theodoretus*, and *Victorinus*, who handle this particular, may ſee plainly. And it happened ſometimes, that ſome part of the Canons were received by ſome Church, and ſome left out, as every one thought fit, for their Neceſſities, Manners and Uſes. And S. *Gregory* himſelf doth witneſs, that the Church of *Rome* did not receive the Canons of the ſecond Council of *Conſtantinople*, nor of the firſt of *Epheſus*.

The Preſidents take upon them the Authority of the Council.

Wiſe men, not conſidering the Subtilties, ſaid, That the King had given that Council an uncurable Wound. For it having no other ground than Chriſtian Charity, and the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, it would never be believed, that theſe were preſent in an Aſſembly, againſt which a moſt Chriſtian King, perſecutor of all Sects, with the adherence of a Kingdom, not blemiſhed in Religion, did proteſt in that form. And they brought an Experience for proof. For they ſaid, That the Preſidents retiring to conſult with the Emperour's Ambaſſadors, did ſhew who guided the Council. And which was of more importance, when theſe five had conſulted, and imparted nothing to any body elſe, the Speaker ſaid, The Holy Synod doth receive the Letters. And what was that Holy Synod? And likewiſe the Abbot's Expoſition being read, the Anſwer, reſolved on by the Preſidents only, was given in the ſame Name. Neither can the Difficulty be removed, by ſaying, that the matter was of no great importance; firſt, becauſe it will be hard to maintain, that it is not a moſt important matter, where the danger of Diviſion in the Church is in queſtion; then, be it as it will, no man can arrogate to himſelf power, to declare what is of importance, and what not: and this is a Demonſtration that things are carried juſt as the Pope ſaith in the Bull, and the Preſidents in the Sermon read, that they were to direct the Council; for they did ſo indeed. The advice that the King had diſmiſſed the Pope's *Nuncio*, and publiſhed a *Manifeſt*, did reiterate the ſame diſcourſes; which *Manifeſt* was then Printed and divulged throughout. Where he ſheweth at large the Cauſes why he took upon him the Protection of *Parma*, blameth the Pope for the War begun, ſaying, That he uſed this Artifice, that the Council might

The *French* King diſmiſſeth the Pope's *Nuncio*, and publiſheth a Manifeſt.

not

not be held; Concluding in the end, that it is not meet that he ſhould have Money out of his Kingdom, to make War againſt him; whence a great ſum is ordinarily taken for Vacancies, Bulls, Graces, Diſpenſations, and Expeditions: and therefore, by the Counſel of his Princes, he did forbid to diſpatch Couriers to *Rome*, and to anſwer Money, or Gold, or Silver not coyned, by way of Bank, for Benefices, or other Graces and Diſpenſations, upon pain of Confiſcation, as well for Eccleſiaſticks as Seculars, and theſe to be puniſhed corporally beſides, giving the Promoters a Third of the Confiſcation. This *Manifeſt* was enrolled in Parliament; with a propoſition of the Attorney General of the King, in which he ſaid, That it was no new thing, but uſed by *Charles* the Sixth, *Lewes* the Eleventh, and *Lewes* the Twelfth, and was conformable to the Common Law, That Money ſhould not be carried to the Enemy, and that it would be a hard caſe, if with the Money of *France*, War ſhould be made againſt the King, and that it was better for the Subjects of the Kingdom to keep their Money, and not care for Diſpenſations, which were not able to ſecure the Conſcience, and are nothing but a ſhadow caſt before the Eyes of men, which cannot hide the Truth from *God*.

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It could not be endured, neither at *Rome*, nor in *Trent*, that the King ſhould ſolemnly proteſt and make War againſt the Pope, and ſtill ſay, that he bare the ſame reverence toward the Apoſtolick See, which is nothing but the Pope. Whereunto the *French-men* anſwered, That Antiquity had not this Opinion; yea, *Victor* the Third, who was one of the Popes that aſſumed much, ſaid, that the Apoſtolick See was his Miſtreſs. The ſame was ſaid before him by *Stephen* the Fourth, and by *Vitalianus* and *Conſtantinus*, who were more ancient, it plainly appeareth, that by the Apoſtolick See is underſtood the Church of *Rome*; for if the Pope were the ſame thing, his Errors and Defects would be of the Apoſtolick See.

What the Apoſtolick See is.

The *French* King, fearing that by his diſſention with the Pope, thoſe that deſired change of Religion, would make ſome innovation, which might prove ſeditious, or that himſelf might come into the bad Opinion of his People, as if his Mind were averſe from the Catholick Faith, and perhaps to open a way for reconciliation with *Rome*, he made a moſt ſevere Edict againſt the *Lutherans*, confirming all the others which he had publiſhed before, adding greater puniſhments, more ways to diſcover the guilty, and greater rewards to the promoters.

The *French* King waxeth more ſevere againſt the Proteſtants.

The Emperour, conſidering that the *French* King, in regard of the Number of the *French* Cardinals, and other Dependants of that Crown, had no leſs Power in the Colledge than himſelf, and being combined with the *Farneſi*, did far exceed him, though he had the Pope of his ſide, ſent to *Rome Don John Manriques*, to perſwade his Holineſs to create new Cardinals, to exceed, or equallize the Number of the *French*. The Pope was enclined hereunto; yet he ſaw what difficulty there was, his Papacy being new, and exhauſted, and in time of ſtirs, when it is hard to have the conſent of all the Cardinals; and to create them without conſent was dangerous. He was doubtful, whether to make many at once, or by little and little. He thought he ſhould ſooner obtain conſent for this ſecond courſe, and that his truſty friends would remain in hope, and that the Cardinals would more oppoſe a numerous promotion, and thoſe that were excluded would deſpair. He doubted whether it were fit to create any of the Prelates of the Council; becauſe there were many that deſerved well, and the Three Electors were

not

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not be to paſſed over, eſpecially the Elector of *Mentz* who thought of it. On the other ſide, to ſend Red Caps to the Council, he thought would move Envy. He reſolved not to expect *Chriſtmas*, when all come forth with their pretenſions, and the places of common meetings are full of Wagers, but to execute this buſineſs ſome day before upon the ſudden; though afterwards he found no fit time to create them, but *Chriſtmaſs*.

But to return to *Trent*, the Second of *September*, the day following the Seſſion, a General Congregation was made, and, in it, Fathers deputed to frame the Articles of the *Euchariſt*, to be given to Divines, and to collect the Abuſes in that matter. Afterwards they diſcourſed of the Reformation; which becauſe it was to take away the Cauſe why Biſhops do not reſide, many were repeated, ſome propoſed before in *Trent* and *Bolonia*, and ſome then firſt ſpoken of. Finally, they inſiſted upon Juriſdiction; ſaying, That the Biſhops were wholly deprived of it, partly by Avocation of Cauſes, and partly by Appeals, but eſpecially by Exemptions: yea, that more often Juriſdiction was exerciſed over and againſt them by their Subjects, either by ſpecial Commiſſion from *Rome*, or by Vertue of *Conſervatories*, than by them over their Subjects. And Fathers were elected to frame the Articles concerning this matter. The Preſidents, conſidering the Pope's Inſtruction to avoid dangerous Contentions among the Divines, and their unintelligible Diſputes, in which they grow bitter, and alſo their Confuſion in ſpeaking, they gave out the Articles framed, which they were to begin to handle on *Tueſday* after Dinner, and there added the Manner and Order to be held in the Congregations, much limited, which did compel them to ſpeak ſoberly. The Articles were Ten; drawn from the Doctrine of the *Zuinglians* and *Lutherans*. 1. That in the Euchariſt, the Body, Blood, and Divinity of *Chriſt* is not truly, but as in a ſign. 2. That *Chriſt* is not given to be eaten Sacramentally, but Spiritually, and by Faith. 3. That in the Euchariſt there is the Body and Blood of *Chriſt*, but together with the Subſtance of the Bread and Wine; ſo that there is no *Tranſubſtantiation*, but an Hypoſtatical Union of the Humanity, and of the Subſtances of the Bread and Wine; ſo that it may be truly ſaid, This Bread is the Body of *Chriſt*, and this Wine is the Blood of *Chriſt*. 4. That the Euchariſt is only for remiſſion of ſins. 5. That *Chriſt* ought not to be worſhipped in the Euchariſt, nor honoured in Feaſts, nor carried in Proceſſion, nor to the ſick; and that the Worſhippers are truly Idolaters. 6. That the Euchariſt ought not to be ſaved, but ſpent, and diſtributed immediately; and that he that doth not ſo, doth abuſe this Sacrament; and that it is not lawful for any to give the Communion to himſelf. 7. That in the Particles which remain after the Communion, the Body of our *Lord* doth not remain, but only while it is received, and neither before nor after. 8. That it is *de jure divino*, to give both kinds to the People and Children, and that they ſin who force them to uſe one only. 9. That ſo much is not contained under one, as under both; neither doth he receive ſo much, who communicateth with one, as he that doth communicate with both. 10. That only Faith is a ſufficient preparation to receive the Euchariſt; neither is Confeſſion neceſſary, but free, eſpecially to the Learned; neither are men bound to communicate at *Eaſter*.

Ten Articles concerning the Euchariſt are propoſed to be diſcuſſed bythe Divines.

After theſe Articles a Precept was added, in this form: That the Divines ought to confirm their Opinions with the Holy Scripture;

Who are preſcribed an order how they ſhall proceed.

Tradi-

Traditions of the Apoſtles, ſacred and approved Councils, and by the Conſtitutions and Authorities of the Holy Fathers; that they ought to uſe Brevity, and avoid ſuperfluous and unprofitable Queſtions, and perverſe Contentions. That this ſhall be the order of ſpeaking amongſt them; firſt, thoſe that are ſent by the Pope are to ſpeak, then thoſe that are ſent by the Emperour; and, in the Third place, the Secular Divines, according to the Order of their Promotions; and laſtly, the Regulars, according to the precedency of their Orders. And the Legate and Preſidents, by the Apoſtolick Authority granted them, gave Faculty and Authority to the Divines, who are to ſpeak, to have and read all prohibited Books, that they may find out the Truth, and confute and impugn falſe Opinions. This Order did not pleaſe the *Italian* Divines; who ſaid, it was a Novity, and a condemning of School-Divinity, which, in all Difficulties, uſeth Reaſon, and becauſe it was not lawful to treat as S. *Thomas*, S. *Bonaventure*, and other famous men did. The other Doctrine which is called poſitive, and conſiſteth in collecting the Sayings of the Scriptures and Fathers, was only a Faculty of the Memory, and a pains in writing, and was old, but known to be unſufficient, and unprofitable, by thoſe Doctors, who, for theſe Three Hundred and Fifty years have defended the Church; and that this was to yield the Victory to the *Lutherans*. For when the Point ſhall ſtand upon variety of reading, and memory, they will ever overcome, in regard they know many Tongues, and read divers Authors, whereunto he that will be a good Divine, cannot apply himſelf, who muſt exerciſe his Wit, and make himſelf able to weigh things, and not to number them. They complained, that this was to ſhame themſelves before the *Dutch* Divines, who, being accuſtomed to contend with the *Lutherans*, are exerciſed in this kind of Learning, which is not uſed in *Italy*; who, if they were to ſpeak according to true Theology, it would appear they knew nothing: But the Preſidents, being willing to pleaſe them, have done this ſhame to the *Italians*. Though many complained hereof, yet it prevailed but little, becauſe generally the Fathers deſired to hear men ſpeak with intelligible Terms, not abſtruſely, as in the matter of Juſtification, and others already handled. And it is certain, that this Order did facilitate the Expedition.

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Which doth diſpleaſe the *Italian* Divines.

In divers Congregations all the Voices were comfortable. For the firſt Article, that it ſhould be condemned for heretical, as formerly it had been. In the ſecond there were Three Opinions. Some ſaid, it was to be omitted, for that no Heretick doth deny the Sacramental Communion. Others held it only for ſuſpected; and ſome would have delivered it in clearer Terms. The common Opinion was, that the Third was heretical; but that it was not fit to condemn, or ſpeak of it, becauſe it was an Opinion invented by *Robertus Tuicienſis*, more than Four Hundred years ſince, and never followed by any; therefore to ſpeak of it, would (contrary to the Precept of the Wiſe Man) move the evil, which, being quiet, hurted not. They added, that the Council was aſſembled againſt the modern Hereſies, and therefore that they were not to take pains in the old. Concerning the Fourth Article, there were divers Opinions. Some ſaid, that the word, *only*, being taken away, the Opinion was Catholick, to ſay, that the Euchariſt is for the remiſſion of ſins; and that Word was not put by any of the Hereticks; and therefore they thought this Article might be omitted. Some ſaid, it was heretical, though the Word *only* were removed, becauſe the Sacrament of the Euchariſt is not inſtituted for the remiſſion of ſins.

Opinions are delivered concerning the Articles.

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In the fifth, all agreed, and many Amplifications were uſed to perſwade the Worſhip, and many new ways propoſed to enlarge it, as the Devotion of every one had found out. Likewiſe they all agreed in the ſixth, except in the laſt part; That is, That it is not lawful to give the Communion to himſelf. Some ſaid, That it being underſtood of the Laicks, it was Catholick; and therefore it muſt be expreſſed, that it is to be condemned only in regard of the Prieſts. Others ſaid, That neither in regard of theſe it was to be condemned for heretical, becauſe in the ſixth Council, the hundred and one Chapter, it was not condemned. Others would, that, for the Laicks alſo, the caſe of neceſſity ſhould be excluded. In the Seventh, all poured themſelves out into Invectives againſt the modern Proteſtants, as Inventors of a wicked Opinion, never heard of before in the Church. Upon the Eighth, all made long Diſcourſes, though all to the ſame purpoſe. Their principal Reaſons to condemn it, were, becauſe our Saviour in the Four and Twentieth of *S. Luke*, did bleſs the Bread only to the Two Diſciples: and becauſe, in the *Lord's Prayer*, we ask our daily Bread; and becauſe, in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*, in the Second, and Twentieth Chapters, Bread only is ſpoken of, and Saint *Paul* in the Ship, in the Seven and Twentieth, bleſſed nothing but the Bread. Authorities of the ancient Doctors, and ſome Examples of the Fathers were brought, but they grounded themſelves principally upon the Council of *Conſtance*, and the Cuſtom of the Church, as alſo upon divers Figures of the *Old Teſtament*, and drew many Prophecies alſo to this ſenſe. And, concerning the Children, all agreed, that perhaps it might formerly be done by ſome particular Man, but was, by all others, known to be an Error. In the Ninth Article, the firſt part, That as much is not contained under one *Species* as under both, was thought to be heretical, by the *Dutch* Divines; but the *Italians* ſaid, it muſt be diſtinguiſhed, before it could be condemned. For if it were underſtood in reſpect of the Virtue of the Conſecration, it is clear, that under the Bread there is the Body only, and under the Wine the Blood only; but by conſequence, which the Divines call *Concomitancy*, under the Bread there is the Blood, Soul, and Divinity; and under the Wine, there is the Body, and the other things; and therefore it is not to be condemned in ſo general Terms. But for the Second, That as much is received by one as by both, there was a difference; for many did think, that although no more of the Sacrament, yet more Grace was received; ſo that they did deſire a Declaration herein. In the Tenth, ſome would have the firſt part expounded of dead Faith, becauſe there is no doubt but that a lively Faith is ſufficient. For the neceſſity of Confeſſion, the *Dominicans* conſidered, that many Learned and Holy Catholicks held that Opinion; ſo that to condemn that, would be to condemn them. Others propoſed, for a Temper, That it ſhould not be condemned as heretical, but as pernicious. Some would have this Condition added, if there were Commodity for a Confeſſor. The laſt part, for communicating at *Eaſter*, it not being commanded by the Law of GOD, but by the Church only, the common Opinion was, That it ought not to be condemned for heretical, it being a thing not heard of, That one ſhould be condemned of Hereſie, for not approving a particular Humane Precept. Many Divines did propoſe another Article alſo, taken out of the Writings of *Luther*, which was neceſſary to condemn. And it was this: That although there was a neceſſity to recite the Words of *CHRIST*, yet they are not the Cauſe of the Preſence of

of *Chriſt* in the Sacrament, but the Cauſe is, the Faith of him who receiveth it. 1551

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After all the Divines had ſpoken, the deputed Fathers did collect Seven *Anathematiſms*, out of their Opinions, which being propoſed in the general Congregation, it was firſt of all conſidered, that it was not fit to paſs over the matter with *Anathematiſms* only; that this was not to teach, but only to confirm; that the ancient Councils had not done ſo, which always had expounded the Catholick Opinion, and then condemned the contrary; that the ſame ſucceeded well to this Council, in the matter of Juſtification; and although it was forced, in the Seſſion of the Sacraments, to change this courſe, for urgent reſpects, yet that was rather to be imitated which was then done by Reaſon, than that which was after changed by neceſſity. This Opinion was cheriſhed by the *Italian* Divines, who ſaw there was but one way to regain their Reputation loſt. For as the *Dutch* and *Flemmiſh* Divines were of ability to prove the Concluſions by Authorities, ſo to expound them, and find their Cauſes, there was need of School-Divinity, in which themſelves were well ſeen. This Opinion did prevail; and Order was given, That the Heads of Doctrine ſhould be framed, and Fathers deputed to ſee it done. The Heads were reduced to the Number of Eight. Of the Real Preſence. Of the Inſtitution. Of the Excellency. Of Tranſubſtantiation. Of Worſhip. Of Preparation to receive the Sacrament. Of the Uſe of the Cup, in the Communion of the Laity. Of the Communion of Children. It was propoſed alſo to make a Collection of the Abuſes which did occur, and to add the Remedies. Then, in that Congregation, and ſome of thoſe that followed, the Fathers began to ſpeak their Opinion concerning the Seven *Anathematiſms:* wherein nothing remarkable was ſaid, but that, in condemning thoſe who confeſſed not the Real Preſence of the Lord's Body, many deſired that the Canon ſhould be more fat and pregnant (for ſo their Words were:) That, in the Euchariſt, there is the Body of *Jeſus Chriſt*, the ſame which was born of the *Virgin*, did ſuffer on the Croſs, was buried, raiſed, and aſcended into Heaven, ſitteth on the right hand of God, and ſhall come to Judgment. And ſome of them called to mind, that there wanted one very important Point; that is, to declare, that the Miniſter of this Sacrament is the Prieſt, lawfully ordained. Which they did, becauſe *Luther* and his Followers do often ſay, That every Chriſtian may do it, even a Woman.

Out of which 7 *Anathematiſms* are compoſed.

Eight Heads of Doctrine are propoſed to be diſcuſſed.

But the Earl of *Montfort*, perceiving that they treated of a matter much controverſed, eſpecially of the Communion of the Cup, which was the moſt palpable, popular, and beſt underſtood by all, he thought, that, if that were determined, the Proteſtants would never be induced to come to the Council, and all the labour would be in vain. And having imparted this to his Colleagues, and the Ambaſſadors of *Ferdinand*, they went all together to the Preſidents, to whom, when they had ſhewed what pains *Cæſar* had taken, both in War, and in the Negotiation, to make the Proteſtants ſubmit to the Council, which they would never do, if they went not thither, they ſhewed, that they ought to apply themſelves principally to this; and, to that end, the Emperour had given them a Safe-Conduct. But they were not contented with it, alledging, that it was decreed in the Council of *Conſtance*, and really executed, that the Council is not bound by the Safe-Conduct of any, whatſoever he be; and therefore they required one from the Synod, which was promiſed to them by *Cæſar*, who gave charge to them, his Ambaſſadors, to obtain it of the Council. Whereunto

The Ambaſſadors of the Emperour and *Ferdinand* diſſwade the diſcuſſion of the Communion under one kind.

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the Legate making a very complemental Anſwer, and referring himſelf to the Seſſion which ſhould be held, to gain time, that he might give an Account thereof to *Rome*, the Earl added, That for the ſame cauſe, he thought it not fit, that, before their coming, the controverſed Points of the *Euchariſt* ſhould be handled; That there wanted not matters of Reformation to be treated on, or others, in which there was no difference. The Legate anſwered, That it was reſolved long ago to handle the *Euchariſt*; neither could it be altered, becauſe it was concluded before, That the Decrees of Faith and Reformation ſhould go hand in hand, and that the matter of the *Euchariſt* did follow that of Reformation, which was handled laſt, before they went to *Bolonia*. But he ſaid, That this was more controverſed with the *Zuinglian Suiſſes*, than with the Proteſtants, who are not Sacramentaries; as thoſe. The Count ſpake of the Communion of the Cup, and ſaid, That if that Point were decided againſt them, which is underſtood by all the People, and a thing whereon they ſtand moſt, it was impoſſible to reduce them. That *Cæſar* alſo, in the Decree of the *Inter-religion*, was forced to yield in this, and therefore deſired that they would be pleaſed to defer it until the coming of the Proteſtants. The Legate did not refuſe, but paſſed it over with general and unconcluding Words, that he might firſt underſtand the Pope's Mind, unto whom he gave an account of whatſoever was handled by the Divines, and of the *Anathematiſms* framed, and of that which was diſcourſed in matter of Reformation (whereof we will ſpeak hereafter;) and then he gave Advice of the Two Requeſts of the Emperour's Ambaſſadors deſiring an Anſwer.

The Legate giveth the Pope an account of all.

Who cauſeth a conſultation to be held.

The Pope put theſe things in Conſultation; and, for the ſafe-conduct, found Variety of Opinions. Some would not have it given, alledging, that it was never done but by the Council of *Baſil*, which was not to be imitated in any thing; and that it was a great prejudice to bind themſelves to Rebels, though any thing might be endured, if there were hope to gain them; but there was none at all: yea, rather, inſtead of that, there was Reaſon to fear that ſome would be perverted, as *Vergerius* was, though not wholly, yet in ſome part; from which Contagion the moſt principal Prelates, and the moſt obliged to the Holy See, have not been exempted. On the other ſide it was ſaid, That, not out of hope to convert, but to leave them without excuſe, it was fit to give them all ſatisfaction; but the rather, becauſe the Emperour, for his own Intereſts, had made greater inſtance, whom it was neceſſary to pleaſe now, becauſe, *France* being aliened, they were wholly to depend on him: and it was better to prevent, and do that willingly, which of neceſſity was to be done. And, concerning the Prejudices, it might be made in ſuch a form, that it ſhould not bind at all, or very little. Firſt, by not deſcending to name the Proteſtants, but in general, the Eccleſiaſticks and Seculars of the *German* Nation, of every Condition. For ſo, under the general Words, it may be ſaid, they are comprehended, or, that it is underſtood of the Catholicks only, and not of them; alledging, that, for them, a ſpecial and expreſs mention was neceſſary. Then the Synod may grant a ſafe-conduct for it ſelf, and the Pope's Authority will be reſerved. Then Judges, concerning Faults committed, may be deputed, and the Election left to them, to avoid Suſpicion. So that vigour of diſcipline, and authority of puniſhing would be retained, and no ſhew made of yielding or remitting any thing. This Opinion prevailed with the Pope, who, according to that

And anſwereth thus.

form,

Morone made a draught of the ſafe-conduct, and anſwered the Legate, commending his Wiſdom in the Anſwers he had given, reſolving that the ſafe-conduct ſhould be granted in the form he ſent him, and that the matter of the Cup ſhould be deferred, and the Proteſtants expected, but not above Three Months, or little more, not being idle in the mean while, but making a Seſſion between, to treat of Penance, which he would not have deferred above Forty days, or little more. He adverti ſed them alſo, that the Canons, in matter of the *Euchariſt*, were too full, and that it were better to divide them. 1551 *Edward VI Henry II.*

While they conſulted in *Rome*, in *Trent* they went on to handle the Points of Doctrine; wherein they proceeded as eaſily as before, in diſcuſſing the Articles. But when they came to expreſs the manner of Exiſtence, how *Chriſt* is in the Sacrament, and the *Tranſubſtantiation*, how the Body of *Chriſt* is made of the Bread, and the Blood of the Wine, it could not be treated on without Contention between the Two Schools, *Dominican*, and *Franciſcan*; which did much trouble the Fathers, by the ſubtilty and ſmall fruit thereof, themſelves not knowing how to explicate their own meaning. In ſum, the *Dominicans* would not have it ſaid, That Chriſt was in the *Euchariſt*, becauſe he went thither from another place where he was before, but, becauſe the Subſtance of the Bread is turned into his Body, the Body being in the place where the Bread was, without going thither; and becauſe all the Subſtance of the Bread is turned into all the Subſtance of the Body; That is, The matter of the Bread into the matter of the Body, and the form into the form, it is properly called *Tranſubſtantiation*. And therefore there are Two ſorts of the Exiſtence of *Chriſt* our Lord, both of them real, true, and ſubſtantial; one, as he is in Heaven, whither he aſcended, when he parted from the Earth, where he firſt converſed; the other, as he is in the Sacrament, in which he is, becauſe he is where the Subſtances of the Bread and Wine, converted into him, were firſt. The firſt Exiſtence is called Natural, becauſe it agreeth to all Bodies; the ſecond, as it is ſingular, ſo it cannot be expreſſed with any Name agreeing to others, nor can be called Sacramental, which were as much as to ſay, That it was not there really, but as in a Sign, the Sacrament being nothing but an Holy Sign, except by Sacramental, one would underſtand a real manner, proper to this Sacrament only. The *Franciſcans* would have it ſaid, That one Body may, by God's Omnipotency, be truly and ſubſtantially in many places; and when it doth get a new place, it is in it, becauſe it goeth thither, not by a ſucceſſive mutation, as when it leaveth the firſt place to get the ſecond, but in an inſtant, in which it gaineth the ſecond, without loſing the firſt; and that God hath ſo ordained, That where the Body of Chriſt is, there ſhould remain no other Subſtance, not by annihilation, becauſe the Subſtance of *Chriſt* ſucceedeth in place of it, and therefore it is truly called *Tranſubſtantiation*, not becauſe the one Subſtance is made of the other, as the *Dominicans* ſay, but for that the one doth ſucceed the other. The manner of *Chriſt's* being in Heaven, and in the Sacrament, differeth not in Subſtance, but in quantity only: becauſe in Heaven the Magnitude of the Body poſſeſſeth as much ſpace as is proportionable to it, and it is ſubſtantially in the Sacrament, without poſſeſſing any place. Therefore both ſorts are true, real, and ſubſtantial, and, in regard of the Subſtance, natural alſo: in reſpect of the quantity, the Exiſtence in Heaven is natural, and in the Sacrament miraculous; differing in this only, that in Heaven the quantity is truly a quan-

A Contention ariſeth between the *Franciſcans* and *Dominicans* concerning the Real Preſence.

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a quantity, and in the Sacrament, hath the Condition of a Subſtance. Either Party was ſo wedded to their own Opinion, that they affirmed it to be plain, clear, and intelligible to all, and oppoſed infinite Abſurdities againſt the other. The Elector of *Cullen*, who, with *Johannes Groperus*, was aſſiduous at the Diſputations, to underſtand this matter, in that which one Party oppoſed againſt the other, he gave a Reaſon to them both, in that which either of them affirmed, he ſaid, he deſired ſome probability, and that they ſhould ſpeak as underſtanding the matter, not, as they ſeemed to do, by Cuſtom and Habit of the Schools. Divers draughts were made by both ſides, to expreſs theſe Myſteries, and ſome were compoſed by taking ſomething from either Party. But none gave ſatisfaction, eſpecially to the *Nuncio Verona*, who was the principal Superintendent in this matter. It was determined in the general Congregation, to uſe as few Words as was poſſible, and to make an Expreſſion ſo univerſal, as might be accommodated to the meaning of both Parties: and the care hereof was committed to ſome Fathers and Theologues, with the Superintendency of the foreſaid *Nuncio*.

The Abuſes occurring therein are noted.

In the end of this Congregation, it was propoſed, that a Collection ſhould be made, of the Abuſes occurring in this matter, with Remedies againſt them, and, in the Congregations following, many were recounted. That in ſome particular Churches the Sacrament is not kept, and in others, is kept very undecently. That, when it is carried in the ſtreet, many do not kneel to it, and ſome ſcarce vouchſafe to put off their Caps. That, in ſome Churches, it is kept ſo long, that it becometh putrified. That in adminiſtring the holy Communion, great indecency is uſed by ſome Pariſh-Prieſts, who have not ſo much as a Cloth, for him that communicateth, to hold in his Hand. That, (which is of moſt importance) the Communicants do not know what they receive, nor are inſtructed of the Dignity and Fruit of this Sacrament. That Concubinaries, Concubines, and other enormous ſinners, and many who know not the *Pater noſter*, and *Ave Maria*, are admitted to the Communion. That Money is demanded at the Communion in the Name of Alms; and, which is worſe, there is an Uſe in *Rome*, that he who is to communicate, doth hold a burning Candle in his Hand, with Money ſticking in it, which, together with the Candle, after the Communion, remaineth to the Prieſt; and he that beareth not a Candle, is not admitted to the Communion. To remedy part of theſe, and other Abuſes, five Canons were made, which had a fair Proheme. In which it was conſtituted, That the Sacrament being lifted up on the Altar, or carried by the way, every one ſhould kneel, and uncover his Head. That the Sacrament ſhould be kept in every Pariſh-Church, and renewed every fifteen days, and have a Lamp burning before it Night and Day. That it be carried to the Sick, by the Prieſt, in an honourable Habit, and always with light. That the Curates teach the People, what Grace is received in this Sacrament, and execute againſt them the Penalties of the Chapt. *Omnis utriuſq; ſexus*. That the Ordinaries ſhould have care of the Execution, chaſtiſing the Tranſgreſſors with Arbitrary Puniſhments, beſides thoſe which are ſet down by *Innocentius* the Third, in the Chapt. *Statuimus*, and by *Honorius* the Third, in the Chapt. *Sane*.

And five Canons made to redreſs them.

The Reformation was handled, at the ſame time, when there was diſputation in matter of Faith, but by other Congregations, in which the Canoniſts did aſſiſt; which diſcuſſions, not to interrupt the matter, I have brought all together to this place. And becauſe the purpoſe was

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to form the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, this place requireth (for the underſtanding of what will be ſaid upon this, and many other occaſions hereafter) that the Original ſhould be declared, and how, being mounted to ſo great power, it became ſuſpected to Princes, and terrible to the People. *Chriſt* having commanded his Apoſtles to preach the Goſpel, and adminiſter the Sacraments, he left alſo to them, in perſon of all the Faithful, this principal Precept, To love one another, charging them to make peace between thoſe that diſſented; and for the laſt Remedy, giving the care thereof to the Body of the Church, promiſing it ſhould be bound and looſed in Heaven, whatſoever they did bind and looſe on Earth; and whatſoever Two did ask, with a common conſent, ſhould be granted by the Father. In this charitable Office to give ſatisfaction to the offended, and pardon to the Offender, the Primitive Church was always exerciſed. And, in conformity of this, Saint *Paul* ordained, That Brothers, having Civil Suits one againſt another, ſhould not go to the Tribunals of the Infidels, but that wiſe men ſhould be appointed to judge the Differences; and this was a kind of Civil Judgment, as the other had a ſimilitude of a Criminal; but were both ſo different from the Judgments of the World, that as theſe are executed by power of the Judge, who enforceth Submiſſion, ſo thoſe only by the will of the guilty, to receive them, who refuſing them, the Eccleſiaſtical Judge remaineth without Execution, and hath no power, but to foreſhew the Judgment of God, which, according to his Omnipotent good pleaſure, will follow, in this life, or the next.

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And indeed, the Eccleſiaſtical Judgment did deſerve the Name of Charity, in regard, that it only did induce the guilty to ſubmit, and the Church to judge with ſuch ſincerity, that neither in the one any bad effect could have place, nor juſt complaint in the other; and the exceſs of Charity in correcting, did make the Corrector to feel greater pain than the Corrected; ſo that, in the Church, no Puniſhment was impoſed, without great lamentation of the multitude, and greater of the better ſort. And this was the Cauſe why to correct, was called to *lament*. So Saint *Paul*, rebuking the *Corinthians*, for not chaſtiſing the inceſtuous, ſaid, *You have not lamented to ſeparate ſuch a Tranſgreſſor from you.* And in another Epiſtle, I fear that when I come unto you, I ſhall not find you ſuch as I deſire, but in Contentions and Tumults, and that at my coming, I ſhall *lament* many of thoſe who have ſinned before. The Judgment of the Church (as is neceſſary in every multitude) was fit that it ſhould be conducted by one, who ſhould preſide, and guide the Action, propoſe the matters, and collect the Points to be conſulted on. This care, due to the moſt principal, and worthy Perſon, was always committed to the Biſhop. And where the Churches were many, the Propoſitions and Deliberations were made by the Biſhop, firſt, in the Colledge of the Prieſts and Deacons, which they called the Presbytery, and there were repined, to receive afterwards the laſt reſolution in the general Congregation of the Church. This form was ſtill on foot in the Year Two Hundred and Fifty, and is plainly ſeen by the Epiſtles of *Cyprian*, who in the matter concerning thoſe who did eat of Meats offered to Idols, and ſubſcribe to the Religion of the *Gentiles*, writeth to the Presbytery, That he doth not think to do any thing without their Counſel, and conſent of the People; and writeth to the People, That, at his return, he will examine the Cauſes, and Merits thereof, in their Preſence, and under their Judgment; and he wrote to thoſe Prieſts, who, of their own

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A diſcourſe of the Author concerning Epiſcopal Juriſdiction.

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own brain, had reconciled ſome, that they ſhould give an account to the people.

The Goodneſs and Charity of the Biſhops, made their Opinion for the moſt part to be followed, and by little and little, was Cauſe that the Church, Charity waxing cold, not regarding the Charge laid upon them by *Chriſt*, did leave the care to the Biſhop; and Ambition, a witty Paſſion, which doth inſinuate it ſelf in the ſhew of Virtue, did cauſe it to be readily embraced. But the principal Cauſe of the Change was the ceaſing of Perſecutions. For then the Biſhops did erect, as it were, a Tribunal, which was much frequented; becauſe as Temporal Commodities, ſo Suits did encreaſe. The Judgment, though it were not as the former, in regard of the form, to determine all by the Opinion of the Church, yet it was of the ſame ſincerity. Whereupon *Conſtantine*, ſeeing how profitable it was to determine Cauſes, and that, by the Authority of Religion, captious Actions were diſcovered, which the Judges could not penetrate, made a Law, That there ſhould lye no Appeal from the Sentences of Biſhops, which ſhould be executed by the Secular Judges: and if in a Cauſe depending before a Secular Tribunal, in any ſtate thereof, either of the parties, though the other contradict, ſhall demand the Epiſcopal Judgment, the cauſe ſhall be immediately remitted unto him.

Here the Tribunal of the Biſhop began to be a common pleading-place, having Execution by the Miniſtry of the Magiſtrate, and to gain the Name of Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, Epiſcopal Audience, and ſuch like. The Emperour *Valence* did enlarge it, who, in the year 365. gave the Biſhops the Care over all the Prices of vendible things. This judicial Negotiation pleaſed not the good Biſhops. *Poſſidonius*, doth recount that *Auſtin*, being employed herein, ſometimes until Dinner-time, ſometimes longer, was wont to ſay, That it was a trouble, and did divert him from the things proper unto him; and himſelf writeth, That it was to leave things profitable, and to attend things tumultuous and perplexed. And S. *Paul* did not take it to himſelf, as being not fit for a Preacher, but would have it given to others. Afterwards ſome Biſhops, beginning to abuſe the Authority given them by the Law of *Conſtantine*, that Law was Seventy years after revoked by *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, and an Ordination made, That they ſhould judge Cauſes of Religion, and not Civil, except both Parties did conſent, and declared, that they ſhould not be thought to have a Court. Which Law being not much obſerved in *Rome*, in regard of the great power of the Biſhop, *Valentinian* being in the City, in that Year 452. did renew it, and made it to be put in execution. But a little after, ſome part of the Power taken away was reſtored by the Princes that followed; ſo that *Juſtinian* did eſtabliſh unto them a Court, and Audience, and aſſigned to them the Cauſes of Religion, the Eccleſiaſtical Faults of the Clergy, and divers voluntary Juriſdictions alſo over the Laity. By theſe degrees the charitable Correction, inſtituted by *Chriſt*, did degenerate into domination, and made Chriſtians loſe their ancient Reverence and Obedience. It is denied in Words, that Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction is Dominion, as is the Secular, yet one knoweth not how to put a difference between them. But S. *Paul* did put it, when he wrote to *Timothy*, and repeated it to *Titus*, That a Biſhop ſhould not be greedy of gain, nor a ſtriker. Now on the contrary, they make men pay for Proceſſes, and impriſon the Parties, as is done in the Secular Court.

But the *Weſtern* Countries being ſeparated, and an Empire made of *Italy*

Italy, *France*, and *Germany*, and a Kingdom of *Spain*, in theſe Four Provinces, the Biſhops, for the moſt part, were made Counſellors of the Prince, which, by the mixture of Spiritual and Temporal Charges, cauſed their Juriſdiction to encreaſe exceedingly. Before 200 years were paſt, they pretended abſolutely all Judicature, Criminal and Civil, over the Clergy, and, in ſome things, over the Laity alſo, pretending that the Cauſe was Eccleſiaſtical. Beſides this kind of Judicature, they invented another, which they called mixt, in which the Magiſtrate, or the Biſhop might proceed againſt the Secular, which of them took the Cauſe in hand firſt; whereby in regard of their exquiſite diligence, never leaving place to the Secular, they appropriated all unto themſelves; and thoſe which remained out of ſo great a Number, were comprehended in the end by a general Rule, eſtabliſhed by them, as a ground of Faith, that every Cauſe is devolved to the Eccleſiaſtical Court, if the Magiſtrate will not, or neglect to do Juſtice. But if the pretenſions of the Clergy were contained within theſe bounds, the ſtate of Chriſtian Common-wealths were tolerable. The People and Princes, when they ſaw it mount to theſe unſupportable Terms, might with Laws and Statutes have brought the Judgments to a ſufferable form, as formerly upon occaſion hath been done. But that which put Chriſtendom under the yoke, took from it, in the end, all means to ſhake it from the Neck. For after the year 1050. all the Cauſes of the Clergy being appropriated to the Biſhops, and very many of the Laity, under Title of Spirituality, and almoſt all the reſt under the Name of a mixt Judicature, and placing themſelves above Secular Magiſtrates, upon pretence of Juſtice denied, they came to ſay, That the Biſhop had that Power to judge, not by the Grant or Connivency of Princes, or by the Will of the People, or by Cuſtom, but that it was eſſential to the Epiſcopal Dignity, and given to it by *Chriſt*,

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And though the Laws of the Emperours remain in the *Codes* of *Theodoſius* and *Juſtinian*, in the *Capitulars of Charles* the Great, and *Lewis* the *Deboneere*, and others of later Princes of the *Eaſt* and *Weſt*, which do all ſhew plainly, how, when, and by whom this Power hath been granted, and all Stories, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Prophane, do agree in declaring the ſame Grants and Cuſtoms, adding the Reaſons and Cauſes, yet ſo notorious a Truth hath not had ſuch Power, but that a contrary Affirmation only, without any Proof, hath been able to overcome it; which the Canoniſts have ſo far maintained, as to publiſh thoſe for Hereticks who do not ſuffer themſelves to be hood-winkt. And not ſtaying here they add, That neither the Magiſtrate, nor the Prince himſelf, can meddle in any of thoſe Cauſes which the Clergy hath appropriated, becauſe they are Spiritual, and of Spiritual Things the Laicks are uncapable. Yet the Light of Truth was not ſo put out, but that learned and godly men, in thoſe firſt Times, did oppoſe that Doctrine, ſhewing, that both the Premiſes of that Diſcourſe were falſe, and that the Major; that is, that the Laicks are uncapable of Spiritual things, was abſurd, and impious. For they are adopted by the heavenly Father, called the Sons of God, Brothers of *Chriſt*, Partakers of the Kingdom of Heaven, made worthy of Divine Grace, of Baptiſm, and of the Communion of the Fleſh of *Chriſt*. What other Spiritual things are there beſide theſe? And if there were, how can he, who is Partaker of theſe, which are the chiefeſt, be ſaid abſolutely, in general Terms, to be uncapable of Spiritual things? But they ſaid, that the Minor was falſe alſo, that Cauſes appropriated to the Epiſcopal Judicature are

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ſpiritual. For all either delicts or contracts: which, conſidering the Qualities, given by the Holy Scripture to ſpiritual things, are as far from being ſuch, as Earth is from Heaven. But the oppoſition of the better part could not overcome the greater, and ſo, upon the Spiritual Power, given by *Chriſt* to the Church, to bind and looſe, and upon the Inſtitution of Saint *Paul*, to compoſe Contentions between Chriſtians, without going to the Tribunal of Infidels, in much time, and by many Degrees, a Temporal Tribunal hath been built, more remarkable than ever was any in the World, and in the midſt of every Civil Government another inſtituted, not depending on the Publick, which is ſuch a kind of Common-wealth, as not one of as many as have written of Governments would have imagined could ſubſiſt. I will omit to ſpeak how the Pains of ſo many, beſides the obtaining of the wiſhed end, to make themſelves independent of the Publick, have, before they were aware, raiſed an Empire, there being a more difficult Opinion ſprung up, taking root with admirable progreſs, which giveth to the Pope of *Rome*, as much at once, as hath, in 1300. years, been gained by ſo many Biſhops, by ſuch extraordinary means, not making the Power to bind and looſe, the Foundation of Juriſdiction, but the Power of feeding; and ſo affirming, that all Juriſdiction was given the Pope by *Chriſt*, in the Perſon of *Peter*, when he ſaid to him, *Feed my ſheep*. For ſo it will be ſaid in the Third Reduction of the Council, when great Tumults were raiſed by this Opinion, which ſhall then be recounted. But by that which hath been now declared, every one may of himſelf, conceive what Remedies were neceſſary, to give a tolerable form to a matter broken out into ſo great Corruptions, and compare them with theſe that were propoſed.

A Diſcourſe of *Johannes Groperus* concerning Appeals.

In *Trent* there were Two Defects conſidered; That is, that the Charity of the Superiours was turned into Domination, and the Obedience of the Inferiours into Complaints, Subterfuges, and Lamentations; and they firſt thought of providing, in ſome ſort, againſt them both. But in proſecuting the firſt, which is the Fountain from whence the ſecond is derived, they uſed only an exhortatory Remedy to the Prelates to take away Domination, and reſtore Charity. And for the Inferiours, many Subterfuges, being mentioned to delude Juſtice, Three Heads only were taken, *Appeals*, Abſolutory Graces, and Complaints againſt the Judges. *Johannes Groperus*, who aſſiſted in that Council as a Divine and a Lawyer, ſpake honourably of *Appeals*, and ſaid, That while the Heat of Faith remained in the Breaſts of Chriſtians, *Appeals* were not heard of. But Charity in the Judges waxing cold, and place being given to Paſſion, they entred into the Church, for the ſame Reaſons which brought them into the Secular Courts; that is, for the eaſe of the oppreſſed. And as the firſt Judicatures belonged not to the Biſhop only, but to him with the Council of his Prieſts, ſo the *Appeal* was not devolved unto one man, but unto another Congregation. But the Biſhops, taking away the Synods, did inſtitute Courts and Officers, like the Seculars. Neither did the miſchief ſtop there, but paſſed to greater Abuſes than in the Secular Court. For there the firſt *Appeal* is only to be to immediate Superiour; neither is it lawful to leap to the higheſt, nor permitted, in the Articles of the Cauſe, to appeal from the Decrees of the Judge, which they call Interlocutories, but it is neceſſary to expect the end. But in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts one may appeal from every Act, which maketh the Cauſes infinite, and immediately to the higheſt Judge, which carried them out of the Countries, with great charges,

char and other intolerable miſchiefs. This he ſaid, he did declare, to conclude, that if they would reform this matter, which is wholly corrupted, and doth not only hinder Reſidency, as in the Congregations of ſo many worthy Doctors and Fathers was conſidered, but corrupteth the whole Diſcipline, and is a Grievance, Charge, and Scandal to the People, it was fit to reduce it to its beginning, or as near to it as might be, ſetting a perfect *Idea* before their Eyes, and aiming at that, to come as nigh to it, as the Corruption of the matter doth comport. That the well inſtituted Monaſtical Religions have forbidden all Appeal; that this is the true Remedy. He that hath not been able to go ſo high, hath moderated them, granting them within their Order, and forbidding them without; which ſucceeding well, as appeareth, to keep thoſe Governments in order, it would work the ſame effect in the publick Governments of the Church, if the Appeals were confined within the ſame Province. And to effect this, and to bridle the Malice of the Litigants, it is ſufficient to reduce them to the form of the Common Laws, forbidding the *Leap*; that is, to go to the higheſt without paſſing by the intermediate Superiors; and by forbidding *Appeals* from the Articles, or the Interlocutory Decrees: with which Proviſions, the Cauſes will not go far, will not be drawn in length, will not cauſe exceſſive Charges, and other innumerable Grievances; and, that the Sentences may paſs with ſincerity, to reſtore the Synodals, which are not ſubject to ſo great Corruptions, removing thoſe Officers by whom the World is ſo much ſcandalized, becauſe it is not poſſible that *Germany* ſhould endure them. 1551 *Julius* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI. *Henry* II.

This Opinion was not willingly heard, except by the *Spaniards* and *Dutch-men*. But the Cardinal and the *Nuncio* of *Siponto*, were diſpleaſed that he went ſo far. For this was to take away, not only the Profit of the Court, but the Honour alſo; no Cauſe would go to *Rome*, and by degrees, every one would forget the Superiority of the Pope, it being an ordinary thing with men, not to eſteem that Superiour, whoſe Authority is not feared, or cannot be uſed. Therefore they cauſed *John Baptiſta Caſtellus*, of *Bologna*, to ſpeak in the next Congregation, in the ſame matter, in ſuch ſort, as that without contradicting *Groperus*, the appearance, which the Reaſons alledged by him did make ſhould be darkened. He began with the Praiſes of the ancient Church, yet dexterouſly touching, that in thoſe ſame times, there were Imperfections, in ſome part greater, than in the preſent. He thanked God, that the Church was not oppreſſed, as when the *Arrians* did ſcarce ſuffer it to appear: and ſaid, That Antiquity ought not ſo to be commended, as that ſomething in the latter Age may not be reputed better. Thoſe who praiſe the Synodal Judicature, have not ſeen their Defects, the infinite length in the Diſpatches, the Impediments in the diligent Examination, the Difficulty to inform ſo many, the Seditions made by the Factious: it is to be believed that they have been intermitted, becauſe they did not ſucceed well, and that the Courts and Officers have been brought in, to remedy thoſe Diſorders. It cannot be denied, that theſe have ſome that deſerve to be provided againſt; which is fit to do, without reſtoring that which was aboliſhed, becauſe it was intolerable. In *Appeals*, the Cuſtom was to paſs by the intermediate Superiours, and not, at the firſt, to leap to the higheſt; which was taken away, becauſe the Governors of Provinces and Countries, were become Tyrants over the Church; and for a Remedy, all buſineſſes were carried to *Rome*. This hath its Inconveniences, the great diſtance of place, and charge; but they

In oppoſition whereof, *Johannes Baptiſta Caſtellus* maketh another diſcourſe by direction of the Preſidents.

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are more tolerable than oppreſſion. He that would reduce the ſame Cuſtom, ſhould find, that inſtead of redreſſing one Evil he ſhould cauſe many, and every one greater. But above all it muſt be conſidered, that the ſame publick thing muſt not always be ordered in one manner, but as time hath mutations, ſo it is fit to change the Government. The ancient manner of governing will not be profitable, except the ancient ſtate of the Church do return. He that ſeeing how Children are governed, and how the liberty of eating and drinking any thing, at any time, is cauſe of health and ſtrength, ſhould think an old man might do ſo, would find himſelf much deceived. The Churches were little, compaſſed with *Pagans*, united amongſt themſelves, as being near the Enemy; now they are great, without any oppoſite to keep them in their Duty; whereupon the common things are neglected, and it is neceſſary they ſhould be cared for by one. If the Cauſes did continue in every Province, within a few years there would be ſuch Diverſity, that one would be contrary to another, and they would not ſeem to be of the ſame Faith and Religion. The Popes of *Rome* took not upon them in ancient times many parts of Government, when they ſaw it was good, but reſerved it to themſelves when it was abuſed by others. Many ſucceeding Popes were of holy Life and good Intention, who would have reſtored it, but that they ſaw, that in a corrupt matter it could not be well uſed. His Concluſion was, That to preſerve the Unity of the Church, it was neceſſary to leave things as they are.

Neither did this pleaſe the *Italian Prelates*, who would have the Pope's Authority preſerved, yet withal, ſomething reſtored to themſelves, eſpecially being to reſide; therefore they came to moderate the buſineſs. To reſtore Synodal Judicatures was rejected by almoſt all, becauſe it did diminiſh the Epiſcopal, and was too popular. To appeal by degrees, though it was maintained by many; yet it was excluded by Plurality of Voices. To appeal from the Definitives alone, was accommodated with a limitation, That it ſhould be only in Criminal Cauſes, others being left in the ſame ſtate, though perhaps they had more need to be reformed. For proceeding againſt the Perſons of the Biſhops, no man deſiring to facilitate the Judicature againſt himſelf, the reſtoring of it to Parochial Synods, unto which it did formerly belong, was not ſpoken of, but they deſired to provide that, it remaining in the Pope's hands, it ſhould paſs with greater Dignity of that Order, moderating the Commiſſions which came from *Rome*, by which they were forced to appear, and ſubmit themſelves to perſons of an inferiour rank. And this was ſo earneſtly deſired by all, that it was neceſſary for the Legate to yield unto it, though he was not pleaſed with any Exaltation of the Biſhops, becauſe all was taken from the Pope which was given to them.

The Dutch Prelates complain of the Laws of Degradation.

The *Dutch Prelates* did propoſe, That the Laws of the *Degradations* might be moderated, as being intolerable, and giving much occaſion of complaint in *Germany*. For it being a pure Ceremony which hindereth Juſtice, and they having deſired a moderation ever ſince the year 1522. in the One and Thirtieth of the Hundred Grievances, to ſee that the Abuſe is continued, giveth matter of Scandal to ſome, and of Detraction to others. The ancient uſe of the Church was, That if any Eccleſiaſtical Perſon would return to the Secular ſtate, to the end it might not appear that thoſe who were deputed to the Miniſtry of the Church, ſhould ſerve the World, the Biſhops did uſe to take from him the Eccleſiaſtical Degree; as in War, to hold themſelves in more repu-

A Diſcourſe about Degradation.

tation,

tation, was not granted to a Soldier to return to Civil Functions, and be ſubject to the Civil Judge, if he were not firſt bereaved of his Military Degree, which therefore was called *Degradation*, taking from him his Girdle and Arms, as with thoſe he was created a Soldier. Therefore when any Clergy-man, either willingly, or by the Laws, was to return to Secular Functions, or, for ſome Faults, was made ſubject to that Court, the Biſhops did take from him the Degree, with the ſame Ceremonies with the which he was inveſted, ſpoiling him of the Habits, and taking out of his Hand the Inſtruments, by the aſſignation of which he was deputed to the Miniſtry. Being apparelled juſt as if he were to miniſter in his Charge, he was to be ſtripped firſt of that, which was laſt in the Ordination, and with contrary words to thoſe that were uſed in the Promotion. And this was very uſual in thoſe firſt times after *Conſtantine*, for Three Hundred years. But about the year Six Hundred, a Cuſtom was brought in, not to permit Clergy-men of Holy Order to return to the World, and to others it was granted to do it at their pleaſure; whereupon, by little and little, the *Degradation* of the leſſer was wholly diſuſed, and that of the greater was reſtrained only to this caſe, when they were to be made ſubject to the Secular Court. And *Juſtinian*, regulating the Judicature of the Clergy, after he had ordained that, in Eccleſiaſtical Delicts, they ſhould be chaſtiſed by the Biſhops, and in Secular Delicts, which he called Civil, by the publick Judge, added, That the puniſhment ſhould not be executed before the party guilty were deſpoiled of his Prieſthood by the Biſhop. And after that Criminal Judicature over the Clergy was granted to the Biſhops, the Degradation remained only when the Puniſhment was Death, which, in regard of the Dignity of their Order, the Eccleſiaſticks would not have inflicted upon a Clergy-man. But, in Caſes of exorbitant Wickedneſs, it ſeemed that it could not be denied, without Scandal; therefore they found a way to do that indirectly, which directly they could not, ſaying, it was juſt that the Offences of the Clergy ſhould be puniſhed with deſerved Death, but the Degradation was firſt neceſſary: which they made ſo difficult, by Circumſtances of Solemnity, that very ſeldom it could be done. And this procured a greater reverence of the Clerical Order, with whoſe Blood Juſtice had nothing to do, if ſo much Solemnity did not precede. It was juſtly ordered, That the Biſhops ſhould not do it but in publick, apparelled with the Holy Veſtments, and, which more imported, with the aſſiſtance of Twelve Biſhops, in the Degradation of a Biſhop, of Six, in the Degradation of a Prieſt, of Three, in the Degradation of a Deacon, who were to be preſent in their Pontifical Ornaments. And it ſeeming ſtrange, that a Biſhop, who might give a Degree without company, could not take it away alone, Pope *Innocentius* the Third removed the marvel with a Maxim, which hath not much probability, ſaying, That Temporal Buildings are hardly erected, and eaſily pulled down, but ſpiritual contrarily, are eaſily built, and hardly deſtroyed. The Vulgar held the Degradation for a neceſſary thing, and, when it happened, ran to it, with unſpeakable frequency. But Learned Men do know the bottom of it. For having determined, That, in the Collation of the Order, a ſign is imprinted in the Soul, called a Character, which is impoſſible to blot out, or remove by Degradation; this remaineth a pure Ceremony, performed for Reputation only. In *Germany*, there being but few Biſhops, it could not be done without immenſe charge, to bring ſo many into one place. And thoſe *Dutch* Prelates, who were in the Council, for

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for the moſt part Princes did know more than others; how neceſſary it is for Examples ſake, to puniſh with death, the wickedneſs of Prieſts: wherefore they deſired that proviſion ſhould be made therein. This particular was much diſcuſſed, and, in the end, it was reſolved not to change the Ceremony by any means, but to find a Temper, that the difficulty and the coſt might be moderated.

The Legate, though every Week he had given an account to the Pope of all Occurrences, yet he was willing to eſtabliſh in Congregation the draughts of the Decrees, that he might ſend a Copy of them, and receive an Anſwer before the Seſſion. Wherefore the general Congregation being aſſembled, not making mention of what was written to him from *Rome*, he made a relation of that which the Earl of *Montfort* had repreſented; adding, That the Requeſt for a ſafe-conduct ſeemed reaſonable, and alſo the deferring of whatſoever could be deferred with Honour. For having appointed already to ſpeak of the Euchariſt, the firſt day of *September*, they could not chuſe but do it; but to omit ſome Point more important, and more controverſed, was a thing which might be granted. And the Voices being collected, all were of Opinion, That the ſafe-conduct ſhould be given; but concerning the matter to be handled, ſome thought that it was not for their Honour to defer it, if the Proteſtants did not give ſecurity that they would come to handle it, and ſubmit themſelves to the Determination of the Council. Others ſaid, That their Honour was ſaved, if it were done at their Requeſt; and this was the more common Opinion. Then the Legate added, That they might reſerve the matter of miniſtring the Cup to the Laity: and, to ſhew that they did not come for one Article only, they might joyn alſo with it the Communion of Children. And Order was taken to compoſe the Decree in this particular. Which being read, ſome thought it was too little to reſerve Two Articles, and therefore that it was better to divide the firſt into Three, and ſo reſerve Four, and to add the Sacrifice of the *Maſs*; the Controverſies whereof are great. For ſo it will appear, that many things are reſerved, and the moſt principal; and in this Opinion all did agree. And when it was ſaid, that the Proteſtants deſire to be heard concerning theſe, a Prelate of *Germany* ſtood up, and asked, by whom, and to whom this Requeſt was made; becauſe it did much import that this ſhould appear; otherwiſe when they ſhould ſay it was not true, the Honour of the Council would be much blemiſhed. But there being nothing but what Count *Mountfort* had ſaid as of himſelf, and that alſo not reſtrained to thoſe Four Heads, nor to the matter of the Euchariſt; but in general of all the Controverſies, they were much troubled how to reſolve. To ſhew that this Reſervation was made by their own motion, beſides that it was an Indignity, it did draw an Objection upon them, that they ought to reſerve all. This way was found to be leaſt ill; not to ſay, that the Proteſtants make requeſt, but that they deſire to be heard; whereof there can be no doubt made, becauſe they have ſaid it upon divers occaſions; and though they meant concerning all the Controverſies, yet it is no falſity to ſpeak that of a part which is ſpoken of the whole number, not excluding the reſt. Some thought that this was to hide themſelves behind a Thread; but yet it did paſs, becauſe they knew not how to do better. For this cauſe the matters reſerved being to be taken out of the Heads of Doctrine, and the *Anathematiſms*, theſe which remained were, for more perſpicuity, divided, and reduced to eleven.

A diſpute what points of Doctrine are to be handled, until the coming of the Proteſtants.

eleven. When they were to make the Decrees againſt the Abuſes, they knew not where to put them. Amongſt thoſe of Faith they were not to be placed, being of Ceremonies and Uſes. With thoſe of Reformation they did not agree, in regard of the diverſity of the matter. To rank them by themſelves was a Novity, and did alter the order ſet down. After a long Diſpute it was concluded to omit them now, and after to place them with the Decrees of the *Maſs*. The Points of the Reformation were accepted without difficulty, having been already eſtabliſhed by themſelves. There remained the form of the ſafe-conduct, which was referred to the Preſidents to compoſe, by the help of thoſe who had Experience in ſuch things; which aſſiſted the Legate to make that form paſs which was ſent him from *Rome*.

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The Eleventh of *October* being come, they went to the Church, as they were wont. The Biſhop of *Majorica* ſang *Maſs*, and the Archbiſhop of *Torre* made the Sermon, which was all in the praiſe of the Sacrament of the *Euchariſt*. And other uſual Ceremonies being performed, the Decree of the Doctrine was read by the Biſhops that did celebrate the *Maſs*. The Subſtance whereof was: That the Synod aſſembled to declare the ancient Faith, and to remedy the Inconveniences cauſed by the Sects, did deſire, from the beginning, to root out the Cockle, ſowed in the Field of the *Euchariſt*. Therefore, teaching the Catholick Doctrine, ever believed by the Church, it doth prohibit all the faithful hereafter to believe, teach or preach, otherwiſe than is declared. Firſt, it teacheth, That in the *Euchariſt*, after the Conſecration, *Chriſt* is contained, truly, really, and ſubſtantially, under the appearances of the ſenſible things, notwithſtanding he is in Heaven, by a natural Exiſtence; becauſe he is preſent in his Subſtance in many other places, Sacramentally, in a manner of Exiſtence, which is believed by Faith, and can hardly be expreſſed by Words. For all the Ancients have profeſſed, that *Chriſt* did inſtitute this Sacrament in the laſt Supper, when, after the Benediction of the Bread and Wine, he ſaid, in clear and manifeſt words, That he gave his Body and Blood, which having a moſt plain ſignification, it is great wickedneſs to wreſt them to imaginary Figures, denying the Truth of the Fleſh and Blood of *Chriſt*. Afterwards it teacheth, That *Chriſt* hath inſtituted this Sacrament in memory of himſelf, ordaining it ſhould be received as a ſpiritual Food of the Soul, as a Medicine for our daily Faults, a preſervative from mortal ſin, a pledge of eternal glory, and a ſign of the Body whereof himſelf is the Head. And though it be common to this Sacrament with others, to be a ſign of a ſacred thing, yet it hath this proper to itſelf, That other having Vertue to ſanctifie in the uſe, this doth contain the Author of Sanctity before the uſe. For the Apoſtles had not received the *Euchariſt* from the Hand of our Lord, when he ſaid, that it was his Body: And the Church hath always believed, that the Body of *Chriſt* is under the Bread, and the Blood under the Wine, by Vertue of the Conſecration; but, by Concomitancy, as much is under either of the kinds, and every part of them, as under both; declaring, That by the Conſecration of the Bread and Wine, there is made a Converſion of their whole Subſtance into the Subſtance of the Body and Blood of *Chriſt*, which Converſion the Catholick Church hath called *Tranſubſtantiation*, by a fit and proper Term. Therefore the faithful do give the Honour of *Latria*, or Divine Worſhip, due unto God, to this Sacrament; and it hath been religiouſly inſtituted, to make a particular Feaſt for it every year, and to carry it in Proceſſion, in publick places. Likewiſe the cuſtom

A Seſſion is held.

The Decree of Doctrine concerning the *Euchariſt*.

to

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to keep it in an holy place is ancient, and hath been observed from the time of the *Nicene* Council, and to carry it to the Sick is an old Custom, being reasonable besides, and commanded in many Councils. And if it be not fit that any holy thing should be handled without Sanctity, much more none ought to come to this Sacrament without great reverence, and proof made of himself: which proof must be, That none having mortally sinned, though he be contrite, may receive it, without Sacramental *Confession*, which the Priest also, who is to celebrate, ought to observe, so that he can find a Confessor; and if he cannot, he must confess immediately afterward. It doth teach also, That there be Three kinds of receiving the *Eucharist*. One Sacramentally only, as sinners do; another spiritually, as those do, who receive it with a lively Faith and Desire; the Third containeth both kinds, as those do receive it, who, having proved themselves, as aforesaid, do go to the Table. And there is an Apostolical Tradition, and so it ought to be observed, That the Laity should receive the Communion from the Priests, and the Priests should communicate themselves. In the end, the Synod prayeth all Christians to agree in this Doctrine. When the Decree was ended, the Eleven *Anathematisms* were read. 1. Against him that shall deny, that, in the *Eucharist*, is contained truly, really, and substantially the Body and Blood, with the Soul and Divinity of *Christ*; That is, whole *Christ*, and shall say, that he is contained only as in a Sign, or Figure, or Vertually. 2. That in the *Eucharist* there doth remain the Substance of the Bread and Wine, with the Body and Blood of *Christ*, or shall deny that admirable conversion of all the Substance of the Bread into the Body, and of the Wine into the Blood, there remaining only the form; which conversion the Church most appositely calleth *Transubstantiation*. 3. That, in the Sacrament of the *Eucharist*, under every kind, and under every part, being separated, all *Christ* is not contained. 4. That, the Consecration being made, he is not there, but in the use, and neither before nor after; and that he is not in the Particles, which remain after the Communion. 5. That, the principal Fruit of the *Eucharist* is the remission of sin, or that it hath no other effect. 6. That *Christ* in the *Eucharist* ought not to be worshipped with the Honour of *Latria*, nor honoured with a particular Feast, nor carried in Procession, nor put in a publick place, to be worshipped, or that the Worshippers are Idolaters. 7. That it is not lawful to keep it in an holy place, but that it should be distributed to the standers by, or that it is not lawful to carry it honourably to the Sick. 8. That *Christ* in the *Eucharist*, is eaten only spiritually, and not sacramentally, and really. 9. That the Faithful being of Age, are not bound to communicate every year at *Easter*. 10. That it is not lawful to the Priest, who celebrateth, to communicate himself. 11. That Faith only is a sufficient preparation to receive it: Declaring in the end, That the preparation ought to be by the means of Sacramental Confession; holding him to be Excommunicate who shall teach, preach, affirm pertinaciously, or defend in publick Disputation, the contrary.

The *Anathematisms*.

The Decree of Reformation.

The Decree of the Reformation containeth first a long admonition to the Bishops, to use their Jurisdiction moderately, and charitably; then determineth, That in Causes of Visitation, Correction, and Inability, and in the criminal, none may appeal from the Bishop, or his Vicar general, before the definitive, or from an irreparable grievance; and

and when there ſhall be place of *Appeal*, and a Commiſſion ſhall be granted, *in partibus*, by Apoſtolick Authority, it ſhall not be granted to any but the Metropolitan, or his Vicar; or, in caſe he be ſuſpected, or far diſtant, or the *Appeal* be from him, it ſhall not be granted but to a Biſhop dwelling near, or a Biſhop's Vicar. That the Defendant appealing, ſhall be bound to produce in the ſecond Inſtance the Acts of the firſt, which ſhall be given him, within Thirty Days, without paying for them. That the Biſhop, or his Vicar-general may proceed againſt any to Condemnation, and Verbal Depoſition, and may alſo degrade ſolemnly, with the aſſiſtance of ſo many Abbots of Miter and Paſtorals, if he can have them, or of ſo many other Eccleſiaſtical Dignities, as there are Biſhops required by the Canons. That the Biſhop, as Delegate, may ſummarily take knowledge of the Abſolution of every one of whom inquiſition is made, and of the remiſſion of the puniſhment of every one that is condemned by him; and if it ſhall appear unto him, that Sentence hath been obtained, by telling that which is falſe, or concealing the Truth, he may cauſe it not to be executed. That a Biſhop may not be cited to appear perſonally, but for ſuch a cauſe for which he may be depoſed or deprived, by what form of judgment ſoever the proceeding be. That Teſtimonies, in a Criminal Cauſe, againſt a Biſhop, may not be received by Information, but by Witneſſes, and thoſe of good Fame, chaſtizing them grievouſly, if they ſhall depoſe upon Paſſion: and the Criminal Cauſes of the Biſhops may not be determined but by the Pope. 1551 *Julius* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI *Henry* II.

After this another Decree was publiſhed; in which the Synod ſaid, That, deſiring to extirpate all Errours, it had handled Four Articles exactly. 1. Whether it were neceſſary and commanded by *God*, That all the faithful ſhould receive the Sacrament under both kinds. 2. Whether he that receiveth but one, receiveth leſs than he that receiveth both. 3. Whether the Holy Church hath erred in communicating the Laicks with the Bread only, and the Prieſts who do not celebrate. 4. Whether Children ought to be communicated. But becauſe the Proteſtants of *Germany*, do deſire to be heard concerning theſe Articles, before the definition, and therefore have demanded a Safe-Conduct to come, remain, ſpeak freely, propoſe, and depart; the Synod, hoping to reduce them into the Concord of one Faith, Hope, and Charity, by yielding to them, hath given them publick Faith; that is, Safe-Conduct, as far as it can, according to the Tenor under-written, and hath deferred to define theſe Articles, until the Twenty Fifth of *January* the next year; ordaining withal, that the Sacrifice of the *Maſs* be handled in that Seſſion, as a thing annexed, and that in the next, the Sacraments of Penance, and Extream Unction, be diſcuſſed. The Decree concerning matters to be deferred until the coming of the Proteſtants.

The Tenour of the Safe-Conduct was; That the Holy Synod doth, as much as it can, grant Publick Faith, full Security; that is, Safe-Conduct, with all neceſſary and fit Clauſes, though they require a ſpecial Expreſſion, to all Eccleſiaſtical and Secular Perſons of *Germany*, of what degree, ſtate, or quality ſoever, who will come to this General Council, that they may with all liberty, confer, propoſe, treat, come, remain, preſent Articles, by writing or by word, confer with the Fathers deputed by the Synod, and diſpute without injury and ill words, and depart when they pleaſe. And the Synod is further pleaſed to grant, That if, for their greater Liberty and Security, they ſhall deſire, that Judges be deputed for the offences which they have committed, or ſhall The Tenor of the Safe-Conduct.

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commit, though they be enormous, and ſavour of Hereſie, they may name thoſe that they ſhall eſteem favourable. After this, the Mandate of *Joachim*, Elector of *Brandeburg*, was read, in the perſons of *Chriſtopher Straſſen*, a Lawyer, and *John Oſman*, his Ambaſſadors ſent to the Council. The former made a long Oration, ſhewing the good affection and reverence of his Prince, toward the Fathers, without declaring what his Opinion was in point of Religion. The Synod anſwered, (that is, the Speaker in its name) That it heard with great content, the Ambaſſador's Diſcourſe, eſpecially in that part, where that Prince doth ſubmit himſelf to the Council, and promiſeth to obſerve the Decrees, hoping that his Deeds will be anſwerable to his Words. But the Propoſition of thoſe of *Brandeburg* was noted by many, becauſe the Elector was of the *Auguſtane* Confeſſion; and it was openly known, that his Intereſts did move him to make ſuch a fair ſhew, that his Son *Frederick*, elected Archbiſhop of *Magdeburg* by the Canons, a Benefice, unto which a very great and rich Principality is annexed, might not be hindered at *Rome*, and by the Catholicks in *Germany*.

The Ambaſſage of the Elector of *Brandeburg*.

The Anſwer which the Council gave, was much marvelled at, in regard of the fair and advantageous manner of contracting, pretending Ten Thouſand by Vertue of the Promiſe, when the Bargain was but of Ten. For there is no more proportion between theſe Two Numbers, than was between the Reverence promiſed by the Elector, and the Obedience received by the Synod. It was replied for defence, that the Council did not regard what was, but what ſhould have been ſaid, and that this is an uſual and pious Allurement of the Holy Church of *Rome*, which yielding to the Infirmity of her Children, maketh ſhew to believe, that they have performed their Duty. So the Fathers of the Council of *Carthage*, writing to *Innocentius* the firſt, to give him an Account, that they had condemned *Celeſtinus* and *Pelagius*, deſiring him to conform himſelf to their Declaration; he commended them in his Anſwer, That, remembring the Old Tradition, and Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, they had referred all to his judgment, whence all ought to learn, whom to abſolve, and whom to condemn. And indeed, this is a fair gentle means to make men ſpeak that in ſilence, which they will not in words. Afterwards, according to the Intimation, made to the Abbot of *Belloſana*, to give him then an Anſwer to the Letters, and *Proteſtation* of his Maſter, they made the *Apparitors* demand, by Proclamation, at the Church Door, whether any were there for the moſt Chriſtian King. But no man appearing, becauſe it was ſo concluded by the King's Council, not to enter into the Conteſtation of the Cauſe, eſpecially for that they could expect no Anſwer, but made at *Rome* by the Pope and the *Spaniards*, the Speaker did deſire, that the Anſwer decreed, might be read publickly; and ſo it was, by Conſent of the Preſidents. The Subſtance of it was; That the Fathers conceiving great hope of the Favours of the King, were exceedingly grieved for the Words of his Miniſter, which did much abate it; yet they had not quite loſt it, in regard they were not conſcious of having given him any cauſe of Offence: and, for that he ſaid, the Council was aſſembled for the profit of ſome few, and for private ends, it had no place in them, who were aſſembled, not by the preſent Pope only, but by *Paulus* the Third, to extirpate Hereſies, and reform Diſcipline, than which Cauſes none can be more common and pious: praying him to let his Biſhops go to aſſiſt this holy work, where they ſhall have all liberty. And if his Miniſter,

An artifice uſed by the Council, often practiſed by the Church of *Rome*.

The anſwer of the Council made to the Abbot of *Belloſana*.

ſter, a private perſon, who brought unto them things diſtaſtful, was heard with patience and attention, how much more welcome ſhall perſons be of ſo great Dignity? Adding withal, that though they come not, the Council will not want Reputation or Authority, having been lawfully called, and, for juſt cauſes, reſtored. And, for that his Majeſty did proteſt, to uſe the wonted remedies of his Anceſtors, the Synod had good hope, that he would not reſtore the things long ſince abrogated, to the great benefit of that Crown, but looking back upon his Anceſtors, on the Name of the moſt Chriſtian King, and on his Father *Francis*, who did honour that Synod, following that Example, he will not be unthankful to *God*, and the Church his Mother, but will rather pardon private offences, for publick cauſes. 1551. *Julius* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI. *Henry* II.

The Decrees of the Seſſion were immediately printed; which, being curiouſly read in *Germany*, and elſewhere, raiſed much ſpeech in many things concerning the Euchariſt. Firſt, becauſe treating of the manner of the Exiſtence, it ſaid, That it could hardly be expreſſed in Words, and yet affirmeth after, That it is properly called *Tranſubſtantiation*; and, in another place, that it is a moſt fit Term: which being ſo, one cannot doubt but that it may be properly expreſſed. It was further noted, That having declared, that *Chriſt*, after the Benediction of Bread and Wine, ſaid, That that which he gave was his Body and Blood, it came to determine, againſt the Opinion of all the Divines, and of the whole Church of *Rome*, That the words of Conſecration were not thoſe; That is, This is my Body, becauſe it doth affirm, that they were ſpoken after the Conſecration. But to prove, that the Body of our *Lord* is in the Euchariſt before the uſe, becauſe *Chriſt*, in giving of it, ſaid, before it was received by his Diſciples, it was his Body, did ſhew, that they did preſuppoſe, that the giving of it did not belong to the uſe; the contrary whereof was apparently true. The manner of ſpeech uſed in the fifth Point of Doctrine, ſaying, That Divine Worſhip was due to the Sacrament, was noted alſo for improper, ſeeing it is certain, that the thing ſignified or contained, is not meant by the Sacrament, but the thing ſignifying and containing: and therefore it was well corrected in the ſixth Canon, which ſaid, That the Son of *God* ought to be worſhipped in the Sacrament. That alſo in the Third *Anathematiſm* was noted, That all *Chriſt* was in every part, after the Separation, becauſe it ſeemeth one may neceſſarily infer from hence, that it was not in every part before the diviſion. The Decrees are cenſured in *Germany*.

The Prieſts complained of the Reformation, and ſaid, That the Biſhop's Authority was made too great, and the Clergy brought into ſervitude. But the Proteſtants ſeeing the Point where it was ſaid, That they deſired to be heard in Four Articles only, did much wonder who ſhould make that Requeſt in their Name, ſeeing they had ſaid, and repeated ſo often, in publick Diets, and by publick Writings, that they deſired a diſcuſſion of all the Controverſies, nor would receive any of thoſe things which were already determined in *Trent*, but would have all to be re-examined. They thought alſo, that the Form of the Safe-Conduct was very captious, becauſe as well in the Decree to grant it, as in the Tenour thereof, there was this Clauſe of Reſervation, as far as belongeth to the Synod: for no man demandeth of another, but that which belongeth to him to grant. But this affected diligence to expreſs and repeat it, was a ſign that they had invented a means to go againſt it, and to excuſe themſelves upon others. And they doubted not but that the Aim of the Synod was to leave a Gate open for the Pope, that he might do The Prieſts complain of the reformation. The Proteſtants diſh. the reſervation of the points of Doctrine. And the form of the Safe-Conduct.

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with his own and the Councils Honour, what he thought ſerviceable for them both. Beſides, the treating to depute Judges for things here-tical committed, or to be committed, ſeemed to them a kind of Net, to catch thoſe that were unwary; and even the very Pedants did laugh at it, that the principal Verb was more than an hundred and fifty Words diſtant from the beginning. The Proteſtants did uniformly agree not to be content with it, or truſt upon it, but to deſire another; juſt like that which was given by the Council of *Baſil*, to the *Bohemians*; which if it were granted, they did obtain one great Point; That is, That the Controverſies ſhould be decided by the Holy Scripture, and if it were not granted, they might excuſe themſelves with the Emperour.

The day following the Seſſion, there was a general Congregation, to ſet down how to treat of Penance and Extream Unction, and to continue the Reformation. It was conſidered, that the manner of Diſcuſſion preſcribed, was exceeded by the Divines, whence Contentions did ariſe, for which they could not be united againſt the *Lutherans*: and therefore it was thought neceſſary to renew the Decree, and not ſuffer any to uſe the Reaſons of the Schools, but to cauſe them to ſpeak poſitively, and alſo to obſerve the Order, which they thought fit to eſtabliſh again, as well becauſe the not obſerving of it had bred Confuſion, as becauſe the *Flemings* did complain, that none account was made of them, as did alſo the Divines which came with the Prelates of *Germany*. To handle Penance and Extream Unction, was decided already, and ſomething was ſaid in matter of Reformation, and Prelates were deputed, who, with the *Nuncio* of *Verona*, were to make the Articles in matter of Faith, and with the *Nuncio* of *Siponto*, in matter of Reformation. In matter of Faith Twelve Articles were framed upon the Sacrament of Penance, drawn *Verbatim* out of the Book of *Martin*, and of his Scholars, to be diſputed by the Divines, whether they were to be held for Heretical, and condemned for ſuch; which, in framing the *Anathematiſms*, after the Divines had given their Voices, were ſo changed, that no jot of them remaining, it is ſuperfluous to recite them. To theſe Articles were added Four more of Extream Unction, anſwerable, in all points, to the Four *Anathematiſms* eſtabliſhed. In the ſame Page where the Articles were ſet down, Three Decrees were added. That the Divines ought to give their Opinions out of the Holy Scripture, Traditions of the Apoſtles, Holy Councils, Conſtitutions, and Authorities of Popes, and Holy Fathers, and out of the Conſent of the Catholick Church. That the Order of ſpeaking ſhould be thus: That firſt they ſhould ſpeak who were ſent by the Pope: Secondly, thoſe who were ſent by the Emperour: Thirdly, thoſe of *Lovaine*, ſent by the Queen: Fourthly, thoſe Divines who came with the Electors: Fifthly, the Secular Clergy-men, according to their promotions: Sixthly, the Regulars, according to their orders. That there ſhould be Two Congregations every day, one in the Morning, from the Fourteenth Hour until the Seventeenth; another in the Afternoon, from the Twentieth Hour until the Three and Twentieth. The Articles of Reformation were in Number Fifteen, all which anſwered the Points which were after eſtabliſhed, except the laſt; in which a propoſe was made, to conſtitute, That Benefices ſhould not be given in *Commenda*, but to perſons of the ſame age, which the Law required in thoſe who might have them in Title: which Article, when it was ſpoken of, was eaſily buried in ſilence, becauſe it hindered many Prelates to renounce their Benefices to their Nephews.

Three Decrees are made concerning the manner of proceeding in Council.

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The Pope, who (as hath been ſaid) wrote Letters to the Catholick *Suiſſes*, inviting them to the Council, did ſtill make the ſame Inſtance unto them by his *Nuncio*, *Jeronymus Francus*, wherein alſo he was aſſiſted by the Emperour. The *French* King did oppoſe, by his Ambaſſador, *Morleus Muſa*, aſſiſted by *Vergerius*, who, knowing the ſecrets and ends of the *Romans*, told him how he ſhould perſwade that Nation, and wrote alſo a Book on this Subject; ſo that in the Diet of *Bada*, which then was held, not only the Evangelical, but the Catholick *Suiſſes* alſo were perſwaded not to ſend any, and the *Griſons* entring into Suſpicion upon the Advertiſements of *Vergerius*, That the Pope did plot ſomething to their prejudice, did recal *Thomas Planta*, Biſhop of *Coira*, who was already in the Council.

Vergerius diſcovereth the ſecret ends of the *Romaniſts* to the *Suiſſes* and *Griſons*.

In *Trent* the Congregations of the Divines were diligently haſtened: who, though they ſpake according to the order of the Twelve Articles, yet all the matter of Penance was handled, not as the School-men only, but alſo as the Canoniſts do handle it, following *Gratian*, who maketh a queſtion thereof, divided, for the length of it, into ſix diſtinctions: and the manner preſcribed by the Preſidents, to deduce and prove the Concluſions from the five places aforeſaid, cauſed not Prolixity, Superfluity, and unprofitable and vain Queſtions to be avoided, but gave occaſion of greater Abuſes. For when they ſpake Scholaſtically, they kept themſelves within the matter at the leaſt; and the Diſcourſe was all ſerious and ſevere. But in this new manner, which they call *poſitive* (an *Italian* word, drawn from plain Apparel, without ſuperfluous Ornaments) they ran into Fooleries: For, alledging the Divine Scripture, they brought all the places of the Prophets and Pſalms, eſpecially where the Word, *Confiteor*, and, its Verbal, *Confeſſio*, are found; which doth ſignifie in the *Hebrew*, Praiſe, or rather, Religious Profeſſion, and haled them to the Sacrament of Confeſſion: and, which was leſs to the purpoſe, figures were drawn from the Old Teſtament, to ſhew that it was prefigured, without any regard whether it might be applied to it with ſimilitude; and he was held moſt learned who brought moſt of them. All the Rites ſignifying Humility, Grief, and Repentance, uſed by thoſe who confeſſed, were boldly called Apoſtolical Traditions. Innumerable Miracles were related, Ancient and Modern, concerning things which ſucceeded well to thoſe who were devoted to Confeſſion; and ill, to thoſe who were negligent, and deſpiſers of it. All the Authorities alledged by *Gratian* were often recited, but various and divers Senſes given them, according to the matter; and others alſo were added. And he that ſhould have heard thoſe Doctors ſpeak, could not but conclude, that the Apoſtles, and ancient Biſhops did never any thing but kneel at Confeſſion, or ſit to confeſs others. In ſum, that, to which all did come, and which was moſt to the purpoſe, was the Council of *Florence*. Among the Memorials there doth nothing appear worthy of particular mention, except that which is to be ſpoken of when the Subſtance of the Doctrine muſt be recited. But thus much was neceſſary to be delivered. Out of theſe Sheaves of divers ſorts of Corn, carried into the Barn, it is no marvel if a mingled Griſt were threſhed. The Points of Doctrine, by reaſon of the mixture, did abſolutely pleaſe but few; neither was it obſerved in this Subject, as in others, not to condemn any Opinion of the Catholicks, but, where the Opinions of the Divines were various, to make the Expreſſion with ſuch a Temper, that all Parties might be ſatisfied. Which cauſeth me not to obſerve my former order, but firſt

The manner of diſcuſſing the points of Doctrine is cenſured.

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to expound the ſubſtance of the Decree, as it was eſtabliſhed to be read in the Seſſion, and then to add that which the ſame perſons of the Council did not approve.

The Decree concerning *Penance.*

The Decree was this. That although, in handling *Juſtification*, much was ſpoken of the Sacrament of *Penance*, yet, to root out divers Hereſies of this Age, it was fit to illuſtrate the Catholick Truth, which the Holy Synod doth propoſe to be perpetually obſerved by all Chriſtians; adding, That *Penance* was always neceſſary, in every Age of the World, and, after *Chriſt*, to thoſe alſo who were to be baptized; which *Penance* is not a Sacrament. There is another inſtituted by *Chriſt*, when, breathing upon his Diſciples, he gave them the Holy Ghoſt, to remit and retain ſins; That is, to reconcile the Faithful, fallen into ſin after Baptiſm. For ſo the Church hath always underſtood it; and the Holy Synod doth approve this ſenſe of the Words of our Lord, condemning thoſe who underſtand them of the power to preach the Goſpel. And this Sacrament differeth from *Baptiſm*, not only in the matter and form, but alſo becauſe the Miniſter of *Baptiſm* is not Judge; whereas, after *Baptiſm*, the ſinner doth preſent himſelf before the Tribunal of the Prieſt, as guilty, to be ſet at liberty, by his Sentence. And, by *Baptiſm*, a full remiſſion of ſins is received, which is not received by *Penance*, without ſighs and pains. And this Sacrament is as neceſſary for ſinners after *Baptiſm*, as *Baptiſm* it ſelf is to him that hath not received it. But the form thereof conſiſteth in theſe Words of the Miniſter; *I do abſolve thee:* unto which other Prayers are laudably added, though they be not neceſſary. And *Contrition*, *Confeſſion*, and *Satisfaction*, are, as it were, the matter of the Sacrament, which are therefore called Parts of *Penance*. The thing ſignified, and the Effect of the Sacrament, is reconciliation with God, whence peace and clearneſs of Conſcience do ſometimes ariſe. And therefore the Synod doth condemn thoſe who make Horror of Conſcience, and Faith, to be parts of *Penance*. *Contrition* is grief of Mind for ſin committed, with purpoſe to ſin no more, and was ever neceſſary in all times; but in ſinners, after Baptiſm, it is a preparation to remiſſion of ſins, being joyned with a purpoſe to do whatſoever elſe is required, for the lawful receiving of this Sacrament. And it is not only a ceaſing from ſin, or a purpoſing, and a beginning of a new Life, but alſo an hate of the life paſt. And though *Contrition* be ſometimes joyned with Charity, and reconcileth a man to *God*, before the receiving of the Sacrament, yet this Vertue cannot be aſcribed to it, without purpoſe to receive the ſaid Sacrament of *Penance*. But the Action which ariſeth, either by reaſon of the filthineſs of ſin, or of the fear of puniſhment, with hope of pardon, is not Hypocriſie, but the Gift of *God*, by which the Penitent being aſſiſted, doth go on to receive Juſtice; which although it cannot bring us to Juſtification without the Sacrament, yet it doth diſpoſe us to obtain Grace from *God*, in the Sacrament of *Penance*. By this, the Church hath ever underſtood, that *Chriſt* hath inſtituted the entire Confeſſion of ſins as neceſſary, by the Law of *God*, to thoſe that fall after Baptiſm. For having inſtituted the Prieſts his Vicars, for Judges of all mortal ſins, it is certain that they cannot exerciſe this Judgment, without knowledge of the Cauſe, nor obſerve Equity in impoſing Puniſhment, if the ſins be not particularly made known unto them, and not in general only. Therefore the penitent ought in *Confeſſion*, to declare all his mortal ſins, even the moſt ſecret, but the Venial, though they may be confeſſed, yet they may be concealed,

cealed alſo without offence. And hence it cometh, that, in *Confeſſion*, it is neceſſary to explicate the Circumſtances, which alter the Nature of the ſin, becauſe otherwiſe, one cannot judge of the weight of the Exceſſes, and impoſe a condign puniſhment. So that it is Wickedneſs to ſay, That this kind of *Confeſſion* is impoſſible, or that it is the murdering of the Conſcience, becauſe nothing is required but that the ſinner, having diligently examined himſelf, ſhould confeſs what he remembreth; and the ſins forgotten, are ſuppoſed to be included in the ſame *Confeſſion*. And though *Chriſt* hath not forbid publick *Confeſſion*, yet he hath not commanded it; neither would it be good to command, that ſins, eſpecially ſecret, ſhould be confeſſed in publick. Wherefore the Fathers, having ever praiſed the Sacramental ſecret *Confeſſion*, the Calumny of thoſe is vain, who call it an Humane Invention, excogitated by the *Laterane* Council; which did not ordain *Confeſſion*, but only, that it ſhould be made at the leaſt once every year. Concerning the Miniſter, the Synod doth declare thoſe Doctrines to be falſe, which extend to all the Faithful the Miniſtry of the Keys, and the Authority given by *Chriſt* to bind and looſe, remit and retain publick ſins by Correction, and ſecret by voluntary *Confeſſion*; and teacheth, That the Prieſts, though ſinners, have Authority to remit ſins; which is not a naked Miniſtry, to declare, that ſins are remitted, but a judicial Act. Therefore let no man ground himſelf upon Faith, thinking, that, without Contrition, and a Prieſt, who is willing to abſolve him, he can have Remiſſion. But becauſe there is a Nullity in the Sentence, pronounced againſt him who is not ſubject, there is alſo a Nullity in the Abſolution of the Prieſt, who hath not Authority, Delegate, or Ordinary, over the penitent: and the greater Prieſts do, with reaſon, reſerve to themſelves ſome Faults more grievous, and ſo doth the Pope very juſtly: and there is no doubt, but that every Biſhop may do it in his Dioceſs. And this Reſervation is not only for External Policy, but is alſo of force before *God*. Therefore it was always obſerved in the Church, That, in the Hour of Death, any Prieſt may abſolve any penitent, from any ſin. Of ſatisfaction the Synod doth declare, That the ſin being remitted, the puniſhment is not pardoned, it being not convenient, that he ſhould be ſo eaſily received into Grace, who hath ſinned before Baptiſm and after, and be left without a Bridle, which may draw him from other ſins: yea, it is convenient he ſhould be like to *Chriſt*, who ſuffering puniſhments did ſatisfie for us, from whom our ſatisfactions alſo receive force, as offered by him to the Father, and received, by his Interceſſion. Therefore the Prieſts ought to impoſe convenient ſatisfactions, not only to keep the penitent from new ſins, but alſo to chaſtiſe him for the old: declaring likewiſe, That ſatisfaction is made, not only by puniſhments, willingly received, or impoſed by the Prieſt, but by induring alſo, with patience, the ſcourges ſent from God.

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In conformity of this Doctrine, fifteen *Anathematiſms* were made: 1. Againſt him that ſhall ſay, That Penance is not truly and properly a Sacrament, inſtituted by *Chriſt*, to reconcile ſinners after Baptiſm. 2. That Baptiſm is Penance, or that it is not the ſecond Table or Board after ſhipwrack. 3. That the words of *Chriſt*, *Quorum remiſeritis peccata*, are not underſtood of the Sacrament of Penance, but of the Authority to preach the Goſpel. 4. That *Contrition*, *Confeſſion*, and *Satisfaction*, are not required for, as it were, the matter, and as parts of *Penance*, or ſhall ſay, That the Terrors of Conſcience and Faith are

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parts. 5. That Contrition is not profitable, but cauſeth Hypocriſie, and is a forced, and not a free ſorrow. 6. That Sacramental *Confeſſion* is not inſtituted, and neceſſary by the Law of *God*, or that the manner of confeſſing to the Prieſts in ſecret, is an humane Invention. 7. That it is not neceſſary to confeſs all mortal ſins, even thoſe that are hulden, and the Circumſtances which do change the Nature of them. 8. That this is impoſſible, or that all are not bound to confeſs once a year, according to the Precept of the *Laterane* Council. 9. That the Sacramental Abſolution is not a Judicial Act, but a Miniſtry, to declare the remiſſion of ſins to the believer, or that an Abſolution given in jeaſt doth help, or that the Confeſſion of the penitent is not requiſite. 10. That Prieſts in mortal ſin, have not power to bind and looſe, or that all the faithful have it. 11. That Biſhops have not Authority to reſerve Caſes, but for External Policy. 12. That all puniſhment is remitted together with the Fault, and that no other ſatisfaction is required but Faith, that *Chriſt* hath ſatisfied. 13. That *Satisfaction* is not made by ſuffering afflictions ſent by *God*, by puniſhments impoſed by the Prieſt, and willingly taken, and that the beſt *Penance* is only a a new life. 14. That *Satisfactions* are not Divine Worſhip, but humane Traditions. 15. That the Keys of the Church are only to looſe, and not to bind.

Some of which are oppoſed by the Divines of *Lovaine* and *Collen*.

The Divines of *Lovain* oppoſed the Reſervation of Caſes, ſaying, it was not ſo clear, becauſe it cannot be found that any Father did ever ſpeak of it; and that *Durand*, who was a *Penitentiary*, and *Gerſon* and *Cajetan* do all affirm, That not ſins, but Cenſures are reſerved to the Pope: and therefore that it was too rigid, to eſteem him an Heretick who thought otherwiſe. The Divines of *Collen* joyned with them, and ſaid plainly, That it could not be found that any Ancient did ſpeak of any Reſervations, but of publick ſins, and that it was not fit to condemn the Chancellor of *Paris*, ſo pious and Catholick an Author, who wrote againſt them. That the Hereticks were wont to ſay, That theſe Reſervations were invented for gain; as alſo Cardinal *Campeggio* ſaid, in his Reformation, and that it gave him occaſion to write againſt it; unto which the Divines would not have anſwered, nor been able to anſwer.

And therefore as well the Doctrine as the *Canon*, ought to be moderated, that it may not give ſcandal, nor offend any Catholick. The ſame men of *Collen* ſaid, That the meaning of the Words, *Quorum ligaveritis*, condemned in the Tenth Canon, is expreſly and formally ſo underſtood by *Theophilact*, and that to condemn it, were to make the Enemies rejoyce. And that which was ſaid in the laſt, That the Power to bind, is underſtood to impoſe *Penance*, they obſerved that the ancient Fathers did not ſo underſtand it, but that to bind was to make one abſtain from receiving the Sacraments, until a compleat ſatisfaction. They demanded alſo, that mention ſhould be made of publick Penance, ſo much commended by the Fathers, eſpecially by *Cyprian*, and Saint *Gregory* the Pope; who in many Epiſtles, ſheweth it to be neceſſary by the Law of God; which, if it be not brought again into uſe concerning Hereticks and publick ſinners, *Germany* will never be free: and yet the Decree, as well in the Doctrine, as the Canons, doth not only not ſpeak in favour of it, but rather doth weaken it, and detract from it. They deſired alſo, that ſome certain external ſign ſhould be declared for the matter of the Sacrament; for otherwiſe the objection of the adverſaries will never be anſwered.

Two things did exceedingly diſpleaſe the *Franciſcan* Divines: the one for having declared Contrition, Confeſſion, and Satisfaction to be the matter of the Sacrament, holding them to be neceſſary requiſites, but not eſſential parts of Penance. They ſaid, it was plain, that the matter ſhould be a thing applied to the receiver, by the Miniſter; and not an operation of the receiver himſelf. That this appeareth in all Sacraments; and therefore that it is a great Inconvenience to put the Acts of the Penitent for part of the Sacrament. That it is certain, that Contrition is no leſs required to Baptiſm, than it is to Penance; and yet it is not put for part of Baptiſm. That the Ancients did require Confeſſion of ſins before Baptiſm, as alſo Saint *John* did, of thoſe whom he baptized, and they made thoſe that were catechiſed to ſtand in Penance; and yet never any ſaid, That theſe were parts or matters of Baptiſm. Therefore to condemn this Opinion, held by the ancient Divines of the *Franciſcan* Religion, and now by the whole School of *Paris*, was to paſs their limits. They complained alſo, that it was made Hereſie to ſay, That Sacramental Abſolution is declarative, becauſe Saint *Jerom*, the Maſter of the Sentences, S. *Bonaventure*, and almoſt all the School-Divines have clearly ſaid, That the Abſolution in the Sacrament of Penance, is a declaration that one is abſolved. To this laſt, anſwer was made, That he was not abſolutely condemned for an Heretick, who ſaid, That Abſolution is a Declaration that ſins are remitted, but that ſins are remitted to him that doth certainly believe that they are remitted to him: Therefore only the opinion of *Luther* was comprehended. But they were not ſo ſatisfied, ſaying, That, in handling of Hereſie, one ſhould ſpeak plainly, and that no man would make ſuch an Expoſition of it: and they demanded, That, as well in the Point of Doctrine, as in the *Anathematiſm*, this Particular ſhould be well declared. But Frier *Ambroſius Pelargus*, a Divine of the Elector of *Triers*, conſidered, that the words of our Lord, *Quorum remiſeritis*, were perhaps not expounded by any Father, for an Inſtitution of the Sacrament of Penance, and that by ſome they were underſtood of Baptiſm, by others, of any other thing, by which Pardon of ſins is received. Therefore to reſtrain them only to the Sacrament of Penance, and to declare them Hereticks who underſtand them otherwiſe, would give a great advantage to the Adverſaries, and cauſe them to ſay, That the ancient Doctrine of the Church was condemned in the Council. Therefore he exhorted them, before they made ſuch a great ſtride, to look upon the Expoſitions of the Fathers, and, when thoſe were examined, to determine what ſhould be ſaid. Many of the Fathers thought the Remonſtrances to be very conſiderable, and deſired, that the Deputies would conſult again, as they had done before, upon other occaſions, to remove whatſoever gave offence to any, and ſo to frame the Decree, as that every one might approve it.

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And others by the *Franciſcans* and by Frier *Ambroſius Pelargus*.

But Cardinal *Creſentius* oppoſed with a continuate ſpeech, ſhewing, That to take the ſinews and ſoul from the Decrees, to ſatisfie the Humours of particular men, was not honourable for the Synod. That they were maturely eſtabliſhed; and therefore it was fit to obſerve them. Yet, if his Opinion did not pleaſe all, he was content, that, before any thing elſe were done, this general ſhould be handled in a Congregation, whether it were good to make a change or not, and then to deſcend to the particulars. But in this he did not fully diſcover what his aim was, which afterwards he did manifeſt to his Colleagues, and truſty Friends, that they ſhould not ſuffer the uſe of contending and ſpeaking

But all of them are croſſed by Card. *Creſcentium*.

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ſo freely; which would be dangerous when the Proteſtants came, becauſe they would do as much in favour of their own Opinions. That, for the honeſt and reaſonable liberty of the Council, it ſufficeth that one may deliver his Opinion, while the matter is diſputed; but after, when all men have been heard, the Decrees framed by the Deputies, allowed by the Preſidents, ſeen, examined, and approved at *Rome*, to call them into queſtion, and to require an alteration, for particular intereſts, was too much Licence. The Cardinal overcame at the laſt the major part of the Fathers, being perſwaded that the Doctrine eſtabliſhed was according to the opinion of the moſt intelligent Divines, and moſt oppoſite to the *Lutheran* Novities.

The Doctrine concerning Extream Unction.

But becauſe almoſt all is ſpoken that concerneth matter of Faith, in that Seſſion, it will not be amiſs to add that little which remaineth, touching the Sacrament of Extream Unction. Of which the Divines ſpake with the ſame prolixity, but without any difference amongſt themſelves. And out of their Opinions Three Points of Doctrine, and Four *Anathematiſms* were framed. The Doctrine contained in ſubſtance: That the Unction of the ſick, is truly and properly a Sacrament, inſinuated by *Chriſt* our Lord, in S. *Mark*, and publiſhed by the Apoſtle S. *James*; from whoſe Words the Church did learn, by an Apoſtolical Tradition, That the Oyl, bleſſed by the Biſhop, is the Matter; and the Words uſed by the Miniſter, is the Form of the Sacrament; but the Thing contained, and the Effect, is the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt, which purifieth the Relicks of ſin, and raiſeth up the Mind of the ſick, and ſometimes, when it is profitable for the Soul, giveth Health of Body. The Miniſters of the Sacrament are the Prieſts of the Church, the Word πρεσβύτερος being not underſtood for Ancients, but for Prieſts. And this *Unction* ought principally to be given to thoſe who are at the point of Death, who being recovered, and returned to the ſtate of ſickneſs, may receive it again. And therefore an *Anathema* is pronounced. 1. Againſt him that ſhall ſay, That *Extream Unction* is not truly and properly a Sacrament, inſtituted by *Chriſt*. 2. That it doth not give grace, nor remit ſins, nor eaſe the ſick, but is ceaſed, as that which did formerly belong to the grace of Health. 3. That the Rite uſed by the Church of *Rome*, is contrary to the ſaying of Saint *James*, and may be neglected without ſin. 4. That the Prieſt only is not the Miniſter, and that Saint *James* did underſtand the Ancients for Age, and not the Prieſts, ordained by the Biſhop.

14 Articles of reformation are handled, in which the Preſidents of the Synod and the Biſhops have divers ends.

But if any marvel, why it is ſaid in the firſt Head of the Doctrine, That this Sacrament is inſinuated by *Chriſt* our Lord in Saint *Mark*, and publiſhed in Saint *James*, whereas the Antecedence, and Conſequence of the Words did require, that it ſhould not be ſaid, inſinuated, but inſtituted, he may know that it was firſt ſo written; but a Divine having obſerved, that the Apoſtles, who anointed the ſick, of whom Saint *Mark* ſpeaketh, were not Prieſts, becauſe the Church of *Rome* holdeth, That Prieſthood was conferred upon them only in the Laſt Supper, it ſeemed a Contradiction, to affirm, That the *Unction* which they gave, was a Sacrament, and that Prieſts only are Miniſters of it. Whereunto ſome, who held it to be a Sacrament, and at that time inſtituted by *Chriſt*, did anſwer, That *Chriſt* commanding them to miniſter the *Unction*, made them Prieſts concerning that Act only. As if the Pope ſhould command a ſimple Prieſt to give the Sacrament of *Chriſm*, he made him a Biſhop for that Act. Yet it was thought too dangerous to affirm it abſolutely. Therefore, inſtead of the Word *Inſtitutum*,

Inſtitutum, they put *Inſinuatum*. Which word, what it may ſignifie in ſuch a matter, every one may judge who underſtandeth what *Inſinuare* is, and doth apply it to that which the Apoſtles then did, and to that which was commanded by Saint *James*, and to the Determination made by this Council. 1551 *Julius* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI *Henry* II.

But in matter of Reformation, as hath been ſaid, fourteen Articles were propoſed, all belonging to Epiſcopal Juriſdiction: whereof when they had underſtood the Opinion of the Canoniſts in the particular Congregations, and read all in the general, they came to frame the Decree. Herein the aim of the B B. was to encreaſe their Authority, and to recover that which the Pope had uſurped from them, and of the Preſidents, to grant as little as they could. But both parties did proceed cunningly, and made ſhew to regard only the ſervice of God, and the reſtitution of the ancient Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline. The Biſhops thought they were hindered in executing their Office. For when they did ſuſpend any from exerciſe of their Orders, or Eccleſiaſtical Degrees, and Dignities, for Cauſes known to themſelves, or did refuſe to let them paſs to higher Degrees, all was retracted, by a Licenſe, or Diſpenſation gotten at *Rome*: which cauſed a diſreputation of the Biſhops, damnation of ſouls, and a total ruin of diſcipline. Concerning this, the firſt Head was made, That ſuch Licenſes and Reſtitutions ſhould not be of force. But the Preſident, for the Honour of the Apoſtolick See, would not have the Pope named, nor the chief *Penitentiary*, nor any Miniſters of the Court, from whom ſuch Licenſes were wont to be obtained. The Titular Biſhops did alſo hinder them; who being deprived, by a Decree publiſhed in the ſixth Seſſion, of power to exerciſe the Pontifical Office in the Dioceſſes, without leave of the proper Biſhop, did retire themſelves into a place exempt from all Biſhopricks, admitting thoſe to Holy Orders who were before rejected, as unfit, by their own Biſhops; which they did, by Vertue of a priviledge to ordain any that offered himſelf unto them. This was prohibited in the ſecond Head, but with this moderation, that, for reverence of the Apoſtolick See, mention ſhould not be made, who granted the priviledge. And conſequently in the Third Head, power was given to the Biſhops to ſuſpend, for what time they pleaſed, any one ordained without their Examination, or with Licenſe, by faculty given by whomſoever. Theſe things the wiſer ſort of Biſhops knew to be of ſmall weight, becauſe the Canoniſts do hold, That Licenſes, Priviledges, and Faculties granted by the Pope, are never comprehended in general words, without ſpecial mention be made of them. But not being able to obtain more, they were content with this, hoping that time might open them a way to proceed further.

It was alſo decreed in the ſame ſixth Seſſion, That no ſecular Clerk, by Vertue of Perſonal Priviledge, nor Regular, dwelling out of the Monaſtery, by Vigor of the Priviledge of his Order, ſhould be exempt from the Correction of the Biſhop, as Delegate of the Apoſtolick See. Which ſome thinking not to contain the Canons of Cathedral Churches, and other Colegiate Dignities, who, not by priviledge, but by ancient Cuſtom, or by Sentences put in Execution, or by Concordates with the Biſhops eſtabliſhed and ſworn, were in poſſeſſion of not being ſubject to Biſhops, and others alſo reſtraining it only to Viſitation, it was ordained in the fourth Head, That, concerning ſecular Clerks, it ſhould be extended to all times, and all ſorts of Exceſſes, and declared, that none of the things aforelaid ſhould withſtand.

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Another disorder as great, did arise, because the Pope did grant a Judge, at the Election of the Supplicant, to whosoever did seek it by the ordinary means used in Court, with Authority to defend, protect, and maintain him in possession of his Rights, and to remove the molestation given him, extending also this favour to all his Domesticks. And this sort of Judges were called *Conservators*; who did stretch their Authority, in place of defending the Supplicant from molestations, to withdraw him from just Corrections, and also, at their instance, to molest and trouble the Bishops, and other ordinary Ecclesiastical Superiours, with Censures. The fifth Point made provision against this disorder, ordaining that *Conservatory Graces* should not help any body, nor free him from Inquisition, Accusation, and Convention, before the Ordinary, in Criminal and mixt Causes, and in Civil also, in which he is Plaintiff: and, in other Causes, if the *Conservator* be suspected, or difficulty arise between him and the Ordinary, who is competent Judge, that Arbitrators shall be chosen, according to the form of the Law; and that Conservatory Letters which comprehend domesticks, shall be extended but unto Two, who do live at the Charge of the Master of the Family, and that these and the like *Graces* shall not continue above five years, and that the *Conservators* shall not have Tribunals. But the Synod did not mean to contain in this Decree, Universities, Colledges of Doctors, and Scholars, places of Regulars, and Hospitals. Concerning which Exception, when this Point was handled, there was very great Contention, it seeming to the Bishops, that, against all right, the Exception was larger than the Rule, because the Number of Doctors, Scholars, Regulars, and Hospitalaries, is greater than of all others, who can have *Conservatory* Letters; and that the provision against any particular man was easie, but the disorders of Universities and Colledges, were of the greatest importance. The Legate gave an Account hereof to *Rome:* where it being decided, by that which was consulted under *Paul* the Third, That it was necessary, for maintenance of the Apostolick See, that the Friers, and Universities, should totally depend on *Rome*, there was no need of a new determination: and immediately Answer was made, That the *Conservatories* of these, should, by no means be touched. Whereupon the Fathers of the Synod, who were Adherents of *Rome*, being entred into this Opinion, the others, who were fewer, were forced to be content with the Exception, and there was some hope, and some means used to pacifie them.

The sixth Point was concerning the Priests Apparel, wherein it was easily concluded to ordain, That all the Ecclesiasticks of Holy Order, or Beneficed men, should be bound to wear an Habit fit for their Degree, according to the appointment of the Bishop, giving him power to suspend the Transgressors, if, after admonition, they shall not obey; and to deprive them of their Benefices, if, after Correction, they shall not amend; renewing herein the Constitution of the Council of *Vienna*; which notwithstanding was not much fitted to those Times, prohibiting upper garments laced, and of divers Colours, and Frocks shorter then the Vestment, and red and green breeches chequered, things disused, which have no need of prohibition.

The use of all Christian Nations was most ancient, That, to imitate the mildness of *Christ* our *Lord*, all the Ministers of the Church should be neat and clean from mans blood, never receiving to any Ecclesiastical order, any person defiled with homicide, whether voluntary or casual; and, if any Clerk committed any such excess, either willingly or

or by chance, all Eccleſiaſtical Function was immediately taken from him. This hath been, and is now, inviolably obſerved by other Chriſtian Nations, unto whom Diſpenſations againſt the Canons are unknown; but in the *Latin*, where rich men may eaſily make uſe of them, it is obſerved only by the poorer ſort. It being propoſed in the fourth and fifth Article to moderate the Abuſe, it was ordained in the ſeventh head, That a voluntary homicide ſhould for ever remain deprived of all Order, Benefice, and Eccleſiaſtical Office; and when there ſhall be Cauſe to diſpenſe with the caſual homicide, the Commiſſion of the Diſpenſation, ſhall be directed to the Biſhop only, or, if there be Cauſe to the contrary, to the Metropolitan, or next Biſhop. They ſaw, that this Decree did not ſerve to moderate the Abuſes, but to make the Diſpenſations dearer. For the Popes hands were not tied concerning voluntary homicide; and for caſual, the Decree was obſerved, in not committing the Cauſe to any but the Biſhop, but to diſpenſe directly, without committing it to another, was not taken away, firſt making the Proofs in *Rome*, or diſpatching the diſpenſations under the Name of *Motu proprio*, or with other clauſes, with which the Chancery doth abound, when it hath cauſe to uſe them.

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A certain ſort of Prelates ſeemed to hinder much the Authority of Biſhops, who, for their Reputation, in the place where they dwelt, obtained power of the Pope, to puniſh the Faults of the Eccleſiaſticks of that place; and ſome Biſhops alſo, pretending that their Prieſts received ſcandal and bad example from thoſe of the next Dioceſſes, obtained Authority to chaſtiſe them. Some deſiring that this diſorder ſhould be remedied, by revoking wholly ſuch Authorities, and perceiving that it would diſtaſte many Cardinals, and great Prelates, who abuſed them, they found a moderation, that they ſhould uſe them, yet without prejudice of the Biſhop, ordaining in the Eighth Point, That they might not proceed but in preſence of the Biſhop, or his Deputy. There was another way to ſubject the Churches and people of one Dioceſs, to the Biſhop of another, by uniting the Churches of one to the Churches or Benefices of the other: which though it were prohibited in general Terms, in the ſeventh Seſſion, yet it being not ſo plainly done as ſome deſired, an expreſs declaration was demanded. Whereupon it was reſolved in the Ninth Point, That all perpetual *Unions* of the Churches of one Dioceſs, to the Churches of another, ſhould be prohibited, under what pretence ſoever.

The Regulars made great Inſtance to keep their Benefices, and to regain thoſe which they had already loſt, by the Invention of perpetual *Commendaes*; and many Biſhops, for ſundry reſpects, were willing to aſſiſt them. They were deſirous to propoſe, That theſe perpetual *Commendaes* ſhould be quite taken away; but, fearing to be contradicted, they were content only to deſire they ſhould be moderated. The Preſidents, on the other ſide, ſeeing the hazard, that this matter, dangerous for the Court, ſhould be ſet on foot, themſelves propoſed a light Remedy, to hinder all Treaty of a better. And this was, That Regular Benefices, uſually given in Title to religious men, when they ſhall be vacant hereafter, ſhall not be conferred but upon men profeſſed of that Order, or to ſome perſon who is to receive the Habit, and take upon him the profeſſion. This was the Tenth Point, which did not much import the Court of *Rome*, in regard as many *Commendaes* were already made as could be; and the Prelates had no great deſire to obtain more, though it would have been an honour for the Churches, if the

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the regular Abbots had reſided. But, in regard of the favour extended to the Monks, not to take more from them than was taken already, a Counterpoiſe was added in the next Point, ordaining that they could not have ſecular Benefices, though with cure. Which howſoever it ſpeaketh only of thoſe who are tranſlated from one Order to another, ordaining, That none ſhould be received, but with condition to remain in the Cloyſter, yet by parity of the reaſon, or by an argument of greater reaſon, it hath been underſtood generally of all. And becauſe the Patronage of Churches, was granted in Court by *Grace*, and to make the *Grace* the greater, power given to depute an Eccleſiaſtical perſon, with faculty to inſtitute him that is preſented; this diſorder was remedied in the Twelfth Head, ordaining, That none ſhould have right of Patronage, but the Founder of the Church, or he that hath competently endowed, with his patrimonial goods, one already founded. And for remedy of the ſecond diſorder, it was forbid in the Thirteenth head, That the Patron, though he had a priviledge to do it, ſhould not make the preſentation to any but the Biſhop.

The Ambaſſadors of the Duke of *Wittenberg* arrive in *Trent*, with Commiſſion to preſent the confeſſion of their faith.

While theſe things were handled, *Johannes Theodoricus Pleniagorus*, and *Johannes Eclinus*, Ambaſſadors, ſent by the Duke of *Wittenberg* to the Council, arrived in *Trent*, with order to preſent publickly the Confeſſion of their Doctrine, whereof mention hath been made, and to ſay withal, That Divines would come to expound it more at large, and defend it, if ſecurity and ſafe-conduct were given them, according to form of the Council of *Baſil*. They went to the Count *Montfort*, the Emperour's Ambaſſador, ſhewed him their *Mandate*, and told him they had Commiſſion to propoſe ſome things in the Council. This being related by the Count to the Legate, he anſwered, That as other Ambaſſadors did firſt preſent themſelves to the Preſidents in the Name of the Pope, and did ſignifie to them the ſum of their Ambaſſage, ſo thoſe of *Wittenberg* ought to do: he therefore wiſhed they ſhould come, and promiſed to receive them with all humanity. The Count related the Anſwer; wherewith the Ambaſſadors were not contented, ſaying, That it was one of the Points required in *Germany*, That the Pope ſhould not preſide; which not being willing to contradict, without order from their Prince, they would write; and expect an Anſwer. The Count did cunningly aſſay to learn the whole ſecret of their Inſtructions, to advertiſe the Legate of it. But they ſtood upon general Terms, and would not ſpecifie any particular. The Legate ſent immediately Advice hereof to *Rome*, deſiring to know what he ſhould do, and the rather, becauſe he underſtood that others would come alſo.

Whereof the Legate giveth an account to *Rome*.

The Emperor goeth to *Iſpruc*, diſtant from the Council but three days journey.

In the beginning of *November*, the Emperour, to be near the Council, and the War of *Parma*, went to *Iſpruc*, diſtant but Three days Journey from *Trent*, the way being ſo commodious, that if there were occaſion, he might hear from his Ambaſſadors in one day. The Pope had News at once of the Arrival of the Emperour, and of thoſe of *Wittenberg*. And although he truſted upon the Emperour's Promiſes, made to him before the Convocation of the Council, and often reiterated, and ſaw the effects, becauſe his Ambaſſadors curbed the *Spaniards*, when they were too bold in maintaining the Epiſcopal Authority, and was perſwaded he would perſevere, in regard of their common Intereſts againſt the *French* King, yet having heard of ſome things handled in *Germany*, he was a little jealous, that, either for neceſſity, or for ſome great opportunity, which occurrences might bring, he would change his opinion. Yet he took courage; conſidering, that if there were

Which maketh the Pope ſomewhat jealous of him.

were War in *Germany*, no account would be held of the Council, and during peace, all the *German* Eccleſiaſticks would be on his ſide, as alſo the *Italian* Prelates, whoſe Number he could eaſily encreaſe, by ſending thither all thoſe of the Court: That the Legate being reſolute, and hoping to be Pope, would labour as for himſelf, and that the *Nuncio* of *Sipento* was moſt affectionate to his perſon: That he might at any time be reconciled with *France*, becauſe it was deſired by that King, by means of whom, and with the Prelates of his Kingdom, he might withſtand all attempts made againſt his Authority. 1551 *Julius* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI. *Henry* II.

The Anſwer of his Holineſs made to the Legate.

He anſwered the Legate, That he could give him but little Inſtruction more; That he was not only acquainted with, but principal Author of the Treaties made in framing the Bull of the Convocation, that he ſhould remember that the things decreed under *Paul*, were ſtudiouſly approved therein; That it was ſaid, that it did belong to the Pope, not only to call, but alſo to direct Councils, and to preſide by his Miniſters, and that he ſhould not leave open ſo much as a little Chink, in prejudice of any of theſe. For the reſt he ſhould govern himſelf according to occaſions, putting him in mind to fly, as the Plague, all middle Counſels, and Moderations, when any of theſe were handled, but ſo ſoon as the difficulty did ariſe, to break it off ſuddenly, that the adverſaries might not have time to look far into it. That he would not lay on his ſhoulders the *Tranſlation*, or diſſolution of the Council, but only that he ſhould ſpeedily advertiſe when he ſaw cauſe. Furthermore, That he ſhould ſet on foot as much matter of Doctrine as he could, which would work many good Effects. For it would make the *Lutherans* deſpair of Concord without their total ſubmiſſion, would intereſt the Prelates more againſt them, would not give time to theſe to think on the Point of Reformation, and make a ſudden diſpatch of the Council, a matter of the greateſt importance, becauſe there is danger of ſome Inconvenience ſo long as it laſteth. And when he ſaw himſelf forced to give them ſome ſatisfaction, in amplifying the Epiſcopal Authority, he ſhould condeſcend, and yet hold back as much as might be. For in caſe ſomething ſhould be granted prejudicial to the Court, as formerly hath been done, yet ſo long as the Pope's Authority remaineth entire, there will be means to reduce them eaſily to their firſt ſtate.

The Seſſion of the 25. of *November*.

Things ſtanding thus, the 25. of *November*, the day appointed for the Seſſion, came. The Fathers met, and went to Church in the uſual order: where the Ceremonies being finiſhed, the Doctrine of Faith, the *Anathematiſms*, and Decree of the *Reformation*, were read by the Biſhop that ſaid *Maſs*. The Tenour whereof being already recited, there remaineth nothing elſe to be ſpoken. And finally, the laſt Decree was read, to give order for the future Seſſion; in which it was ſaid, That it being already appointed for the 25. of *January*, the Sacrament of Order ought then to be handled, together with the Sacrifice of the *Maſs*. So the Legate would have it pronounced, That, according to the Pope's Opinion, they might have matter of Doctrine enough whereon to treat. The Seſſion being ended, the Legate uſed all diligence that the Decrees might not be printed. And his Order was obſerved at *Ripa*, where the Preſs was, and where the other Decrees were printed. But no man could hinder the ſending of many Copies out of *Trent*; whereupon they were printed in *Germany*, and the difficulty and delay to let them ſee light, made the Criticks curious, and diligent to examine them more exactly, to find the cauſe of this ſecrecy.

The Decrees are forbid to be publiſhed, but are printed in *Germany*.

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And there cenſured.

That which was decided in the firſt point of Doctrine, and the ſixth Canon, cauſed much ſpeech: That is, That *Chriſt*, when he breathed on his Diſciples, and gave them the Holy Ghoſt, ſaying, *Whoſe ſins you remit, they are remitted, and whoſe ſins you retain, they are retained*, did inſtitute the Sacrament of *Penance*. It was conſidered, That *Baptiſm* was firſt uſed by the *Jews*, for legal cleanlineſs, afterwards applied by Saint *John* for a preparation to go to the *Meſſias* which was to come, and finally by *Chriſt*, in expreſs and plain Words, inſtituted a Sacrament, for remiſſion of ſins, and an entrance into the Church: ordaining it ſhould be miniſtred in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt. Likewiſe in the Captivity of *Babylon*, a *Poſtcænium* was inſtituted by the *Jews*, which Bread and Wine, for a Thankſgiving, and a Memorial of their going out of *Egypt*, while being out of the Land of Promiſe, they could not eat the Paſchal Lamb: In imitation of which Rite *Chriſt* inſtituted the Euchariſt, to give thanks to *God*, for the general deliverance of Mankind, and in memory of himſelf, who was the Author thereof, by the ſprinkling of his Blood. And howſoever like Rites have been formerly uſed, though for other ends, as hath been ſaid, yet the Scripture doth expreſs all the ſingularities of them. Now that *Chriſt* would introduce a Rite to confeſs our ſins in particular ſo exactly, as that no uſe was ever the like, it ſeemed ſtrange that he would be underſtood by words, from which it muſt be drawn by a very unjoynted Conſequence; yea, by many Conſequences, very far fetcht, as was done by the Council. And they wondred, why the Inſtitution being made by the word *remitto*, the Form was not, *I remit thy ſins*, rather than *I abſolve thee*. Others added, That if, by thoſe words, a Sacrament of Abſolution is inſtituted, with this form; *Abſolvo te*, by which one is abſolved, one muſt ſay, by an unreſiſtible neceſſity, that another, or the ſame, is inſtituted, in which this Form ſhould likewiſe be, *Ligo te*: becauſe it cannot be underſtood how the ſame Authority *to looſe and bind*, founded upon the Words of *Chriſt* abſolutely a-like, doth require in Abſolution the pronouncing of the words, *Abſolvo te*, and that other of binding doth not require the pronouncing of the words, *Ligo te*: Nor by what reaſon, to execute that which *Chriſt* hath ſaid, *Quorum retinueritis, &c. & quæcunque ligaveritis, &c.* It is not neceſſary to ſay, *Ligo te*, but to execute *Quorum remiſeritis, & quæcunque ſolveritis*, it is neceſſary to ſay, *Abſolvo te*.

Likewiſe the Doctrine, inferred in the fifteenth Point, was cenſured by Criticks: where it is ſaid, That *Chriſt* by the ſame words, did conſtitute the Prieſts Judges of ſins, and therefore that it is neceſſary to confeſs them all abſolutely, and in particular, together with the Circumſtances which alter the kind, ſeeing that it doth appear by the Words of our Lord, that he hath not diſtinguiſhed Two ſorts of ſins, one to be remitted, and the other to be retained, whereby it would be neceſſary to know of which the Delinquent is guilty, but one only which doth comprehend all; and therefore the Word *Peccata* in general is only uſed. But he hath diſtinguiſhed Two ſorts of ſinners, ſaying, *Quorum, & Quorum*: one of the Penitent, unto whom Remiſſion is granted, another of the Obſtinate, unto whom it is denied. Therefore they are rather to know the ſtate of the Delinquent, than the Nature and Number of the ſins. But concerning the Circumſtances, which alter the kind, it was ſaid, That every honeſt man may ſwear, with a good Conſcience, That the holy Apoſtles, and their Diſciples, moſt ſkilful in things Celeſtial, not regarding humane ſubtilties, did never

never know what were the circumſtances which alter the kind, and perhaps if *Ariſtotle* had not made this ſpeculation, the World would not have known it until now, and yet there is made of it an Article of Faith, neceſſary to ſalvation. But as it was approved, that *Abſolvo*, was a judicial Word, and reputed a good Conſequence, That if the Prieſts do abſolve, they are Judges; ſo it appeared to be an Inconſtancy, to condemn thoſe who ſay, it is a naked Miniſtry to pronounce; it being plain, that the Office of a Judge is nothing but to pronounce him innocent who is ſo, and the Tranſgreſſor guilty; and that this Metaphor of the Judge doth not bear, that the Prieſt can make a juſt man of a Delinquent, as is aſcribed to him. The Prince may pardon Offenders, and reſtore them to their good Name; to whom, he that maketh a wicked man juſt, is more like, than to a Judge, who doth ever tranſgreſs his Office, when he pronounceth any thing but that which he firſt findeth to be true. But they were amazed moſt of all, when they read the Point where the ſpecifical and ſingular Confeſſion of ſins, with the Circumſtances, is proved, becauſe the Judicature cannot be executed without knowledge of the Cauſe, nor Equity obſerved in impoſing puniſhment, if the faults be known only in general, and afterwards that *Chriſt* hath commanded this Confeſſion, that they may impoſe the condign puniſhment. They ſaid, That this was plainly to mock the World, and think all men Fools, and to perſwade themſelves, that all their Abſurdities ſhould be believed, without more to do. For who knoweth not, and ſeeth not daily, that the *Confeſſors* enjoyn *Penance*, not only without weighing the merit of the faults, but without having the leaſt Conſideration of them. It would ſeem, conſidering the Words of the Council, That the *Confeſſors* ſhould have a ballance, to make difference of every grain, and yet oftentimes to recite five *Pater-noſters* ſhall be a *Penance* for many Murders, Adulteries, and Thefts: and the moſt learned *Confeſſors*, and generally all in giving *Penance*, do ſay to every man, that they do impoſe only part of the *Penance*. Therefore it is not neceſſary to impoſe that exact *Penance* which the faults do deſerve, nor to have a particular Enumeration made of the ſins and circumſtances. But what need one go ſo far, when the ſame Council, in the Ninth Point of the Doctrine, and the Thirteenth *Anathematiſm*, doth ordain, That ſatisfaction is made by voluntary *Penance*, and ſuffering of Adverſities. Therefore it is not needful, yea, not juſt, to impoſe in *Confeſſion* the puniſhment that is correſpondent, and, by Conſequence, not to make a ſpecifical Enumeration, which is ſaid to be ordained for this end. And they added, That, not conſidering any thing ſpoken before the *Confeſſor*, though moſt learned, attentive, and wiſe, having heard the *Confeſſion* of an ordinary man, for one year, much more of a great ſinner, for many years, it is impoſſible he ſhould judge aright, though he had Canons of the puniſhment due to any ſin whatſoever, without danger to err more than half, to ſpeak the leaſt. For a *Confeſſor* ſeeing all in Writing, and conſidering many days of it, could not make a ballance to decide juſtly, much leſs hearing and reſolving preſently, as the Cuſtom is. They ſaid, it was not fit they ſhould be ſo contemned, and held ſo inſenſible as to believe ſuch Abſurdities. Of the *Reſervation* of *Caſes* enough was ſaid by the Divines of *Lovain*, and *Collen*, which was attributed to a deſire of Dominion and to Avarice.

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The next day there was a general Congregation, to give order for the diſcuſſion of the *Sacrifice* of the *Maſs*, and the *Communion* of the *Cup*, and

The Sacrifice of the Maſs, the Communion of the Cup, and of Children are handled.

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and of Children. And although the Decrees were already made, for the Seſſion of the Eleventh of *October*, and deferred, yet they diſcourſed again, as if nothing had been ſaid, and did chuſe Fathers to collect the Articles to be diſputed on, and others to make the Decree. And becauſe they made haſte, ſeven Articles were ſuddenly framed, whereon they diſputed, twice every day, in which Number was the Ambaſſador of *Ferdinand*, and *Julius Plugius*, Biſhop of *Namburg*, and for greater Reputation, the Elector of *Collen*, that all that Doctrine might ſeem to come from *Germany*, and not from *Rome*. They made alſo Thirteen *Anathematiſms*, concerning thoſe for Hereticks, who do not hold the *Maſs* for a true and proper Sacrament, or do ſay, it doth not help the living and the dead, or do not receive the Canon of the *Maſs*, or do condemn private *Maſſes*, or the Ceremonies which the Church of *Rome* uſeth. And then Four Heads of Doctrine were made. That in the *Maſs* is offered a true and proper Sacrifice, inſtituted by *Chriſt*; of the Neceſſity of the Sacrifice of the *Maſs*, and how it agreeth with that of the Croſs; of the Fruits of that Sacrifice, and the Application thereof; of the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Maſs*. All which were to be handled againſt *Chriſtmas*, and are not related here particularly, becauſe they were not publiſhed in the next Seſſion.

The Ambaſſadors of *Wittenberg* receive Letters from their Princes, with order to proceed in their Negotiation.

While the Fathers do entertain themſelves in the buſineſs of the Council, the Ambaſſadors of *Wittenberg*, did receive Letters from their Prince, to proceed, and to preſent their Doctrine, in the beſt manner they could. Therefore in the abſence of the Earl of *Montfort*, they entreated the Cardinal of *Trent*, to be a means, that the Preſidents would receive their Letters, aſſemble the Fathers, and give them Audience. The Cardinal promiſed all good Office; but ſaid, it was neceſſary to tell the Legate what they would treat on; it being ſo conſtituted by the Fathers, moved thereunto by the Propoſition made by the Abbot of *Belloſana*. Therefore they imparted to him their Inſtruction, ſaying, they were ſent to obtain a Safe-Conduct for their Theologues, as it was given in *Baſill* to the *Bohemians*, and to propoſe their Doctrine; That, it being examined by the Fathers, they might be ready to confer with their Divines, when they came. The Legate, receiving this Relation from the Cardinal, imparted to him what the Pope had written, and told him, That it was not to be ſuffered, that either they, or any other Proteſtants, ſhould preſent their Doctrine, much leſs be admitted to defend it, in regard there would be no end of Contentions: That it was the Office of the Fathers, which was obſerved until then, and ought to be continued, to examine their Doctrine, taken out of their Books, and condemn that which did deſerve it. If the Proteſtants had any difficulty, and did propoſe it humbly, and ſhew themſelves willing to receive Inſtruction, it ſhould be given by Advice of the Council. Therefore he denied abſolutely to aſſemble the Fathers, to receive their Doctrine, and ſaid, he could not change this Opinion, though it ſhould coſt him his life. For altering the Safe-conduct, he ſaid, it was an exorbitant Indignity to the Council, that they ſhould miſtruſt that which was granted, and that to treat thereof was an inſupportable Injury, and deſerved that all the Faithful ſhould ſpend their lives in oppoſing it.

The Anſwer of the Legate to their propoſitions.

Is favourably related to the Ambaſſadors by the Cardinal of *Trent*.

The Cardinal of *Trent* would not give the Anſwer ſo ſharp to the Ambaſſadors, but ſaid: That the Legate was angry, that they would begin with the preſentation of their Doctrine, in regard they were to receive from their Superiors, with reverence and obedience, the rule of faith,

and

and not preſcribe it to others, with ſuch an unſeemlineſs, and abſurdity. Therefore he adviſed them to let that day paſ, that the Wrath of the Legate might be remitted, and then to begin with ſome other Point, that afterwards they might fall upon thoſe Two: that is, to preſent their Doctrine, and deſire a Safe-Conduct. They followed this Counſel, and a few days after, the Cardinal being departed from *Trent*, they deſired the Emperour's Ambaſſadour to perſwade the Legate to receive their *Mandate*, and hear their Propoſition, that underſtanding his mind they might reſolve, as they ſhould have Inſtruction from their Prince. The Ambaſſador treated with the Legate, and had the ſame Anſwer which was given to the Cardinal of *Trent*; which did not proceed from Diſdain, but from a reſolved Will. The Ambaſſador underſtanding the Legates Mind, was of Opinion, that the buſineſs could not then take place, and knowing that to relate the Anſwer was diſhonourable for the Emperour, who had ſo largely promiſed, That every one ſhould be heard, propoſe freely, and confer; inſtead of giving a direct Anſwer to thoſe of *Wittenberg*, he found divers Excuſes, to gain time, which he did not ſo artificially, though he were a *Spaniard*, but that they were diſcovered to be Pretences, not to give a plain Negative.

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At this time Ambaſſadors went to *Trent*, from *Argentina*, and five Cities more, with Inſtruction to preſent their Doctrine. They employed *Gulielmus Pictavius*, the Emperour's Third Ambaſſador; who, not to fall upon the ſame difficulties which his Colleague did, took their *Mandate*, and perſwaded them to expect a few days, until he had ſent to *Cæſar*, and received an anſwer: becauſe in ſo doing, they ſhould proceed upon a good ground. This made quiet thoſe of *Wittenberg* alſo. The Ambaſſador wrote to *Cæſar*, telling him of the Ambaſſador's Reſolution, ſhewing what an Indignity it was to his Majeſty, that no account ſhould be made of ſo honeſt, and ſo juſt a promiſe made by him. The Emperour, to provide againſt this diſgrace, and cunningly to make uſe of the Council, expecting the Ambaſſadors of the Elector of *Saxony*, wrote that the others ſhould be entertained until their arrival, aſſuring them they ſhould then be heard, and with all charity conferred with.

The Thirteenth of *December*, *Maximilian*, the Son of *Ferdinand*, paſſed by *Trent*, with his Wife and Children, and was met by the Legate, and the *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Prelates, and ſome *Germans* alſo. The Prince Electors did not meet him, but viſited him in his Lodging. The Proteſtant Ambaſſadors complained to him, That, notwithſtanding ſo many Promiſes made by *Cæſar*, they could not have Audience, and prayed him to have pity on *Germany*, becauſe thoſe Prieſts, being Strangers, did not care, for ſome ſmall reſpects of their own, to ſee it on fire; yea, by precipitating the Determinations, and *Anathematiſms*, did make the Controverſies every day more hard. *Maximilian* perſwaded them to be patient, and promiſed to treat with his Uncle, that the Actions of the the Council might paſs as he had promiſed in the Diet they ſhould.

Maximilian paſſeth by *Trent*.

And promiſeth the Proteſtant Ambaſſadors to treat with the Emperour his Uncle in their behalf.

At *Chriſtmas* the Pope created Fourteen *Italian* Cardinals, and immediately publiſhed Thirteen of them, reſerving one to be publiſhed when he thought fit. And to honour ſo great a Creation in the beginning of his Papacy, eſpecially there being Eight and Forty Cardinals in the Colledge, which was then thought a great number, he pretended occaſion to do it for the Enmity with the *French* King. Of whom he complained as well for the War he made againſt the

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Apoſtolick See, as for the Edicts publiſhed, adding a report which then came from *Lions*, and *Genua*, That he threatned to make a Patriarch in *France*, which if it were true, he ſaid it would be neceſſary to proceed judicially againſt him. Wherein he ſhould meet with many difficulties, in regard of the great Number of the *French* Cardinals, to whom it was needful to make a Counterpoiſe, by creating new men of worth, of whom the Apoſtolick See might make uſe, in occaſions of importance. The Colledge was contented, and the new Cardinals were received. After this, he diſpatched to *Trent* the Biſhop of *Monte-Fiaſcone*, with Letters of Credit to Cardinal *Creſcentius*, and the Three Electors, whoſe coming he did congratulate, and thanked them for their zeal and reverence towards the Apoſtolick See, exhorting them to perſevere. He gave him order to tell them, That he had created Cardinals, that he might have Miniſters depending on himſelf, in regard all the old did depend upon ſome other Prince, to excuſe him for the War of *Parma*, ſaying, That he did not make it, but that it was made againſt him, and was forced to defend himſelf. To Cardinal *Creſcentius* he gave an account of the Cardinals made, promiſing to make them all underſtand his mind, how they ſhould demean themſelves towards his Friend, unto whom he was ſo much obliged: And he made the *Nuncio* of *Siponto* be told, That he had diſpoſed of him as the Friendſhip between them did require, and that he ſhould not care to know wherein, but ſhould continue to perform his duty, as formerly he had done.

The Biſhop of *Monte-Fiaſcone* cometh to the Council with Letters of Credit.

Chriſtmas being ended, a general Congregation was made, to give form to the handling of the Sacrament of Order. They diſcourſed of the abuſes which, in this, were entred into the Church, and the *Nuncio* of *Verona* ſaid, That there was in all ſome abuſe, worthy of amendment, but in this an Ocean of them. And, after many Tragical Exclamations were made, they reſolved, accordingly to their Cuſtom, firſt to propoſe the Articles drawn out of the *Lutheran* Doctrine, and then diſcuſs which ſhould be condemned for heretical, and frame the *Anathematiſms* and Heads of Doctrine, and in the end ſpeak of the abuſes. Twelve Articles were given to the Divines, whereon they diſcourſed, Morning and Evening. Out of the Opinions of the Divines, the Deputy Fathers framed firſt Eight *Anathematiſms*, condemning for heretical to ſay, That Order is not a true and proper Sacrament, or that it is one only, which tendeth to Prieſthood, by many means; to deny the *Hierarchy*, to ſay, that the conſent of the People is neceſſary; to ſay, that there is not one viſible Prieſthood; that Unction is not neceſſary; that the Holy Ghoſt is not given in it; that Biſhops are not *De jure Divino*, and ſuperior to Prieſts. Upon theſe, Four Points of Doctrine were made; of the Neceſſity and Inſtitution of the Sacrament of Order; of the viſible and external Prieſthood of the Church; of the Eccleſiaſtical *Hierarchy*; of the difference of a Prieſt from a Biſhop. This Doctrine and Canons, being approved by the general Congregation, were all put into one Decree, under the ſame Context: with that of the Sacrifice, to be publiſhed in a Seſſion. Yet it was not done for the Reaſons which ſhall be declared. Therefore there is no particular mention made of what did paſs in the Congregations of *December* and *January*, becauſe the ſame things were diſcuſſed again under *Pius* 4. in the Third Reduction of the Council: unto which when we ſhall come, the differences ſhall be ſhewed between the Decrees framed now, and thoſe which were after eſtabliſhed under *Pius*.

A general Congregation is held to ſet down a rule for the diſcuſſion of the Sacrament of Order.

Why no mention is made of what was handled in the Congregations of *December* and *January*.

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But news coming to *Trent*, That there were Levies made of Soldiers throughout all *Germany*, and that there was fear of War, the Three Electors ſeeing their States were in danger, craved leave of the Emperour, by Letters and Meſſengers, to return, that they might preſerve them. *Cæſar*, deſiring the Council ſhould continue, anſwered them in the beginning of the year 1552. That the Troubles were not ſo great as the Fame; That he had ſent to know the Truth, and that a few men only were in Arms, but that the Cities continued in their Obedience, and *Maurice*, of whom the Report was, That he had raiſed ſome ſtirs, would ſhortly come unto him, and had ſent Ambaſſadors, who were already in *Iſpruc*, and would ſhortly be in *Trent*; That thoſe few Soldiers lodged in *Thuringia*, who made ſome Excurſions upon the Territory of the Biſhop of *Mentz*, did mutiny for want of Pay only; That he had ſent one expreſly to pay them, and give them their Paſport; That he knew whatſoever was ſpoken and feared, and did not neglect any thing; That he had ſome in every place to advertiſe him, and did ſpare no coſt; therefore he exhorted them not to abandon the Council, which would be in danger to be diſſolved with their departure, which would give a great blow to Religion: and if their States want any proviſion, let them command their Miniſters, and give him notice, and he will give them all aſſiſtance.

The Electors crave leave to depart.

1552.

The Ambaſſadors of *Saxony* come to *Trent*.

Wolfius Colerus, and *Leonardus Badehornus*, Ambaſſadors for *Maurice*, Elector of *Saxony*, arrived in *Trent* the 7*th* of *January*; which gave great joy to the Electors and *German* Prelates, being aſſured hereby, that *Maurice* did not attempt any thing. They firſt treated with the Emperour's Ambaſſadors, ſaying, That their Prince, deſirous of Concord, determined to ſend to the Council ſome godly Divines, men loving Peace, which the other Proteſtant Princes would do alſo; but that a Safe-conduct was firſt neceſſary, in the form of that of *Baſil*, and that, in the mean while, all Treaty in the Council ſhould ceaſe, and that, after their arrival, the things already handled ſhould be re-examined, it not being a general Council without the preſence of all Nations; That the Pope ſhould have no power to preſide, but ſhould ſubmit himſelf to the Council, and releaſe the Oath to the Biſhops, that their Voices may be free. They added, That, in the Congregation, they would expound all more at large, which they deſired ſhould be aſſembled quickly, becauſe their Divines were within the diſtance of forty Miles, and did expect only to be called. The Emperour's Ambaſſadours gave good words, becauſe the Emperour to entertain *Maurice*, commanded they ſhould be well uſed. Theſe Ambaſſadors treated in the ſame manner with the Prince Electors, and Cardinal of *Trent*, but refuſed to treat with Cardinal *Creſcentius*, and his Colleagues, that they might not ſeem to acknowledge them for Preſidents. They deſired to be admitted in publick, to preſent their *Mandate*, and to be received as thoſe of the Elector of *Brandeburg* had been; whereof the Emperour's Ambaſſador gave them hope, and promiſe, that they might entertain them. But, on the other ſide, the Legate and *Nuncii* did plainly refuſe to alter the form of the Safe-conduct, ſaying, it was too much diſhonourable for the Synod, which repreſenteth the Catholick Church, that four Sectaries ſhould make difficulty to believe it; neither would they ſtop the Courſe of the Decrees, already put in order with maturity. And what hope can there be of the Converſion of *Germany*, when they come with theſe demands. And, for hearing them in publick, it was juſt, becauſe it was promiſed; but being ſent to the Council,

Their Negotiation.

The Anſwer of the Legate and *Nuncii*.

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Offendeth the Emperour.

Council, of which they ſee and know that the Legate and *Nuncii* are Preſidents, they muſt acknowledge them for ſuch, or elſe they cannot be admitted; for ſo they had ſpecial Commiſſion from the Pope, when thoſe of *Wittenberg* came; That to releaſe Oaths, and ſuch like Impieties, they would rather dye, than cauſe to be done: and that they would ſooner depart, diſſolve the Council, and command the Prelates not to aſſiſt at any Act. The Emperour, informed hereof, who took the buſineſs to the heart, was offended with the Obſtinacy of the Papalins, who, upon a nice Point of Honour, would diſturb a buſineſs of that Conſequence, and raiſe a War, which, in the end, might be their own ruine. And he ſent back Order to his Ambaſſadors, and the Cardinal *Madruccio*, to uſe all means, and his own Authority alſo, to paciſie the Legate, firſt with Intreaties, then with high Words, if they could not find a Temper, which might ſatisfie both parties, and to force the Preſidents, in a civil manner, to yield to that which was juſt.

At the inſtance of whoſe Miniſters they change their opinion.

The Emperour's Ambaſſadors, and *Madruccio*, adviſing together, reſolved not to demand of the Preſidents all at once, but firſt, only to receive the Ambaſſadors; wherein they uſed long perſwaſions, which did all tend to ſhew, That when they were brought into the Aſſembly, where themſelves are Preſidents, it might be ſaid, That their Preſidency was acknowledged, though before no particular Complement had been uſed with them. To the Perſwaſions, they added Intreaties in the Emperour's Name; mixed with ſome words, ſignifying, that it was not fit to abuſe his Clemency, nor to force him to uſe other Remedies; That Neceſſity was a potent Incitation, to him that had power in his hand. In the end, *Creſcentius* ſuffered himſelf to be perſwaded to receive them, not in Seſſion, but in a publick general Congregation in his Houſe, thinking that thereby he ſhould be acknowledged as Head. His Edge being thus abated, they came to ſpeak of ceaſing to treat of the Points of Doctrine. *Toledo* ſaid, That he had heard it often preached, That the ſaving of one Soul was ſo dear to *Chriſt*, that he would deſcend again, and ſuffer on the Croſs to gain it; and now that they refuſed to ſave all *Germany*, where was the Imitation of *Chriſt?* The Legate excuſed himſelf upon the abſolute Commands of the Pope, which he muſt needs obey. But the Ambaſſador replying, That, to a Miniſter Inſtruction is given in Writing, and matters of Diſcretion are referred to Judgment: the Legate ſaid, That he ſaw well, that this was a Degree to demand a Retractation of the things already decided. The Ambaſſador gave his Word, That he would never ſpeak of that; yea, would deal effectually with the *Saxons*, to make them deſiſt from that requeſt. In the end, the Legate, perſwaded by the *Nuncio* of *Verona*, who ſuffered himſelf to be overcome firſt, not to lay (he ſaid) on the Pope's back, and the Councils, ſo great a burthen, that ſo important a buſineſs ſhould be precipitated, and ſo ſmall a delay denied, condeſcended to ſay, That he was content, ſo that the Prelates, in the general Congregation did approve it; to whom alſo he referred himſelf for the Safe-conduct, which they required.

The Congregation was called, to conſult upon theſe Particulars; and the delay was eaſily granted, upon the perſwaſions of the Imperialiſts. For the Safe-conduct, the Conſultation was more hard, not only for the reaſon alledged by the Legate, but becauſe the Name of the Council of *Baſil*, and the referring themſelves to it, was abhorred; and,

and, which did more import, they thought that ſome things might fit thoſe Times, and not theſe, becauſe the Doctrine of the *Bohemians* was not ſo contrary to the Church of *Rome*. Notwithſtanding all theſe Oppoſitions, the Authority of the Three Electors, and of the Cardinal *Madruccio*, and the Negotiation of the Emperour's Ambaſſadors prevailed. 1552 *Julius* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI. *Henry* II.

But *Petrus Tagliavia*, Archbiſhop of *Palermo*, ſaid, That one very principal Point was omitted, whether it ſhould be allowed, that they ſhould ſit in the Council or not, and what Terms of Honour ſhould be given them, and their Prince. For, to uſe them meanly, would break off the buſineſs, and to honour manifeſt Hereticks, would be a great prejudice. The ſame, and greater Conſideration muſt be had, how to behave themſelves towards the Divines which are to come, who pretend to have a Voice, and will be a Party in Diſputations and Conſultations, nor will be eſteemed, as the Church muſt eſteem them, that is, as Hereticks, excommunicated, and condemned, with whom it is not lawful to treat, but only to inſtruct them, if they humbly crave it, and pardon them by favour. Concerning this Propoſition, much was ſaid of the variety of Times, unto which all Laws muſt be accommodated; That the ſame Popes which did conſtitute thoſe Decretals, would not obſerve them in theſe Occaſions; That nothing is more eaſily broken, than that which is moſt hard. Which Reaſons, though they perſwaded the major part, yet they knew not what to reſolve. It ſeemed, that to determine what rigour of the Law was to be retained, and what to be mitigated, was a matter of much and long Conſultation, not to be reſolved on without the Pope and Colledge of Cardinals, which the ſtraitneſs of time could not ſuffer. When all were doubtful, the Biſhop of *Namburg* opportunely ſaid, That Neceſſity did excuſe every Tranſgreſſion, and that, in the *Colloquies* and *Diets* of *Germany*, theſe things were maturely conſidered on, and ſo decided. But, for more aſſurance, it was good to make a Proteſtation before, That all was done for Charity, and Piety, which are above all Law, and to reduce thoſe that wander, and that it is underſtood to be done without prejudice, with thoſe Clauſes which the Lawyers know how to find. This Opinion was readily embraced, firſt by the *Dutch*, then by the *Spaniſh* Prelates, and at laſt, ſomewhat coldly by the *Italians*, the Legate remaining immoveable, and ſhewing plainly, that he ſtood quiet, being forced by neceſſity. Theſe reſolutions being ſettled, it was reſolved, That, the 24*th* of the Month, there ſhould be a general Congregation, to receive and hear the *Saxon* Ambaſſadors; That the 25*th* Day the Seſſion ſhould be held, wherein the Dilation, made until the coming of the Proteſtant Divines, ſhould be publiſhed, and Fathers elected, who, together with the *Nuncio* of *Siponto*, ſhould make the Decree, the Proteſtation, and Safe-Conduct. The Emperour's Ambaſſadors deſired to have the draught of the Safe Conduct, before it was publiſhed, to ſhew it the Proteſtants, that if it did not give them ſatisfaction, it might be ſo amended, that they might not have occaſion to refuſe it as they did the other.

A conſultation about the manner of receiving the Proteſtants in Council.

The days following were ſpent in the things aforeſaid; which being finiſhed, the Emperour's Ambaſſadors called the Proteſtants to them; and the Ambaſſador *Pictavius*, having made an Eloquent Encomiaſtick Oration, of the goodneſs and charity of the Fathers, and exhorted them to give ſome little part of ſatisfaction to the Council, as they received much from it, told them, that it was concluded to receive

An exhortation of the Emperors Ambaſſador *Pictavius* to the Proteſtants.

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ceive their *Mandates* and Perſons, and to hear their Propoſitions, and to defer the Concluſion of the Points of Doctrine, though already diſcuſſed and digeſted, to expect the Divines, and hear them firſt. That they ſhould have a very ample Safe-conduct, as they deſired, whereof the draught was made. And he was copious, in ſhewing that theſe were memorable favours and Graces, ſaying, it was neceſſary to yield ſomething to the time, and not to deſire all at once; That when they ſhall be entred into the buſineſs, Occaſion will make them obtain many things, which before ſeemed hard; That the Fathers do deſire the coming of the Divines; That themſelves, the Emperour's Ambaſſadors, have matters to propoſe of great moment, and do ſtand only expecting that the Proteſtants ſhould begin, that afterwards they may come forth themſelves alſo. For this cauſe he prayed them to proceed ſlowly in their Demand, that the Pope ſhould ſubmit himſelf to the Council. For the Fathers do know, that there is ſomething to be amended in the Papal Greatneſs, but withall, that they muſt go on cunningly; That themſelves have daily Experience, what Dexterity and Art muſt be uſed, in treating with the Pope's Miniſters. Likewiſe the re examination of the things already concluded, was not to be propoſed in the very beginning, becauſe it would be too great an Infamy and Diſhonour to the Council. Therefore let their Divines come, who ſhould have a convenient Audience in all things, and when they ſhall ſee themſelves wronged, it ſhall ever be free for them to depart. The Proteſtants retiring themſelves, and conſidering the draught of the Safe-Conduct, were not content, becauſe it was not like to that of *Baſil*, in which Four things more were granted to the *Bohemians*. 1. That they ſhould have a Deciſive Voice. 2. That the Holy Scripture, the Practice of Ancient Church, the Councils, and Interpreters conformable to the Scripture, ſhould be Judges. 3. That they might exerciſe their Religion in their Houſes. 4. That nothing ſhould be done in Contempt and Diſdain of their Doctrine. Of theſe four, the ſecond was different from that which was granted in this Draught, and the Three others were totally left out. They ſuſpected alſo, becauſe the Council did not promiſe them ſecurity in the Name of the Pope and Colledge of Cardinals, as did that of *Baſil*. Yet they reſolved not to make mention of this, but to demand the inſerting of the other Four Clauſes: and told the Emperour's Ambaſſadors plainly, That they could not receive it in this Form, becauſe they had this expreſs Commiſſion in their Inſtructions. *Toledo* ſhewed ſome diſdain, that they ſhould not content themſelves, with that which he, and his Colleagues, had obtained with ſo much pains; That the chief importance was in the ſecurity of coming and departing, and that the reſidue appertained to the manner of their Negotiation, which might more eaſily be concluded by the preſence of the Divines; That it was too much Obſtinacy to yield in nothing, and to deſire to give Laws alone to the whole Church. But it not being impoſſible to remove them with theſe Reaſons, from their Reſolution, they ſaid, in the end, That they would refer it to the Fathers, to whom they reſtored the Draught of the Safe-conduct, with the additions which were required.

Who are not content with the form of the Safe-conduct.

For which cauſe *Toledo*, the Emperors Ambaſſador, is offended.

The Legate and Preſidents, underſtanding the requeſt and reſolution of the Proteſtants, ſhewed the Emperour's Ambaſſadors how unjuſt and unmeet their Demands were. For in the form of that of *Baſil*, they never found that it was granted to have a Deciſive Voice in the Council; but, that the Scripture, Practice of the Church, Councils, and Doctors,

Doctors, who ground themſelves on it, ſhould be Judges, is ſaid, becauſe the practice of the Church is called by the Name of Apoſtolical Tradition: and when it is ſaid, the Holy Fathers, it is underſtood that they ground themſelves on the Scripture, becauſe they have no other grounds. The Third, to exerciſe their Religion in their own Houſes, is underſtood, with condition that it be not known, and done without ſcandal. The Prohibition, That nothing ſhall be done in Contempt of them, is expreſs when it is promiſed, That, by no means, they ſhall be offended. Therefore that it did appear that they complained without cauſe, only to cavil, and in regard there is no hope to content them, there doth remain nothing, but to give them the Safe-Conduct, as it is made, and to leave them to their liberty, to make uſe of it, or not, The Earl of *Montfort* replyed, That nothing could be more ſerviceable to the publick Cauſe, than to take from them all Pretences and Cavils, and to make them unexcuſable to the World: Therefore, in regard there was no real difference between the Safe-Conduct of *Baſil* and this, to ſtop their Mouths, that might be copied out *Verbatim*, changing only the Names of the Perſons, Places, and Times. The Preſidents moved with that ſubtle and ſtrict Anſwer, looked one upon another, and the Legate taking the matter upon him, anſwered, That it ſhould be referred to the Fathers, in the Congregation, and reſolved according to their Determination. The Preſidents did recommend the Cauſe of God and the Church, every one to his familiar Friends. To the *Italians* and *Spaniards* they ſaid, That it was a great Injury to be compelled to follow a Company of Schiſmaticks, who have ſpoken unadviſedly, and contrary to Chriſtian Doctrine, and bound themſelves to follow the Scripture only. But unto all in general, they ſaid, it would be a great Indignity, if the Council ſhould ſo ſpeak, as that an inextricable Diſpute ſhould preſently ariſe. For in ſetting down what Doctors do ground themſelves upon the Scripture, they ſhould never agree: That it was honourable for the Council to ſpeak plainly, and that the Expreſſion made, was juſt the Declaration of the Council of *Baſil*. And ſuch Perſwaſions they uſed, as that almoſt all were reſolved not to change the Draught, hoping that though the Proteſtants deſired it ſhould be better, yet they would be content when they ſaw all was done.

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All being in order, the Four and Twentieth Day the general Congregation was made; in which the Electors and all the Fathers met in the Legate's Houſe, as alſo the Ambaſſadors of the Emperour, and of *Ferdinand*, who were not wont to be preſent in ſuch kinds of Congregation. The Legate began briefly, and ſaid, they were aſſembled to begin an Action, the moſt doubtful that ever happened to the Holy Church: Therefore they were to pray God for good ſucceſs, with more than uſual Devotion; and, having invocated the Name of the Holy Ghoſt, as the Cuſtom is in the Congregations, the *Proteſtation* was read by the Secretary; whereunto all the Fathers having given conſent, the Speaker deſired it ſhould be regiſtred in the Acts, and a publick Inſtrument made of it. The Tenour whereof was thus in ſubſtance. That the Holy Synod, not to hinder the Progreſs of the Council, by the diſputes which would ariſe, when it ſhould be duly examined, what ſort of Perſons ſhould appear in the Synod, and what ſort of *Mandates* and Writings be preſented, and in what places men ſhould ſit, doth declare, That, if any be admitted for himſelf, or as a Deputy, which ought not to be received by the diſpoſition of the Law, or uſe of the Councils, or ſit not in his right place, or if *Mandates*, Inſtruments, Proteſtations, or

The Proteſtation of the Council concerning the admiſſion of the Proteſtants.

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other Writings, which do, or may offend the Honour, Authority, or Power of the Council be preſented, it ſhall be underſtood, That the preſent, or future general Councils ſhall not be prejudiced, it being the Synod's meaning to reſtore Peace and Concord unto the Church; by any means, ſo that it be lawful and convenient.

Badehornus, one of the *Saxon* Ambaſſadors maketh an Oration in the general congregation.

Afterwards the *Saxon* Ambaſſadors were brought in; where being entred, and having made their Obeyſance to the Aſſembly, *Badehornus* ſpake, uſing theſe Titles, Moſt Reverend, and moſt Worthy Fathers and Lords. The Subſtance of his Speech was this: That *Maurice*, Elector of *Saxony*, wiſhing them the aſſiſtance of the Holy Spirit, and an happy Iſſue of the Action, did let them know, That he had long ſince reſolved, that if ever a general, free, and Chriſtian Council were celebrated, where the Controverſies of Religion might be decided according to the Holy Scripture, and all might ſpeak ſecurely, and a Reformation be made in the Head and the Members, to ſend his Divines thither. That now, thinking they are aſſembled to this end, he hath called his Theologues together, commanding them to chuſe ſome, to carry their *Confeſſion* to that Synod; which was not yet done, in regard of a certain Conſtitution of the Council of *Conſtance*, that Faith or Safe-Conduct, given by the Emperour, Kings, or others, to Hereticks, or Perſons ſuſpected, ought not to be obſerved; and of the Example of the *Bohemians*, who would not go to *Baſil*, without ſecurity from the Council. Therefore that the Elector deſired that ſuch a Safe-Conduct ſhould be given to his Divines, Counſellors, and their Families; That not long ſince a certain form of Safe-Conduct was preſented to him, much different from that of *Baſil*, ſo that the Divines thought it dangerous to come hither with it, becauſe, by ſome Decrees made in *Trent*, and already printed, it did appear, that they are accounted Hereticks and Schiſmaticks, though they never have been either called or heard. Therefore the Prince demandeth, (he ſaid) that his men may be excuſed, and a Safe-Conduct granted, in the form of that of *Baſil*, and that, underſtanding that they would proceed to the Concluſion of the controverſed Articles, it ſeemed unto him a thing prejudicial, and contrary to all Law of God and Man, in regard his Men were lawfully hindred, for want of a Safe-Conduct. Who therefore prayeth them, That all may be deferred until his Divines be heard, who be but ſixty *Dutch* Miles diſtant. That afterwards it being related to him, That the Proteſtants may not be heard concerning the controverſed Articles, defined the years paſt, the greater part of which contain grievous Errours, the Prince deſireth, that they may be re-examined, and his Divines ſuffered to ſpeak, and that determined which ſhall be conformable to the Word of God, and believed by all Nations of the Chriſtian World. For the things determined have been handled by very few of thoſe who ought to aſſiſt in the general Council, as doth appear by the Printed Catalogue; it being eſſential to a general Council, that all Nations ſhould be admitted, and freely heard. That the Prince alſo doth remember, that many controverſed Articles do concern the Pope; and the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil* having determined, That the Pope, in Points of Faith, and which concern himſelf, is ſubject to the Council, it is fit the ſame ſhould be done in this Place, as alſo which was conſtituted in the Third Seſſion of the Council of *Baſil*, That all Perſons of the Council ſhould be abſolved from the Oaths of Obligation to the Pope, as far as concerneth the Cauſes of the Council. Yea, That the Prince is of Opinion, That, without any further declaration, by Vertue of the

conſtitutions

Conſtitutions of thoſe Councils, all are free from thoſe Bonds. Therefore prayeth the Aſſembly, That they would firſt repeat, approve, and ratifie the Article of the Superiority of the Council above the Pope, eſpecially in regard the Clergy hath need of Reformation, which hath been hindred by the Popes. For the Abuſes cannot be amended, if the perſons of the Council depend on the Pope's Nod, and be bound, by Virtue of Oath, to preſerve his Honour, State, and Power: and if it might be obtained of the Pope to remit the Oath willingly, it would be Praiſe-worthy, and gain great Favour, Credit, and Authority to the Council, becauſe the Decrees would be made by free men, who might lawfully treat, and judge according to the Word of *Chriſt*. That in Concluſion the Prince deſireth that his Propoſitions may be taken in good part, being moved to tender them, for the Zeal of his own Salvation, Charity towards his Countrey, and Peace of all Chriſtendom. Having this Diſcourſe in Writing, he preſented it, and it was received by the Secretary, and the Speaker ſaid in the common Name, That the Synod would conſider of it, and make anſwer in due time.

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After theſe, thoſe of *Wittenberg* were heard, who preſented the *Mandate* of their Ambaſſage. Which being read, they briefly ſaid, That they were to tender the Confeſſion of their Doctrine, and that Divines would come to defend it, and handle the ſame things more at large, ſo that Judges might be indifferently choſen by both ſides, to take knowledge of the Controverſies. For their Doctrine being repugnant to that of the Pope and the Biſhops his Adherents, it was unjuſt that either the Plaintiff or the Defendant ſhould be Judge: deſiring therefore, That what was done in the Council the years paſt, might not have the ſtrength of a Law, but that the Diſcuſſion of every thing already handled ſhould begin again, it being not juſt, that, when Two contend in Law, what is done by one, the other being lawfully abſent, ſhould be of force: and the rather, becauſe it may be clearly demonſtrated, That as well in the laſt Actions, as in thoſe of the years before, Decrees have been publiſhed contrary to the Word of God. And they preſented their Doctrine and Diſcourſe in Writing: all which was received by the Secretary, but the Doctrine was not read. The Speaker anſwered in the name of the Fathers, That anſwer ſhould be given in time convenient.

And ſo do the Ambaſſadors of the Duke of *Wittenberg*.

When this was done, the Electors and Ambaſſadors departed, the Prelates remaining with the Preſidents, to give Order for the Seſſion. Firſt, the Decree was eſtabliſhed, and then the Safe-conduct propoſed, adding the Cauſes why the Proteſtants were not content. And conſulting, whether that which they deſired ſhould be added to the form, they did eaſily agree all in one Opinion, That nothing ſhould be added, to avoid inextricable diſputes, and inevitable prejudices.

The Fathers reſolve not to alter the Safe-conduct.

The next day, the 25*th* of *January*, deputed for the Seſſion, they went to the Church with the uſual Ceremonies, but with more Soldiers, called by the Preſidents, to make Oſtentation of the greatneſs of the Council, and with many ſtrangers, who came thither, thinking the Proteſtants ſhould be received publickly, and with ſingular Ceremonies. The Biſhop of *Catanea* ſung Maſs, and *John Baptiſta Campegio*, B. of *Majorica*, preached, and, the uſual Rites being obſerved, the Decree was read by the Maſs-Biſhop, the ſubſtance whereof was: That the Synod, to perform the things already decreed, having exactly handled whatſoever belongeth to the Sacrifice of the Maſs, and Sacrament of Order, to publiſh in the Seſſion the Decrees concerning them, and the Four Articles of the Sacrament of the *Euchariſt* deferred, thinking that the Proteſtants, unto

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whom they had given Safe-conduct, would have been arrived by time, in regard they are not come, but have made Supplication all should be deferred until another Session, giving hope that they come long before the Celebration thereof, having received a Safe-conduct in a more ample form, the Synod desirous of Quiet and Peace, believing that they will come, not to contradict the Catholick Faith, but to understand the Truth, and that they will be satisfied with the Decrees of the Holy Mother the Church, hath put off the next Session, until the Nineteenth of *March*, to give light to, and publish the things aforesaid, granting them (to remove all Cause of greater Delay) a Safe-conduct, of the Tenour as shall be recited, determining to handle, in the mean while, the Sacrament of Matrimony, and to prosecute the Reformation, that they may publish the Definitions of this, together with the Definitions of the things aforesaid. The substance of the Safe-conduct was, That the Synod, adhering to the Safe-conduct already given, and amplifying it, doth make Faith to all Priests, Princes, Nobles, and Persons of what Condition soever, of the *German* Nation, which shall, or are already come to the Council, Safe-conduct to come, remain, propose, and speak in the Synod, to handle and examine what they think fit, give Articles, and confirm them, answer the Objections of the Council, and dispute with those whom it doth elect, declaring that the Controversies in this Council shall be handled according to the Holy Scripture, Traditions of the Apostles, approved Councils, Consent of the Catholick Church, and Authority of the Holy Fathers; adding, That they shall not be punished upon pretence of Religion, or Offences committed, or which will be committed, so that there need not be any Cessation from Divine Service, by reason of their presence, either in the Journey, or in the City of *Trent*, or in any place else; and shall return when it shall seem good unto them, without let, with safety of their Robe, Honour, and Persons, but with the knowledge of the Deputies of the Synod, that provision may be made for their security: granting that, in this Safe-conduct, all those Clauses be held to be included, which are necessary for real and full assurance: adding, That if any of them, either in coming, or in *Trent*, or in returning, shall commit any Enormity, which shall nullifie the benefit of this publick Faith, he shall be punished by their own Judges, so that the Synod may be satisfied: and, on the other side, if any other in coming hither, remaining here, or returning, shall commit any thing which may violate this Safe conduct, he shall be punished by the Synod, with the approbation of the *Germans* themselves, who shall be present in *Trent*, the form of the Assicuration remaining still in force, giving leave to their Ambassadors to go out of *Trent*, to take the Air, and return, to send and receive Advices, and Messengers, as often as they shall think fit, yet accompanied with the Deputies, for their security: which Safe-conduct shall remain in force, so long as they be under the Care of the Synod, in coming to *Trent*, in their abiding there, and Twenty Days after they shall ask leave to depart, or after it shall be granted to them, that they may be rendred in a secure place, at their Election: which things it promiseth faithfully, in the Name of all faithful Christian, of all the Princes, Ecclesiastical and Secular, and likewise of all other Persons Ecclesiastical and Secular, of all Conditions: faithfully promising withal, That the Synod shall not seek Occasion, publickly or secretly, that any thing be attempted in prejudice of this Safe-Conduct, nor, to violate the same, will use, or suffer any to use any authority, power, right, statute,

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ſtatute, or priviledge of Laws, Canons, or Councils, eſpecially that of *Conſtance*, and of *Siena* : which things in this behalf, and for this time, it doth diſallow. And if the Synod, or any perſon in it, or any that belong to them, ſhall violate the form of this Safe-conduct in any point or clauſe whatſoever, and puniſhment be not inflicted to their approbation, let them think that the Synod hath incurred all the puniſhments which the Violaters of ſuch Safe-conducts may incur by the Law of God, or Man, or Cuſtom, without admitting Excuſe, or Contradiction. Theſe things being read, the Seſſion was ended. It is certain that the Preſidents, doubtful what might enſue, were willing to be prepared, if the Wind were proſperous, to decide the matter of the Sacraments, all in one Seſſion : and therefore having in a readineſs all that belonged to the Communion, the Maſs, and Sacrament of Order, they were deſirous to digeſt alſo, and put in Order all that concerned Matrimony, that they might put all into one bundle, and to handle ſuccinctly, in another Seſſion, Purgatory, Indulgences, Images, Reliques, and ſuch ſmall matters, (for ſo they called them) and then to end the Council. And if any thing were oppoſed to this Deſign, they might ſhew that the fault was not in them. 1552 *James* III. *Charles* V. *Edward* VI. *Henry* II.

Many, who read theſe Occurrences, will marvel that the Pope, from whom all Conſultations of far leſs moment were wont to proceed, is not named. Which they will ceaſe to do, when they ſhall know, that he was adviſed from Point to Point, of all the Accidents and Deſigns, and that, when thoſe of *Wittenberg* were arrived, and news came, that more were expected, he anſwered his Legate and *Nuncii*, That the Proteſtants ſhould be entertained with as much Courteſie as was poſſible, knowing it was neceſſary in ſuch Caſes, to ſuffer ſome Indignity ; willing them to uſe Diſcretion, becauſe Patience winneth Honour in the end. That they ſhould abſtain from all publick Colloquy in matter of Religion, either by Writing, or by Word of Mouth. That they ſhould endeavour, by Perſwaſions and Hopes, to gain ſome of the Proteſtant Doctors, and ſhould ſpare no Coſt. The Pope was adviſed of every thing that was done, yet nothing hapned that might make him alter his purpoſe. But when he underſtood, that the Emperour's Ambaſſadors had given the Proteſtants hope to moderate the Papal Authority, and ſaid, That they expected to ſee a Gate laid open by their Negotiation, that afterwards they might ſecond it, and bring in thoſe things which they had deſigned, and that the Fathers did hold it neceſſary to reſtrain it, having other Intelligence that all the *Spaniards* were of that Mind, and that the Emperour did deſign to advance himſelf by debaſing the Papacy, and did cheriſh the Proteſtants, to ſhew that it did not proceed from him, his Mind was alienated from him, and turned to the *French* King. He therefore hearkened to the Treaty of the Cardinal *Tornon*, in the King's Name, which being executed, the diſſolution of the Council would follow, without his pains, or without ſhewing that he did deſire it. Why the Pope is alienated from the Emperor.

The Seſſion being made, the Proteſtants, though they perceived that the Safe-Conduct was not enlarged, as they deſired, diſſembling the knowledge of it, did demand it, and an Authentical Copy was conſigned by the Emperour's Ambaſſador, to the Ambaſſadors of each Prince. Who, having read it, did complain, That Promiſes were not kept, and required the Synod Anſwer to their Propoſitions, and to their Requeſts, made concerning the manner of proceeding in the Council. The Imperialiſts perſwaded them to go on with dexterity, ſaying, as

before,

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before, that with time they should obtain all, but seeking things distastful and before there was opportunity, every thing would be more hard. That it was not necessary to express in the Safe-conduct, that they might exercise their Religion in their Houses, in regard it was understood to be granted, because it was not forbid. That nothing should be done to their Disgrace was plainly expressed, in that good and real usage was promised, and, besides that, publick Prohibitions will be made to all, which will be of greater force. For the Reasons to be alledged in Council, the same was said in Substance, That the Scripture shall be the Ground; but when there is Controversie of the meaning of it, it will be necessary that the Council should be Judge. For it is dumb of it self, without Soul, and, as Civil Laws, hath need of a Judge to give it life; which, in matter of Religion is the Council, as hath been observed ever since the Apostles time. The Protestants received the Safe-conduct, but with *Protestation*, That they did it only to send it to their Princes.

The Protestants receive the Safe-conduct with protestation.

*The Presidents, to examine the Sacrament of Matrimony, as was decreed, making a general Congregation, and chusing Deputies, gave forth 33. Articles, in that matter, to be discussed by the Divines. They ordained also, That the Deputies should make the Canons, as the particulars were examined. Some Congregations were held, and six Canons framed. Whereupon the Protestants complained to the Emperour's Ambassadors, That the hope that with time they should obtain a re-view of the things decided, was quite taken away, because they proceeded to new Decisions, while their Divines were expected. The Emperour's Ambassadors could not obtain of the Presidents to stop their proceeding, which they hastened with all diligence, that either the Protestants might not come to *Trent*, or, if they came, might find all decided. For the Re examination, the Pope, the Court, and all the Prelates, were resolved to deny it constantly. And they thought that they might with better ground deny the Revision of many things, then of a few. But the Emperour, whom it did much concern, to bring the Protestants to *Trent*, but nothing at all to have the matters re-examined, advised by his Ambassadors, of what the Protestants complained, and how they were hindered to go to the Council, sent a man to *Trent*, with Commission to go to *Rome* also to negotiate, that all Action might be deferred for some few days, shewing that that haste did precipitate the business, gave Suspicion to the Protestants, and made them more unwilling to go to the Council. He gave Order also, That his men should be commanded not to proceed, and should protest against the *Papalins*, if perswasions would not serve. This Resolution of the Emperour, signified in *Trent*, caused a general Congregation to be called, where it was resolved, to desist from all Conciliary Act, during pleasure of the Synod.

33. Articles concerning Matrimony are given to be discussed.

Whereof the Protestant Ambassadors do complain.

The *Papalins* do desire to proceed the faster.

But are stopped by the Emperour.

But the Pope was displeased with that which was done, and disdaining at the Emperour for other Causes also, wrote to *Trent*, that suspending the Actions as few days as was possible, they should, for Reputation of the Council, resume them without respect. Another cause, which, besides this, had provoked the Pope and Cardinals, was, That *Ferdinand* desiring to possess *Transilvania*, which was assaulted by the *Turks* on the other side, upon pretence to keep it for the young Son of *John Vaivode*, *George Martinaccio*, Bishop of *Veradino*, a Man of excellent Wisdom, and great Reputation in that Country, was willing to keep it in liberty; and, to avoid greater danger, not being able to contest with

Wherewith the Pope is displeased.

As also with the attempt of *Ferdinand*, against the Bishop of *Veradino*.

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with the *Turks* and the Houſe of *Auſtria* at once, made choice to joyn himſelf with theſe, by whom counterpoiſing the *Turks*, he held all in an even ballance. Thoſe of *Auſtria* knowing, that by gaining of this Prelate, they ſhould wholly obtain their purpoſe, *Ferdinand*, beſides other things which he did to oblige him more unto them, promiſed him a Penſion of Eighty Thouſand Crowns, and the Emperour obtained of the Pope with great inſtance, to create him Cardinal, and (which was ſeldom uſed) to ſend the Cap, and to give him leave to wear the Scarlet Habit, which was not lawful, becauſe he was a Monk of Saint *Baſil*: all which was done in the midſt of *October*. But this vain ſhew of Honour being not eſteemed by the Biſhop, was not willing to prefer the Intereſts of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, before his Countrey, he was Traiterouſly and Cruelly ſlain, by *Ferdinand*'s Miniſters, the Eighteenth of *December*, upon pretence that he held Intelligence with the *Turks*. This Accident did exceedingly move the Cardinals, who thought themſelves moſt ſacred and inviolable. They conſidered of what importance the Example was, That a Cardinal ſhould be ſlain upon feigned Calumnies, or for Suſpicion. And they incited the Pope, who was forward of himſelf, ſhewing him that the Cardinal was Poſſeſſor of a great Treaſure, to the Value of a Million, which belonged to the *Chamber*, being the Goods of a Cardinal, dead without a Will. For all theſe Reſpects the Pope deputed Cardinals to take knowledge of the Crime, and *Ferdinand*, and all his Miniſters of *Tranſilvania*, were thought to have incurred the Cenſures. Commiſſioners were ſent to *Vienna*, to make Inquiſition. And, not to return to ſpeak of this again, I will ſay here, by way of Anticipation, That the Heat being abated, as the Cuſtom is, becauſe that which was done, could not be undone, not to raiſe any greater ſtirs, the proceeding was with much Connivency; and though the Proceſs was made as *Ferdinand* would, yet nothing was proved againſt the dead man, and the purpoſe to draw the Inheritance to the *Chamber* dyed, becauſe little was found, in compariſon of that which was thought, *Martinuccio*, a man bountiful, having ſpent all in the publick Service, and that which was found being divided amongſt the Souldiers. The Pope declared *Ferdinand*, and all thoſe who were not preſent at his Death, to be abſolved, with this Addition, If the things deduced in the Proceſs were true. Whereof the Emperour's Miniſters complaining, as if the Integrity of *Ferdinand* were queſtioned, the Pope made the Sentence abſolute, and thoſe only, who were the Authors of the Murder, went to *Rome* to be abſolved; but ſo, as if they had done a good work. And in *Hungary* and *Rome* it was held, That it was done by Command from him who had Intereſt, according to the uſual ſaying, That of every ſecret Counſel he is Author, who receiveth profit by it. Yet this did *Ferdinand* no good, who ſhortly after, for this and other Cauſes, was chaſed out of *Tranſilvania*. But becauſe to ſpeak thereof, belongeth not to my purpoſe, I return to the matter which I left.

Ferdinand and his Miniſters were thought to have incurred the cenſures.

Ferdinand is abſolved, firſt, conditionally, and then abſolutely.

The Seventh Day of *February*, the next *Sunday* before *Septuageſima*, the Goſpel of the Cockle being read, *Ambroſe Cigogna*, or *Storke*, (for ſo his *Dutch* Name *Pelargo* is expounded) a *Dominican* Divine of the Arch-biſhop of *Triers*, preached; who, applying the Name of Cockle to the Hereticks, ſaid, it was fit to tolerate them, when, without danger of greater miſchief, they could not be rooted out. This was told to the Proteſtants, as if he had ſaid, That it was lawful not to obſerve the Faith given: which raiſed a great Tumult. He defended himſelf

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himſelf that he ſpake of Hereticks in general, and ſaid no more than w the Goſpel it ſelf doth propoſe: but if he had ſaid, That it was fit to e tirpate them with fire, bonds, and halters, or any other way, he ſhou l have done that which the Council in the ſecond Seſſion did command: That he had ſpoken modeſtly, nor could a Sermon be made upon that Goſpel without ſaying as much. The Cardinal of *Trent*, and the Emperour's Ambaſſadors did pacifie the Commotion, but with difficulty, though it was manifeſt, that the Frier ſpake not of keeping Faith, nor of the Proteſtants particularly, but of Hereticks in general. The Elector made this his pretence to depart, which he was reſolved to do before, by reaſon of ſome ſecret Intelligence, which he held with the *French* King, as alſo to recover his Health; and ſo he departed in the midſt of *February*, leaving an Opinion, That it was with the good liking of the Emperour, and with promiſe to return quickly. Yet he paſſed not by *Ispruc*, nor ſpake with the Emperour.

The Elector of *Triers* departeth from *Trent*.

The firſt day of *Lent* the *Stations* were, by affixion, publiſhed in *Trent*, in the ſame manner as in *Rome*, by the Pope's Grant, to him that viſited the Churches; which gave entertainment to the Fathers and Divines, who in regard of the intermiſſion of the Congregations, wanted buſineſs. And before being almoſt idle, they entertained themſelves in private Meetings, diſcourſing variouſly, ſometimes of diſſolving, ſometimes of continuing the Council, according to the News which was brought. In the beginning of *March* Letters came from the Elector of *Saxony*, to his Ambaſſadors, giving them Commiſſion to proſecute their Inſtances in the Council, and adviſing that he was ready to go to the Emperour in perſon; which put all men out of fear. But not long after, a general Rumour was ſpread, That the *French* King was Confederate with the Proteſtant Princes, to make War againſt the Emperour. The Electors of *Mentz* and *Collen* departed the Eleventh of *March*, and paſſing by *Iſpruc*, had very ſecret Conference with *Cæſar*; and the Ambaſſadors of *Maurice*, fearing ſome danger, went ſecretly out of *Trent*, and returned home by divers ways. Notwithſtanding all this, Four Divines of *Wittenberg*, and Two of *Argentina*, came to *Trent* afterwards, who, with the Ambaſſadors of that Duke, did immediately deſire the Emperour's Ambaſſadors, That the Synod might anſwer the Propoſition already made, and begin the Conference. The Legate anſwered, That the Nineteenth of *March*, a Day appointed for the Seſſion, approaching, it was neceſſary to give Order for it, and to handle many other things, of which one ſhould be, to find a form how to treat.

The Electors of *Collen* and *Mentz* depart from *Trent*.

The Divines of *Wittenberg* and *Argentina* come to the Synod.

Therefore that Day a Congregation was made in the Legate's Houſe, and a Reſolution taken to prolong the Seſſion until the firſt of *May*. In this Congregation the Ambaſſador of *Portugal* was received, who preſented his *Mandate*, and made a Speech, and was anſwered in the uſual form, with Praiſe and Thanks to the King, and Words of Complement to the Ambaſſador. But thoſe of *Wittenberg*, ſeeing no Anſwer was made to their Propoſitions, and that the Legate concealed the *Confeſſion*, preſented by them, which many deſired to have, and could not, having brought many Printed Copies, diſtributed them unto divers; which raiſed much Noiſe, and ſome ſaid the deſerved Puniſhment. For he, unto whom Safe-conduct is granted, is bound to give none Offence unto him that granteth it. And this was eſteemed a publick Offence. Yet in the end all was quieted.

The Ambaſſador of *Portugal* is received in Congregation.

The Ambaſſadors of *Wittenberg* ſpread copies of their *Confeſſion*.

The

The Proteſtants, together with the Emperour's Ambaſſadors, deſired often, that the Action ſhould begin; which notwithſtanding was deferred, ſometimes under pretence, That the Legate was not well in Health, ſometimes under divers others. The Emperours Ambaſſadors uſed all means to make them begin, and perſwaded the Proteſtants not to deſire an Anſwer to the Demands preſented by them, and afterwards not to deſire that the Doctrine exhibited by them ſhould be examined. But as one difficulty was removed by the Proteſtants, ſo another was ſtill raiſed by the Preſidents, ſometimes about the manner of treating, ſometimes about the matter with which to begin. But in the end, the Proteſtants, perſwaded by *Pictavius*, were contented to begin where the others would. Yet, for all this, nothing was done. For the Legate, though very ſick of great Paſſions of Mind, was thought to faign, that he might find a Pretence not to begin. The *Nuncii* were irreſolute, and the biſhops did not agree among themſelves. For the Adherents of *Cæſar*, *Spaniards* and others, moved by the Emperour's Ambaſſadors, deſired to proceed: but the *Papalins* ſuſpecting, that the end of the *Imperialiſts* was to come to the Reformation of the Court of *Rome*, embraced all Occaſions of Delay. And becauſe the *Dutch* Biſhops were already departed, by reaſon of the Rumours of War, they expected the like Occaſion alſo, eſpecially becauſe the Advices of the Arms of the *French* King, and Confederates of *Germany* againſt the Emperour, did continue, Proteſts, and Manifeſts being publiſhed, which alleadged, for a Cauſe, the Defence of Religion, and Liberty of *Germany*. The firſt of *April* the Elector of *Saxony* beſieged *Ausburg*, which did render it ſelf the Third Day, and the ſixth, News thereof came to *Trent*, and that all *Tirol* did Arm, and meant to go to *Iſpruc*, there being an Opinion, That the Army of the Confederates did purpoſe to poſſeſs themſelves of the Paſſages of the *Alpes*, to hinder ſtrangers from coming into *Germany*. Therefore many of the *Italian* Biſhops embarked, and went down the River *Adice*, to go to *Verona*, and the Proteſtants determined to depart.

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The Fathers of the Council, and the Proteſtants depart from *Trent*, by reaſon of the rumors of War.

There remaining but few Prelates, and the Legate often doting, by reaſon of his great Infirmity, nor being able conſtantly to reſolve, the *Nuncii* fearing they ſhould be alone in *Trent*, if they expected the firſt of *May*, according to the Order, wrote to *Rome*, deſiring to know what they ſhould do in theſe great ſtraits. The Pope, who already had concluded with *France*, nor eſteemed any more what the Emperour could do, having overcome the Difficulties by which he was compaſſed, aſſembled the Cardinals, and propoſed to them the Advice of the *Nuncii*, the Major part of whom did concur, without Difficulty, that the Council ſhould be ſuſpended. The Bull was made, and ſent to *Trent*, and Letters addreſſed to the *Nuncii*, giving them Authority for the Suſpenſion. Therefore, when they ſaw urgent neceſſity, they were commanded to yield unto it, not putting the Dignity of the Council in danger, which ſhould be reſtored, at another more peaceable time; nor diſſolving it abſolutely, that they might keep it in their power, and uſe it upon occaſions, but ſuſpending it, for ſome years. The *Nuncii* concealed this anſwer, and conſulted with the Emperour's Ambaſſadors and the principal Prelates, who deſired that Order ſhould be expected from *Cæſar*, extenuated the fear as much as they could. Notwithſtanding the Prelates, though the Major part were *Spaniards*, fearing their own Perſons, and hating the Proteſtants, and not hoping, that in ſo great ſtraits, the Emperour could have time to think of the Council,

The Legate doreth, and the *Nuncii* ſend to *Rome* to know what to do.

From whence they receive order to ſuſpend the Council.

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gave conſent to a Suſpenſion. Therefore the *Nuncii* did intimate the publick Seſſion for the 28 of *April*; ſo great was their fear that they could not expect Two days, the time appointed for it.

Thoſe few that remained did aſſemble; and, after the Eccleſiaſtical Ceremonies were ended, (for the Pomps were omitted for that time) the *Nuncio* of *Siponto* cauſed the Decree to be read, by the Secretary; The Subſtance whereof was: That the Synod (the Two *Nuncii* preſiding in their own Name, and in the Name of Cardinal *Creſcentius*, the Legate, grievouſly ſick) is aſſured, That all Chriſtians do know, that the Council of *Trent* was firſt aſſembled by *Paulus*, and after reſtored by *Julius*, at the requeſt of *Charles* the Emperour, to reſtore Religion, eſpecially in *Germany*, and to correct Manners, and that many Fathers, of divers Countries, did meet, without ſparing any pains, or fearing any dangers, and that the proceedings was proſperous, with hope that the Innovators of *Germany* would come to the Council, and yield to the Reaſons of the Church: but that, by the ſubtilty of the Enemy, Tumults are ſuddenly raiſed, which have interrupted the courſe, taken away all hope of preaching, and giving cauſe of fear, that the Synod would rather irritate the Minds of many, than pacifie them. Therefore perceiving that every place, *Germany* eſpecially, is on fire with diſcords, and that the *Dutch* Biſhops, eſpecially the Electors, were departed to make proviſion for their Churches, it hath determined not to contend with Neceſſity, but to be ſilent until better Times. And therefore they do ſuſpend the Progreſs for Two years, with condition, That if all be quiet before that time be ended, the Council ſhall be underſtood to be reſtored; but if the Impediments ſhall not ceaſe at the end of Two years, it ſhall be underſtood that the Suſpenſion is taken away ſo ſoon as the Impediments are removed, without a new Convocation of the Council, his Holineſs, and the Holy Apoſtolick See, having given Conſent and Authority to this Decree. And in the mean time, the Synod doth exhort all Chriſtian Princes and Prelates, as far as concerneth every one, to cauſe all the Decrees of the Council, made until then, to be obſerved in their Dominions, and Churches. This Decree being read, was approved by the *Italians*. The *Spaniards*, who were Twelve, ſaid, That the Dangers were not ſo great as they were made. That five years ſince *Chiuſa* was taken by the Proteſtants, when no Commander, but *Caſtelalto*, was in *Tiral* to defend it, and yet the Council did not diſſolve. Now the Emperour was in *Iſpruc*, by whoſe Vertue thoſe ſtirs would quickly ceaſe; That the timorous ſhould have leave to depart, as then they had, and thoſe remain that would, until the Emperour were adviſed; who, being but Three days Journey diſtant, might return a ſpeedy Anſwer. But the others, oppoſing popularly, the *Spaniards* proteſted againſt ſo abſolute a Suſpenſion; notwithſtanding, the *Nuncio* of *Siponto*, giving his Benediction to the Fathers, gave them leave to begin their Journey. The *Nuncii*, and *Italian* Prelates being departed, in the end, the *Spaniards* departed alſo, and ſo did the Emperour's Ambaſſadors, and the Cardinal *Creſcentius* was carried to *Verona*, where he died.

Which is executed in Seſſion the 2d of *April*.

The Bull of the ſuſpenſion for two years.

Is oppoſed by the *Spaniſh* Prelates.

Who proteſt againſt the ſuſpenſion.

The Legate dieth in *Verona*.

The *Nuncii* are blamed for the laſt part of the Decree.

For the laſt part of the Decree, the *Nuncii* were much blamed in *Rome*, that the Synod had determined the Obſervation of the Conſtitutions, without asking firſt the Confirmation of the Apoſtolick See, alledging, That this, having been exquiſitely obſerved by all former Councils, was a great Uſurpation and Offence againſt the Papal Authority. Some alſo made a Scruple, That all that aſſiſted in that Seſſion, had incur-

red

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ted the censure of the Canon, *Omnes, dist.* 22. having done a prejudice to a priviledge of the Pope's Authority, pretending that the Decrees of the Council were of force before the Confirmation. They said for themselves, That they had not commanded, but perswaded the Observation. But the Answer did not satisfie, because to observe as a Law, doth presuppose an Obligation, and in the Decree, the Exhortation is referred only to Princes and Prelates, who are exhorted to cause the Decrees to be observed. And for the Observers, a former Obligation is presupposed, and for matter of Faith, they said, the Answer could have no place. They might have excused themselves, and said, That every thing was approved by the Pope, before it was published in the Sessions. Neither would this have satisfied, because, though it was true, yet it did not appear. This gave occasion to wonder, that there should be such a Contention, between the Synod and the Protestants, concerning the things decreed, which the Protestants would have re examined, and the Synod would have to be held as concluded. For if they were not perfectly established, they might be re-examined. And they discoursed, That the Pope, who was to confirm them, was to do it, either with taking knowledge of the Cause, or without; if without, the Confirmation was a Vanity, and according to the Proverb, That none should take a Potion, and another be purged; if with it, then the Pope ought to examin them, and so might every one, and refer himself to his Holiness. In sum, if the force of the Decrees of the Council dependeth on the Pope's Confirmation, before that, they are in suspence, and may be questioned, and discussed better, which was always denied to the Protestants. Some did conclude, That the Decree was a Declaration that the Confirmation was not needful. The Protestants thought not of these Reasons, which the stronger they are in the Doctrine of the See of *Rome*, so much the more the use of them would endammage their pretensions. But because there was more speech of the Validity of this Decree in the year 1564. when the Council ended, that which remaineth shall be deferred until then.

And their defence is [illegible]

Though the Protestants had the better in managing the War, yet *Maurice* treated friendly with *Ferdinand*; yea, went to him into his own Territories, desiring nothing of him, but the freedom of the *Landgrave*, his Father in Law, the liberty of *Germany*, and peace of Religion. The Protestants Arms did still proceed; and the Emperour, though he were not ready to make resistance, yet thinking he had *Germany* under his Yoke; he would not leave any part of the Domination which he had assumed: and *Ferdinand*, after he had treated with *Maurice*, went to *Ispruc*, to perswade him. But the Enemies Army approaching that City, the Emperour was forced to fly by Night, with all his Court; and after he had wandred in the Mountains of *Trent*, he came to *Villaco*, a City of *Carinthia*, at the Confines of the *Venetians*; where he was much afraid, because the Senate, to secure the Frontiers, sent Soldiers to that place, though the *Venetian* Ambassador did assure him, that they were at his Service, if there were occasion to employ them. Before he departed from *Ispruc*, he set *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*, at liberty, to take the Glory of his Delivery from *Maurice*: which pleased that Prince very much, whom it concerned more to be favoured by an Enemy his Superiour, than by an Enemy his Equal, and emulous.

The Emperor flyeth from *Ispruc*.

And setteth *Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony* at liberty.

A few Hours after the Departure from *Ispruc*, *Maurice* arrived there the same Night; where not touching any thing that belonged to *Ferdinand*,

Maurice taketh *Ispruc*.

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nand, or the Citizens, he made himſelf Lord of the Emperour's Baggage, and of the Baggage of his Court. The Proteſtants ſeeing their advantage by this flight, publiſhed another *Manifeſt*, ſignifying in ſubſtance; That having taken Arms for Religion, and the liberty of *Germany*, as the Enemies of the Truth had no other aim but that the holy Doctors being firſt oppreſſed, the Popiſh Errors might be reſtored, and the Youth brought up in them, having impriſoned ſome, and made others ſwear to depart, and not return again, which Oath doth not bind, becauſe it is wicked, they did recall them all, and command them to reſume their Office of Teaching, according to the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*, and, to remove all Calumnies, did abſolve them from the Oath taken. The Treaty of Peace ſtill continuing, it was at laſt concluded in *Paſſau*, in the beginning of *Auguſt*, concerning all Differences; and, for Religion, it was thus ordered: That, within ſix Months a Diet ſhould be called, to conſult how the Diſcords in Religion might moſt eaſily, and commodiouſly be compoſed, either by a General or National Council, or by a Colloquy, or univerſal Diet of the Empire. That in that Diet, an equal Number of godly humble and wiſe men of either Religion ſhould be taken, charging them to conſider of, and propoſe the moſt convenient means: and, that in the mean ſpace, neither the Emperour, nor any other may force any in matter of Religion, againſt his Conſcience, or Will, neither *De facto*, nor by form of reaſon, nor do any thing in contempt, or to grieve any for that cauſe, but to let every man live in quiet, and in peace: and likewiſe that the Princes of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion* may not moleſt the Eccleſiaſticks or Seculars of the Old Religion, but let them enjoy their Goods, Lordſhips, Superiorities, Juriſdictions, and Ceremonies; That in the *Chamber* Juſtice be adminiſtred to every one, without regard of what Religion he is, not excluding the Confeſſioniſts from the places they are to have amongſt the Aſſeſſors, and that it be free for the Aſſeſſors, and for the Litigants to ſwear by God and the Saints, or by God and the Goſpel. And though there be no means of compoſition in Religion, yet this Peace ſhall remain in force for ever. And ſo the *Interim* was abrogated, which had been really executed but in few places. The *Landgrave* of *Haſſia* was delivered by Vertue of this Agreement, ſo that all Difficulties with the Emperour did ceaſe; yet the War continued a whole year, in many parts, between divers Princes and Cities of the Empire. But the Cities recalled their Preachers, and Doctors of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*, and reſtored the Churches, Schools, and Exerciſe of Religion; and, though, in regard of the Baniſhments and Perſecutions againſt the Doctors and Preachers, there remained but few of them, and thoſe concealed under the protection of the Princes, yet, as if they had riſen again, there wanted not to furniſh all places. The War hindred the aſſembling of the Diet deſigned, and deferred it from one year to another, until *February* 1555. whereof we will ſpeak in the fit place.

The Proteſtants ſet forth a *Manifeſt*.

A Peace is concluded.

The *Interim* is abrogated. The *Langrave* is ſet at liberty, and the Proteſtant Preachers are recalled. The Diet is deferred.

THE

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Jul III.
Charles V.
Edward VI
Henry II.

THE HISTORY OF THE Council of Trent.

BOOK V.

THE Pope, now freed from many Cares, by the Diſſolution of the Council, thought fit to prevent all Occaſions of Relapſe, and propoſed in Conſiſtory the Neceſſity to reform the Church. He ſaid, he had reduced the Council to *Trent* for this end, which having not ſucceeded according to his deſire, in regard of divers Accidents of War, firſt in *Italy*, then in *Germany*, it was meet to do that in *Rome*, which in *Trent* could not be done. He appointed therefore a great Congregation of Cardinals and Prelates to conſider of the Buſineſs. He ſaid, he elected many, that Reſolutions might be more mature, and have greater Reputation; though his End was thought to be, That, by reaſon of the Multitude, more Impediments might ariſe, and ſo all might come to nothing. And the Event was Judge. For the Reformation was handled in the beginning with great Heat; afterwards it went on, for the ſpace of many Months, very coldly; and, at the laſt, was buried in ſilence. And the Suſpenſion of the Council, inſtead of Two years, did continue Ten; verifying the Maxim of the Philoſophers, That the Cauſes ceaſing, the Effects do ceaſe alſo. The Cauſes of the Council were firſt the great Inſtances of *Germany*, and the hope, conceived by the World, that it would cure all the Diſeaſes of Chriſtendom. But the Effects that were ſeen under *Paul* the Third, did extinguiſh the hope, and ſhew to *Germany*, that it was impoſſible to have ſuch a Council as they deſired. Of the Second Reduction of the Synod there was another Cauſe; which was the great deſire of *Charles* the Emperour, to put *Germany* under his yoke, by means of Religion, and to make the Empire Hereditary, by cauſing his Son to ſucceed him, and ſo to erect a Monarchy, greater than any ſince the *Roman*, even than that of *Charles* the great.

The Pope maketh a great ſhew that he will reform the Church.

The ſuſpenſion of the Council, made for two years laſteth ten.

The Cauſes of the two Convocations of the Council.

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great. For this, the Victories he had obtained was not ſufficient, neither did he think he could ſupply what was wanting by new Forces only: but ſubjecting the People unto him by Religion, and the Princes by Treaties, he had conceived a vaſt hope to immortalize his Name. This was the cauſe why he was ſo earneſt with *Julius* for the Second Convocation of the Council, and of his effectual perſwaſions (not to call them violent) to the Three *Electors* to go thither, and to the Proteſtants, with whom he had power, to ſend their Divines. But while the Council was celebrated, *Charles*, having put all Chriſtian Princes in Jealouſie, found the firſt Encounters in his own Houſe. For *Ferdinand*, though he ſeemed formerly to have conſented to make the Empire common to them both (as it was to *Marcus* and *Lucius*, with equal Authority, an Example followed by *Diocleſian*, and many others afterwards) and then to labour that *Philip* ſhould be choſen King of the *Romans* to ſucceed them, (wherein *Charles* had employed his Siſter, the Queen of *Hungary*, to perſwade him to it, for the advancement of their Houſe) yet better adviſed by his Son *Maximilian*, he began to change his Opinion. To effect this Buſineſs, already ſet on foot, *Philip* was called by his Father; that he might be known to the Electors, in the Diet of *Ausburg*, in the 1551. which made *Ferdinand* retire himſelf, and the foreſaid Queen to go thither, to make peace between the Brothers. But *Maximilian*, fearing that his Father, out of his good Nature, would yield, leaving the Government of the Kingdoms of *Spain*, which the Emperour had given him, in the Hands of his Wife, the Emperour's Daughter, returned ſuddenly into *Germany*, by whoſe perſwaſions *Ferdinand* remained conſtant in his purpoſe, and *Charles* had nothing from the Electors but good Words. By this Oppoſition the Emperour's Edg was abated, who ſent his Son back into *Spain*, without hope ever to obtain the conſent of *Maximilian*. And afterwards being compelled, by the foreſaid War, to make an Agreement, deſpairing of his Son's Succeſſion, he laid aſide all thought of reſtoring the ancient Religion in *Germany*, and, by conſequence, all care of the Council, though he continued many years after in the Empire. And the Court did care for it as little, becauſe none did deſire it. But divers Accidents then happened, which though they ſeemed to make the Suſpenſion perpetual, yet, in the ſecret Providence of God, did miniſter Cauſes for the Third Convocation, which the Continuation of the ſtory requireth ſhould not be paſſed over in ſilence, in regard the knowledge of the Cauſes doth help much to penetrate the Effect, which happened after that the Council was reſumed.

Charles uſeth means to make the Empire hereditary.

But cannot effect it.

Which cauſeth him to lay aſide all care of Religion and of the Council.

1553. The Pope, ſeeing that the People of his Obedience did not ſo much eſteem him, by reaſon of the alienation of *Germany*, did imitate *Eugenius* the Fourth, who maintained the Reputation which the Council of *Baſil* took from him, by a ſhew of *Grecians*, and a ſhadow of *Armenians*; and the late Example of his Predeceſſor *Paulus* 3. who, when the Contentions were hot, between him and the Emperour, for the Tranſlation of the Council to *Bolonia*, for which the People alſo did diſtaſte him, received, with many Ceremonies, one *Stephen*, by the Name of Patriarch of *Armenia* the greater, with One Archbiſhop, and Two Biſhops, who came to acknowledge him for the Vicar of *Chriſt*, and general Commander of the Church, and to render him Obedience. According to theſe Examples, *Julius* did receive with much publick Solemnity one *Simon Sultakam*, elect Patriarch of all the People which are between *Euphrates* and *India*, ſent from thoſe Churches to be confirmed by

How the Pope maintained his reputation.

by the Pope, Succeſſor of *Peter*, and Vicar of *Chriſt*. He ordained him Biſhop, and gave him the Patriarchal Robe with his own Hands, in the Conſiſtory; and ſent him back to his Home, that the Churches might not ſuffer in his abſence, accompanied with ſome Religious men, who underſtood the *Syriack* Tongue. All the Diſcourſe was, not only in *Rome*, but throughout all *Italy*, of the immenſe Number of the Chriſtians in thoſe parts; and how much the Liſts of the Apoſtolick See were enlarged. And particularly they ſpake of the great Number of Churches in the City *Muzal*, which, they ſaid, was the Old *Aſſur*, upon the River *Tigris*, from which *Nineveh*, renowned for the Preaching of *Jonas*, was not far diſtant, ſituated beyond the River. Under this Juriſdiction they put *Babylon*, *Tauris*, and *Arbela*, famous for the Battel between *Darius* and *Alexander*, with many Countries of *Aſſyria* and *Perſia*. They found alſo the ancient Cities named in the Scripture, and *Ecbatan*, which the ſtories do call *Seleucia* and *Niſibi*. They ſaid, That this man, elected by all the Biſhops, was ſent to the Pope for Confirmation, accompanied with Seventy Perſons, as far as *Jeruſalem*, and from thence by Three, of whom One died, and another remained ſick in the Journey, and the Third, called *Caleſi*, came with him to *Rome*. All theſe things were printed, and very curiouſly read. The Pope received another alſo, named *Marderius*, a *Jacobite* of *Aſſyria*, ſent by the Patriarch of *Antioch*, to acknowledge the Apoſtolick See, and give it Obedience, and make Profeſſion of the *Roman* Faith. But the World being ſatiated with the former, did not care for this ſecond. 1553 *James* III. *Charles* V. Q. *Mary*. *Henry* II.

After theſe ſhadows of Obedience, which the See of *Rome* gained, there ſucceeded one real, and of great importance, which did abundantly recompence whatſoever was loſt in *Germany*. The ſixth of *July*, 1553. *Edward*, King of *England* died, of the Age of ſixteen years. Fifteen days before, he made a *Will*, with approbation of his Council, wherein having declared, That it did belong to him to name the Succeſſor, according to the Laws of the Kingdom, he excluded his Siſters, *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, becauſe their Legitimation was doubted of, and all the Poſterity of *Margaret*, his Father's Elder Siſter, as ſtrangers, not born in the Kingdom, and named her Queen who followed in order; that is, *Jane* of *Suffolk*, Grand-child to *Mary*, formerly Queen of *France*, and younger Siſter to his Father *Henry* 8. by her Daughter, notwithſtanding that the ſaid *Henry* had, in his laſt Will, ſubſtituted *Mary* and *Elizabeth*, which Subſtitution he ſaid was pupillary, and did not bind him now he was of Age. *Jane* was proclaimed Queen in *London*, and *Mary*, retiring her ſelf into *Norfolk*, that ſhe might commodiouſly paſs into *France*, if there were occaſion, named her ſelf Queen alſo, and was finally accepted by all the Kingdom, alleadging in her favour the Teſtament of *Henry*, and that of a Matrimony contracted *bona fide*, though there be a *nullity* in it, the Iſſue is Legitimate. *Jane*, and her Adherents were impriſoned, and *Mary* entred into *London*, and was received with a general Applauſe, and proclaimed Queen of *England* and *France*, and had the Title of Head of the Church. She preſently ſet the Priſoners at liberty, which her Father had put into the Tower, partly for Religion, and partly for other Cauſes. A little after her Entry, there aroſe a Sedition in *London*, by occaſion of one who took the Boldneſs to preach Popery, and of another who did celebrate the *Maſs*. To appeaſe this Trouble, which was very conſiderable, the Queen cauſed an Edict to be publiſhed, That ſhe would live in the Religion of her Anceſtors, and therefore would not permit that any thing ſhould

The King of *England* dieth.

Jane is proclaimed Queen.

But *Mary* obtaineth the Crown.

A ſedition in *London* about Religion.

1553. *Julius* III. *Charles* V. Q. *Mary*. *Henry* II.

The Pope maketh Cardinal *Poole* his Legate for *England*.

should be preached to the People, but that which formerly had been. Afterwards the Eleventh of *October* she was Crowned with the usual Ceremonies. The Pope advertized hereof, considering that she was brought up in the Catholick Religion, interested in the respects of her Mother, and Cousin by blood unto the Emperour, hoped he might make some entry into the Kingdom, and therefore did make Cardinal *Pool* his Legate, thinking, because he was of the Blood Royal, and of an exemplary Life, he was the only Instrument to reduce that Kingdom to the Church of *Rome*. The Cardinal, who had been banished by publick Decree, and deprived of his Honour, thought it not fit to begin the Enterprise, before he fully understood the state of things, being assured that the Major part was still devoted to the Memory of *Henry*. He therefore sent into *England* secretly, *Giovanni Francesco Comendone*, to inform him, and wrote a Letter to the Queen: in which, commending her perseverance in Religion in the times of her Troubles, he exhorted her to continue in the times of her Happiness, recommended unto her the salvation of the Souls of those people, and the restitution of the true Worship of *God*. *Comendone* having observed every particular, and found means to speak with the Queen, though compassed and guarded on every side, perceived she had never been averse from the *Roman* Faith, and had promise from her, That she would labour to restore it into the whole Kingdom, which the Cardinal understanding, put himself into the Voyage.

A Parliament is held, and the Divorce of *Henry* the 8 declared to be unlawful.

Popery is established. And the Marriage of the Queen is treated on.

In *England*, after the Coronation, a Parliament was held, in which the Divorce of the Queens Mother, *Katharine* of *Aragon*, was declared to be unlawful, the Marriage good, and the Issue Legitimate; which was obliquely to restore the Pope's Supremacy, in regard it could not be good, without the Validity of the Dispensation of *Julius* the Second, and by consequence, not without the Supremacy of the See of *Rome*. It was ordained also, That all the Constitutions in matter of Religion, made by *Edward*, should be abrogated, and that Religion observed which was in use at the Death of *Henry*. In this Parliament, they treated of Marrying the Queen, though she were above Forty years of Age: and Three were named: *Poole*, who had not taken Holy *Orders*, though he was a Cardinal; and *Courtney*, both of the Blood Royal, and first Cousins of *Henry* the Eighth, in an equal Degree, this of the White Rose, Grand-child of *Edward* the Fourth, by his Daughter, and that of the Red Rose, Nephew to *Henry* the Seventh, by his Sister, both acceptable to the Nobility of *England*; *Poole* for Wisdom, and Sanctity of Life, and *Courtney* for his loving Behaviour, and Carriage. But the Queen preferred *Philip*, Prince of *Spain*, before these, as well for the Treaties made by her Cousin *Charles* the Emperour, (her Affection also inclining much more to the Mothers side than to the Fathers) as because she thought she might better secure her own and the Kingdom's Peace with that Marriage. The Emperour, who did much desire to effect it, fearing that *Poole* might disturb it, by his Presence in *England*, knowing he was departed Legate, made means by Cardinal *Dandinus*, the Pope's Minister, with himself, that he should not part out of *Italy* so soon, saying, That as yet an Apostolick Legate could not go into *England* with Honour. But the Letter of *Dandinus* not taking effect, and *Poole* being in his Journey as far as the *Palatinate*, he sent *Diego Mendoza* to stop him by Authority. It seemed strange to the Cardinal, and he complained, That the Pope's Legation was hindered with the damage of Christianity, and of the Kingdom of *England*

Until the conclusion whereof the Emperour hindreth *Poole* in going into *England*.

and

and joy of *Germany*. Therefore the Emperour, not to give ſo much matter of talk, made him go to *Bruxels*, and entertained him in *Brabant*, until the Marriage was ended, and all things accomodated as he would; and for colour, employed him to treat a Peace between himſelf and the *French* King. 1553. *Julius* III. *Charles* V.

In the beginning of the year 1554. the Emperour ſent Ambaſſadors into *England* to make the Concluſion: and the Queen proceeding to favour the old Religion, did the fourth of *March* publiſh other Laws, reſtoring the Latine Tongue into the Churches, forbidding married men to exerciſe holy Functions, and giving order to the Biſhops not to make them ſwear, who were to be received into the Clergy, as *Henry* had appointed, that the King was Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, and that the Pope had no ſuperiority there, but was Biſhop onely of the City of *Rome*. She ordained alſo that the form of Prayer, inſtituted by *Henry*, where, amongſt other things, God is prayed to deliver that Kingdom from Sedition, Conſpiracy, and Tyranny of the Pope, ſhould be razed out of all the Books of Rites, and forbid to be printed. In *April* another Parliament was held, in which conſent was given to the contract of Marriage: where the Queen propoſed the reſtitution of the Popes Supremacy, which ſhe could not obtain, becauſe the Nobility did reſiſt, who conſidered not that they did vainly deny this demand, which was virtually contained in their aſſent to the Marriage. *Philip* Prince of *Spain*, arrived in *England* the eighteenth of *July*, and on Saint *James*'s day the Nuptials were celebrated, and he received the Title of the King of *Naples*, and did conſummate the Matrimony. In *November* there was a new Parliament, in which Cardinal *Pool* was reſtored to his Honour and Country, and two were ſent to invite and accompany him; with whom he paſſed into the Iſland, and arrived at *London* the three and twentieth of *November*, with a ſilver Croſs carried before him. At his firſt entry into the Parliament, he made a Diſcourſe in *Engliſh* before the King, Queen, and Orders of the Kingdom. He thanked them very much that he was reſtored to his Country, ſaying, That in exchange, he was come to reſtore them to the Country and Court of Heaven of which they were deprived, by departing from the Church. He exhorted them to acknowledge the Errour, and receive the benefit which God by his Vicar had ſent them. The Diſcourſe was very long and artificial; and the concluſion was, That he had the Keys to bring them into the Church, which they had ſhut, by making Laws againſt the Apoſtolick See: which when they did revoke, he would open the doors unto them. The Cardinals perſon was well accepted, and an apparent aſſent was given to his Propoſition, though the Major part did ſecretly abhor the quality of a Popes Miniſter, and were grieved to come under the yoke again. But they had ſuffered themſelves to be carried ſo far, that they knew not how to return.

Q. *Mary*. *Henry* II. 1554.

The celebration of the marriage.

Cardinal *Pool* cometh to *London*, with the Croſs carried before him.

And maketh an Oration in the Parliament.

The next day the re-union with the Church of *Rome* was decreed in Parliament, and the manner was thus ſet down. That a Supplication ſhould be made in the Parliaments Name, wherein it ſhould be declared, that they were very ſorry for having denied obedience to the Apoſtolick See, and for having conſented to the Decrees made againſt it, promiſing to endeavour hereafter that all thoſe Laws and Decrees ſhould be aboliſhed, and beſeeching the King and Queen to intercede for them, that they may be abſolved from the Crimes

The manner of the re-union with the Church of *Rome*.

1554. *Julius* III. *Charles* V. Q. *Mary*. *Henry* II.

and Cenſures, and received, as penitent Children, into the bosom of the Church, to ſerve God, in obedience of the Pope and See of *Rome*. The laſt of *November*, Saint *Andrews* day, their Majeſties, the Cardinal, and whole Parliament being aſſembled, the Chancellor asked the generality, whether they were pleaſed that pardon ſhould be demanded of the Legate, and whether they would return to the unity of the Church, and obedience of the Pope, ſupreme Head thereof; and ſome ſaying yea, and the others holding their peace, a Supplication was preſented to their Majeſties in the name of the Parliament; which being publickly read, they roſe to deſire the Legate, who met them, and ſhewed himſelf willing to give them ſatisfaction; and cauſing the Authority given him by the Pope to be read, he diſcourſed how acceptable to God the repentance of a ſinner was, and how the Angels did then rejoyce for the converſion of that Kingdom: and all being on their knees, imploring the mercy of God, he abſolved them; which being done, he went to the Church with all the multitude, to give thanks to God. The next day an Ambaſſage was deſtinated to the Pope, to render him Obedience; for which were named *Anthony Browne*, Viſcount *Mountacute*, *Thomas Thurlby*, Biſhop of *Ely*, and *Edward Cerne*, who had formerly been Ambaſſador in *Rome* for *Henry* the Eighth, and was now to be reſident there again in that charge. Advice hereof came to *Rome* quickly; for which many Proceſſions were made, not onely in that City, but thorowout all *Italy*, to give thanks to God. The Pope approved what his Legate had done, and ſent a Jubilee the four and twentieth of *December*, alledging in the *Bull* for a cauſe, that, like the Father of the Family, having recovered his prodigal Son, it was meet that he ſhould not onely ſhew domeſtical joy, but generally invite all to the ſame Jubilee; and he praiſed and extolled the actions of the King Queen, and People, of *England*. The Parliament continued until the midſt of *January* 1555. and all the ancient Edicts of the Kings to puniſh Hereticks, and of the juriſdiction of Biſhops were renewed, the Primacy, and all preheminences of the Pope reſtored, all contrary Decrees made within twenty years laſt paſt, as well by *Henry*, as by *Edward*, aboliſhed, the penal Laws againſt Hereticks revived, and many were burned, eſpecially Biſhops, who would perſevere in the Reformation aboliſhed. It is certain that one hundred ſeventy and ſix perſons of quality were burned that year, for Religion, beſides many of the common ſort, which gave but little content to that people, who alſo were diſpleaſed that *Martin Bucer*, and *Paulus Fagius*, dead four years before, were cited and condemned, as if they had been living, and their Bodies digged up and burned; an action, commended by ſome as a revenge of what *Henry* the Eighth had done againſt S. *Thomas*, by others compared to that which the Pope, *Stephanus* the Sixth, and *Sergius* the Third, did againſt the Corps of Pope *Formoſus*.

Ambaſſadors are appointed to go to the Pope.

For which Proceſſions are made in *Rome*.

Many are burned in *England* for Religion.

And in *France* alſo.

Which was done to ſatiate the covetouſneſs of *Diana Valentina*.

Many alſo were at the ſame time burned in *France* for Religion: not without the indignation of honeſt men, who knew that the diligence uſed againſt thoſe poor people, was not for Piety, or Religion, but to ſatiate the covetouſneſs of *Diana Valentina*, the Kings Miſtreſs, to whom he had given all the confiſcations of Goods made in the Kingdom for cauſe of Hereſie. It was wondred alſo, that thoſe of the Reformation, ſhould meddle with Blood for cauſe of Rel
For *Michael Servetus* of *Tarragona*, made a Divine of a Phy
rene

renewing the old opinion of *Paulus Samoſatenus*, and *Marcellus Ancira-* 1554
nus, that the Word of God was not a thing ſubſiſting, and therefore *Julius* III.
that Chriſt was a pure man, was put to death for it in *Geneva*, by *Charles* V.
counſel of the Miniſters of *Zuric*, *Berne*, and *Schiaffuſa*: and *John Cal-* Q. *Mary*.
vin, who was blamed for it by many, wrote a Book, defending that *Henry* II.
the Magiſtrate may puniſh Hereticks with loſs of life: which Doctrine
being drawn to divers ſenſes, as it is underſtood more ſtrictly or more
largely, or as the name of Heretick is taken diverſly, may ſometime do
hurt to him, whom another time it hath helped.

Michael Servetus was burned in *Geneva*.

At that time *Ferdinand*, King of the *Romans*, publiſhed an Edict to all the people ſubject unto him, that in points of Religion, and Rites, they ſhould not innovate, but follow the ancient Cuſtoms; and particularly that in the holy Communion, they ſhould be content to receive the Sacrament of Bread onely. Wherein though many perſons of note, the Nobility, and many of the Cities made ſupplication unto him, that, at the leaſt, the *Cup* might be granted them, ſaying that the Inſtitution was of Chriſt, which might not be altered by men, and that is was the uſe of the old Church, as was confeſſed by the Council of *Conſtance*, promiſing all ſubmiſſion and obedience in all other things, praying him not to burthen their Conſciences, but to accommodate his commandment to the orders ſet down by the Apoſtles, and of the Primitive Church, yet *Ferdinand* perſevered in his reſolution, and anſwered them, that his Commandment was not new, but an ancient Inſtitution, uſed by his Anceſtors, Emperours, Kings, and Dukes of *Auſtria*: and that the uſe of the *Cup* was a novity, brought in by curioſity, or pride, againſt the Law of the Church, and conſent of the Prince. Yet he moderated the rigour of the anſwer, ſaying, that the queſtion being of a point that concerneth ſalvation, he would think of it more diligently, and anſwer them in fit time; but that, in the mean while, he expected from them obedience, and obſervation of the Edict. He publiſhed alſo a Catechiſm the fourteenth of *Auguſt*, made, by his Authority, by ſome learned and pious Divines, commanding all the Magiſtrates of thoſe Countries, not to ſuffer any Schoolmaſters to read any but that, either in publick or in private, becauſe, by divers Pamphlets which went about, Religion was much corrupted in thoſe Countries. This conſtitution diſtaſted the Court of *Rome*, becauſe it was not ſent to the Pope, to be approved by his Authority, nor came forth in the name of the Biſhop of the Country, the Secular Prince aſſuming the office, to cauſe to be compoſed, and to authorize Books in matters of Religion, eſpecially by name of Catechiſm, to ſhew that it belongeth to the Secular Power, to determine what Religion the people ſhould follow, and what refuſe.

The King of the *Romans* publiſheth an Edict againſt all innovation in Religion.

And a Catechiſm.

Which gave diſtaſte to the Court of *Rome*.

The two years of the ſuſpenſion of the Council being expired, they treated in the Conſiſtory what was fit to be done. For although the condition in the Decree was, that the Council ſhould be of force again when the impediments were removed, which did ſtill continue, by reaſon of the Wars of *Siena*, *Piemont*, and others, between the Emperour and the *French* King, yet it ſeemed that any man of an unquiet Spirit might ſay that thoſe impediments were not ſufficient, and that it was underſtood that the Council was on foot again; ſo that, to free themſelves from thoſe dangers, it might be good to make a new Declaration. But wiſer men gave counſel not to move the evil while it was quiet, while the World was ſilent,

It is reſolved in *Rome* not to ſpeak of the Council though the two years of ſuſpenſion were ended.

1554. *Julius* III. *Charles* V.

Q. *Mary.* *Henry* II.

1555. A Diet is held in *Ausburg* to compoſe the differences in Religion

In which *Ferdinand* maketh an Oration.

while neither Prince nor People demanded the Council, leſt by ſhewing they were afraid, they might excite others to require it. This advice prevailed, and made the Pope reſolve never to ſpeak more of it.

In the year 1555, there was a Diet in *Ausburg*, which the Emperour had intimated, principally to compoſe the Controverſies of Religion, in regard this was the Fountain of all the troubles, and calamities of *Germany*, with the loſs not only of the lives of many thouſands of men, but of their Souls alſo. *Ferdinand* began the Diet, in the Emperours name, the fifth of *February*; where he ſhewed at large, the lamentable ſpectacle of *Germany*, in which men of the ſame Baptiſm, Language, and Empire, were diſtracted by ſo various a profeſſion of Faith, there ariſing new Sects every day: which did ſhew not only ſmall reverence towards God, and great perturbations of mens minds, but was cauſe alſo that the multitude knew not what to believe, and that many of the principal Nobility and others were without all faith, and honeſty, making no conſcience of their actions, which took away all commerce; ſo that now it could not be ſaid that the *Germans* were better than the *Turks*, and other barbarous people; for which cauſes God hath afflicted it with ſo great Calamities. Therefore it was neceſſary to take in hand the buſineſs of Religion. He ſaid a general, free, and pious Council was formerly thought the only remedy. For the cauſe of Faith being common to all Chriſtians, it ought to be handled by all: and the Emperour employing all his Forces herein, did cauſe it to be aſſembled, more than once. But there was no need to ſay why no Fruit came by it, it being well known to all that were preſent. Now if they deſired to prove the ſame remedy again, it was neceſſary to remove the impediments, which did hinder them from attaining the wiſhed end. But if, by reaſon of the accidents that occur, they thought fit to defer this until another time, they might treat of uſing other means. They knew not how to make uſe of a National Council, becauſe the manner, form, and name of them were diſuſed. The Colloquies, whereof they had often made proof, did no good, becauſe both parties aimed more at private gain, than publick piety and utility. Yet he ſaid they were not to be deſpiſed now, if they would lay aſide the obſtinacy of their private affections; and counſelled them to try them once more, if the Diet did not propoſe a better way.

And propoſeth a Colloquy.

This Propoſition was made by *Ferdinand*, with others, concerning the Peace and War with the *Turks*, that it might paſs through *Germany*, and ſerve to invite men to the Diet, to which very few were come. But it was ill expounded, in regard of his former Edict, publiſhed in his States, much contrary to this Propoſition, and more, in regard of the execution of it, having chaſed more than two hundred Preachers out of *Bohemia*. And it went to *Rome* alſo; where the Pope, curſing, as he uſually did, the Colloquies, and Inventors of them complained that there was no end of theſe difficulties, and that he was to have a Council, a Colloquy, or a Diet always on his back. He blamed thoſe times for being ſo full of troubles, praiſing former Ages when the Popes might live quietly, not being in fear of their Authority. Yet he was comforted by the perfect ſubjection of *England* to his Obedience, by the Decrees made in his favour, by the Letters of thanks which he received, and with the promiſe that a ſolemn Am-

Which diſpleaſeth the Pope.

Who is conſolated with the obedience of *England*.

baſſage

baſſige would come ere long, to thank him perſonally for his Fatherly clemency and benignity, and to promiſe him obedience. Wherewith being well pleaſed, he could not chuſe but jeſt, and ſaid, that he did enjoy ſome part of happineſs, in that he was thanked by thoſe unto whom he owed thanks. 1555. *Marcell.* II. *Charles* V. Q. *Mary.* *Henry* II.

But though the Pope had little hope of *Germany*, yet, not to neglect it, nor any overture that might be made, in propoſing means to reduce to the Church thoſe that wandred, he ſent Cardinal *Morone*, for his Legate, to the Imperial Diet, with inſtructions ever to lay before them the example of *England*, and, by that, to exhort *Germany* to know their Diſeaſe, and receive the ſame Cure; and, above all, to divert all Colloquies, and Treaties of Religion. The Cardinal was no ſooner arrived in *Ausburg*, but Pope *Julius* died, whereof he received advice eight days after. He therefore departed the laſt of *March*, together with the Cardinal of *Ausburg*, to aſſiſt at the Election of the new Pope. He ſendeth Cardinal *Morone* to the Diet. And dyeth preſently after.

Before they came, *Marcellus Cervinus*, Cardinal *di Santa Croce*, was elected Pope in *Rome*, the ninth of *April*; a man grave, and ſevere by Nature, and of a conſtant mind; which he was willing to demonſtrate in the firſt action of his Papacy, by retaining the ſame name, ſhewing the World that his Dignity had not changed him; contrary to that which ſo many of his Predeceſſors had done. For after the changing of the names began, becauſe *Dutch* men were made Popes, to whoſe names *Roman* ears were not accuſtomed, all that followed obſerved the ſame uſe, ſignifying thereby, that they had changed their private affections into publick and divine cares. But this Pope, to ſhew that in his private Eſtate he had thoughts worthy of the Popedom, would by retaining the ſame name, ſhew his immutability. Another action of his alſo was like to this. For the Capitulations made in the Conclave being preſented to him, that he might ſwear to them, he anſwered it was the ſame thing which he had ſworn a few days before, and that he would obſerve it by deeds and not by promiſes. The holy Week which then was celebrated, and *Eaſter* Holydays approaching, put the Pope, by the aſſiduity of Eccleſiaſtical Ceremonies into an indiſpoſition. Yet his thoughts were ſtill fixed on the things he had deſigned with many Cardinals, before his Popedom, to which he did ever think he ſhould aſcend; and particularly he imparted his purpoſe to the Cardinal of *Mantua*, to compoſe the differences of Religion by a Council, which he ſaid did not formerly ſucceed well, becauſe a good courſe was not taken. That it was neceſſary firſt to make an entire reformation, by which the real differences would be accorded; which being done, the verbal would partly ceaſe of themſelves, and partly would be compoſed with ſome ſmall pains of the Council. That his Predeceſſors for five ſucceſſions, abhorred the name of Reformation, not for any bad end, but becauſe they were perſwaded that it was ſet on foot, to pull down the Papal Authority. But his opinion was contrary, and that nothing could more preſerve it than that; yea, that it would be a means to enlarge it. For obſerving things paſt, every one might ſee, that only thoſe Popes who have made Reformations, have advanced and enlarged their Authority. That the Reformation did not alter any thing but that which was for ſhew and vanity, not onely of no moment, but of charge and burthen; as ryots, pomps, great trains of Prelates, exceſſive, ſuperfluous, and unprofitable charges, which do not *Marcellus Cervinus* is created Pope, and retaineth his name. He purpoſeth to make a Reformation.

1555 *Marcell.* II. *Charles* V. Q. *Mary* *Henry* II.

not make the Papacy venerable, but rather contemned; which vanities being cut off, the true power, reputation, and credit with the World will encreaſe, together with the Revenue and other ſinews of Government, and above all, the protection of God, which every one may aſſure himſelf doth work in conformity of ones proper duty.

And is cenſured by the Court.

Theſe deſigns, publiſhed in Court, were, by his Well-willers, adorned with the Titles of Piety, love of Peace, and Religion; but ſome, that were emulous, ſaid the end was not good; that the Pope did ground himſelf upon Aſtrological Predictions (following his Fathers ſteps, who became great by that profeſſion) which, as ſometimes, either by chance or otherwiſe, they ſucceed, ſo, for the moſt part, they are occaſions of the fall of many. Amongſt the Popes particular deſigns, one was, to inſtitute a Religion of an hundred perſons, like unto a Cavalary: of which himſelf would be Head, and make the Election, taking them out of any other Religion, or ſtate of perſons; every one of which ſhould have yearly five hundred Crowns out of the *Chamber*, ſhould take a very ſolemn and ſtrict Oath of fidelity to the Pope, ſhould not be aſſumed to any other degree, nor have any more Revenue, except, for their deſerts, they were created Cardinals, in which caſe they were not to forſake the Company. Theſe onely he would employ for *Nuncii*, and Miniſters of Buſineſſes, Governours of Cities, Legates, and in all other occaſions of the Apoſtolick See. And many learned men, Inhabitants of *Rome*, whom himſelf did know, were named, and others put themſelves forward to receive this honour. The Court was full of the expectation of many Novities; which were all buried in ſilence, becauſe *Marcellus*, firſt weakned by the pains he took in the long great Ceremonies, as hath been ſaid, afterwards taken with an Apoplexy, dyed the laſt day of the Month, the other Aſtrological Predictions of his Father and his own, which were extended a year after that time, being not verified.

He purpoſed to inſtitute a Religion of an hundred perſons.

But dieth before any thing was effected, having ſat but 22 days.

The Cardinals being aſſembled again in the *Conclave*, he of *Ausburg*, aſſiſted by *Morene*, made great inſtance, that among the Capitulations which the Cardinals were to ſwear unto, one ſhould be, that the future Pope ſhould, by Counſel of the Colledge, call another Synod, within two years, to finiſh the Reformation begun, to determine the Controverſies of Religion that remained, and to find a means to cauſe the Council of *Trent* of to be received in *Germany*. And the Colledge of the Cardinals being full, it was capitulated that the Pope ſhould not create more than four within two years. The three and twentieth day of the next Month, *John Peter Caraffa*, who called himſelf *Paulus Quartus*, was created, the Imperialiſts reſiſting as much as they could. For he was thought not to be the Emperors Friend, in regard of the old diſtaſtes which he received in the King of *Spain* his Court, where he ſerved eight years, in the life time of the Catholick King *Ferdinand*, and becauſe the poſſeſſion of the Archbiſhoprick of *Naples* was denyed him, a few years before, by the common inclination of the Barons of that Kingdom. Whereunto was added the ſeverity of his manners, which made the Court ſad, and put it in greater fear of Reformation, than it formerly had in the Treaties of the Council. The ſtrictneſs of his life, concerning his Perſon and Family, he laid aſide immediately after his Creation. For be-

Two capitulations, one to call another, and council within two years, another not to make above 4 Cardinals within two years.

John Peter Caraffa, called *Paul* the 4. is created Pope.

Of whoſe ſeverity the Court is afraid.

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ing demanded by his Steward what Diet he would have provided for him; he anſwered, ſuch as befitteth a Prince: and would be crowned with greater pomp than was uſual, affecting in all his actions, to keep his Degree with magnificence, and to appear ſtately and ſumptuous. To his Nephews and Kinſmen he was as indulgent as any of his Predeceſſors. He affected to hide his ſeverity towards others, by ſhewing the greateſt humanity, but within a ſhort time he returned to his own natural diſpoſition. 1555. *Paul* IV. *Charles* V. Q. *Mary*. *Henry* II.

He took it for a great glory that the three *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, diſpatched in the time of *Julius*, entred *Rome* the firſt day of his Papacy: and the firſt Conſiſtory after the Coronation was publick. The Ambaſſadors, were brought into it, who proſtrating themſelves at the Popes feet, did, in the name of the Kingdom, acknowledge the faults committed, relating them all in particular (for ſo the Pope would have it) confeſſing they had been ungrateful for ſo many benefits received from the Church, and humbly craving pardon for it. The Pope did pardon them, took them up from the ground, and embraced them: and to honour their Majeſties who ſent them; gave the Title of a Kingdom to *Ireland*, granting them this Dignity by the Authority which the Pope hath from GOD, being placed over all Kingdoms, to ſupplant thoſe that are contumacious, and to build new. Men of judgment, who then knew not the true cauſe of that action, thought it a vanity, not ſeeing what profit, either of Authority or Honour, it might bring to a King, to have many Titles in the Country which he poſſeſſeth, conſidering that the moſt Chriſtian King is more honoured by the onely Title of King of *France*, than if his State were divided into as many Kingly Titles as he hath Provinces. Neither did it then ſeem a fit time to ſay, he had power from God to build up, and overthrow Kingdoms. But thoſe that knew the true cauſe, did not think it vain, but a ſecret uſually practiſed a long time. *Henry* the Eighth, after his ſeparation from the Pope, made *Ireland* a Kingdom, and called himſelf King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*; which Title, continued by *Edward*, was aſſumed by *Mary* and her Husband. The Pope ſo ſoon as he was created, entred into a reſolution that the Title of *Ireland* ſhould not be uſed by thoſe Princes, affirming conſtantly that it belongeth onely to him, to give the Name of a King. But it ſeemed hard to induce *England* to quit that which two Kings had uſed, and the Queen not thinking much of it, had continued. Therefore he found a temper; that is, to diſſemble the knowledge of what *Henry* had done, and himſelf to erect the Iſland into a Kingdom, that ſo the World might believe that the Queen had uſed the Title as given by the Pope, not as decreed by her Father. And the Popes have often given that which they could not take from the Poſſeſſors, and to avoid contentions, ſome have received their own Goods as Gifts, and ſome have diſſembled the knowledge of the Gift, or of the pretence of the Giver. In the private Diſcourſes between the Pope and the Ambaſſadors, he found fault that the Church Goods were not wholly reſtored, ſaying that by no means it was to be tolerated, and that it was neceſſary to render all, even to a farthing; becauſe the things that belong to God can never be applyed to humane uſes, and he that withholdeth the leaſt part of them, is in continual ſtate of damnation. That if he had

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors are received in the firſt conſiſtory after the Coronation.

The Pope giveth to *Ireland*, the Title of a Kingdom.

Which was taken before without the conſent of any Pope.

Popes have often given that which they could not take from the poſſeſſors.

1555.
Paul IV.
Charles V.
Q. *Mary*
Henry II.

had power to grant them, he would do it moſt readily, for his fatherly affection which he beareth to them, and for the experience he hath of their filial obedience, but his Authority was not ſo large, as that he might prophane the things dedicated to God, and let *England* be aſſured that this would be an *Anathema*, and a Contagion, which, by the juſt revenge of God, would always hold the Kingdom of *England* in perpetual infelicity. He charged the Ambaſſadors to write thereof immediately, and was not content to ſpeak of it once, but repeated it as often as there was occaſion. He ſaid alſo plainly, that the *Peter-pence* ought to be paid, as ſoon as might be, and that, according to the cuſtom he would ſend a Collector for that purpoſe; that himſelf had exerciſed that charge three years, having been ſent into *England* for that end, wherein he was much edified, by ſeeing the forwardneſs of the People to contribute, eſpecially of thoſe of the meaner ſort, and told them often, that they could not hope that Saint *Peter* would open Heaven unto them, ſo long as they uſurped his Goods upon Earth. This relation made unto the Queen, with many other Treaties, continued ſucceſſively from *Rome*, cauſed her to employ all her Spirits herein; but nothing could be done, becauſe many of the Nobility, and of the Grandees, had incorporated many of theſe Revenues into their Houſes. For her ſelf ſhe reſtored the Tenths, and all other Eccleſiaſtical Goods annexed to the Crown, by her Brother, and her Father. The Ambaſſadors parted from *Rome* with much praiſe and favour from the Pope, for their ſubmiſſion; a means by which his good will is eaſily gained.

The Pope commandeth the reſtitution of Church Goods in *England*. And the payment of *Peter-pence*.

The Queen maketh reſtitution, which her people refuſe to do.

Immediately after the Creation of the new Pope, the *Imperialiſts* and *French* men, did vye who ſhould gain him. But the Cardinal of *Lorraine* who well knew his humour, confirmed his affection towards the *French*; telling him in Conſiſtory, and in many private Treaties beſides that the King did know, that the Church of *France* had need of Reformation, and was ready to aſſiſt his Holineſs, either by ſending Prelates to the Council, if he thought fit, or by any other means that ſhould ſeem good unto him.

In the mean ſpace, the Diet of *Germany* was proſecuted, not without Contentions, which would have been greater, if Cardinal *Morone* had remained there, as well for the Negotiations he would have made, as for the ſuſpicions conceived by the Proteſtants, that he was ſent onely to oppoſe their Commodities. And it was already publiſhed every where, that *Rome* was full of hope, that *Germany* would quickly come under the yoke, as *England* had done. After the Cardinals departure, the firſt difficulty was; whether the points of Religion ſhould be diſcuſſed firſt of all, which though the Eccleſiaſticks did contradict in the beginning, yet it was finally reſolved, by common conſent to begin there. Wherein there were two contrary Propoſitions; One to treat of the means to reform it; the other to leave every one to his liberty: about which point there was very great Controverſie. But in the end, all inclined to the ſecond propoſition, not knowing how to root out the evil which did ſtill move, onely hoping that when the humours were quiet, and the differences and ſuſpicions removed, many eaſie and commodious ways might be found out. For this, it was neceſſary to eſtabliſh a Peace, that for cauſe of Religion there might be no more War, and that it might be lawful for all the Princes and States of the

Contentions do ariſe in the Diet of *Ausburg*.

the Empire to follow and cauſe to be obſerved in their Dominions what Religion pleaſed them beſt. Which reſolution, when it came to be eſtabliſhed raiſed greater Controverſies. For thoſe of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion* did pretend, that it was lawful for all to accept their Doctrine, retaining the Honours, States, and Degrees which they poſſeſſed. On the contrary, the Catholicks would not have it permitted to the Eccleſiaſticks to change their Religion, and keep their Degree, but that if a Biſhop or an Abbot did embrace the other Religion, he ſhould looſe his Dignity. Neither would they have it permitted to the Cities, which ſeven years ſince had received the Decree of the *Interim* made in *Ausburg*, to return to the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*. 1555. *Paul* IV. *Charles* V. Q. *Mary*. *Henry* II.

But at the laſt a peace of Religion is eſtabliſhed.

Writings paſſed on both ſides concerning this, and at the laſt, the Rigour of either party was abated. The Catholicks were content that the Cities ſhould do as they pleaſed, and the Proteſtants gave over their pretence concerning the Eccleſiaſticks. And the five and twentieth of *September* the *Receß* was made, that a General or National Council (neither of which could be aſſembled in regard of many difficulties) being neceſſary to determine lawfully the Cauſes of Religion, until a way might be opened unto a friendly Agreement throughout all *Germany*, the Emperour *Ferdinand*, the Catholick Princes and States, ſhould not force the Princes's Orders and States of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion* to forſake their Religion and Ceremonies already Inſtituted, or to be Inſtituted in their Dominions, nor ſhould do any thing in contempt thereof, nor hinder them in the free uſe of that Religion: and thoſe of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion* ought to behave themſelves in the ſame ſort towards *Cæſar*, *Ferdinand*, and the other Princes and States of the old Religion, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Secular, every one having Power to eſtabliſh in his own State what Religion he will, and to forbid the other. And if any Eccleſiaſtick ſhall abandon the old Religion, ſhall be no Infamy unto him, but he ſhall preſently looſe his Benefices, which ſhall be conferred upon others by the Patron; and the Benefices, which the Proteſtants have already annexed to Schools and Miniſteries of the Church ſhall remain in the ſame State. That Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction ſhall be exerciſed no more againſt thoſe of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*; but otherwiſe, ſhall be exerciſed according to the ancient Cuſtom. The *Receß* being made, another difficulty aroſe; for the removing of which, *Ferdinand* uſing the abſolute Imperial Authority of his Brother, did declare with conſent of the Eccleſiaſtical Order, that the Titulars, Cities, and Communities, ſubject to Eccleſiaſtical Princes, who have adhered many years to the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*, and received long ſince the Rites and Ceremonies thereof, and do obſerve them ſtill, may not be compelled by their Princes to change them, but may continue in them until a general Concord in Religion, which ſhall be concluded.

Of which the Pope complaineth to the Emperors Ambaſſador, and Cardinal of *Ausburg*.

Pope *Paul* underſtanding of this *Receſs* of *Ausburg*, was exceeding angry; He complained thereof to the Emperours Ambaſſadour, and to the Cardinal of *Ausburg*, reprehending *Ferdinand* for ſuffering a Treaty in matters of Religion, without the knowledge of the Apoſtolick See, and threatning that in due time he would make the Emperour and that King know to their grief, how they had offended him: he exhorted them to prevent it, by revoking and diſallowing the things granted, that he might have no occaſion to proceed, as he

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meant to do, not only againſt the *Lutherans*, but even againſt them alſo as Abettors: offering to aſſiſt them, in caſe they ſhould do it by Authority and Arms, and to command all Chriſtian Princes, upon Pains and Cenſures to aid them with all their Forces. He was not ſatisfied with the Ambaſſadours anſwer, who alleadged the ſtrength of the Proteſtants, the War againſt *Cæſar*, in which he was like to be Priſoner in *Iſpruc*, and the Oaths taken. For the Oaths, he anſwered that he freed and abſolved them, yea commanded not to obſerve them. To the reſt he ſaid, That in Gods Cauſe, one muſt not proceed according to humane reſpects. That the Emperour was in danger by Gods permiſſion, becauſe he did not what he could and ought to do, to reduce *Germany* to the Obedience of the Apoſtolical See: that this is but a Token of Gods anger, and that he muſt expect greater Puniſhment, if he take not warning by it: but carrying himſelf as a Souldier of Chriſt undauntedly, and without Worldly reſpects, he ſhall obtain all manner of Victory, as the examples of the times paſt do demonſtrate.

The Fame was, that the Pope was moved to ſay ſo, not only by his own inclination, but by the perſwaſion of the Cardinal of *Ausburg*, who was diſpleaſed with the liberty granted to the *Confeſſioniſts*. It is certain, that *Paul* being of an high Spirit and vaſt Thoughts, did aſſure himſelf that he could redreſs all the Diſorders by his Papal Authority only, nor had need of any Prince herein. Therefore he never ſpake with Ambaſſadours, but he thundred in their Ears, that he was above all Princes, that he would not that any of them ſhould be too Domeſtical with him, that he could change Kingdoms, that he was Succeſſor of him who hath depoſed Kings and Emperours, and did often repeat, for a beginning of Authority exerciſed by him, that he had made *Ireland* a Kingdom, and went on ſo far, that, in Conſiſtory, and at his Table publickly, in the preſence of many he ſaid, he would not have any Prince for his Companion, but all Subjects under his foot (ſo he ſaid, ſtriking it againſt the ground) as it is fit, and as it is his Will who hath built the Church, and has placed them in this degree. And ſometimes he would ſay, that, rather than we would do any thing baſely, we would die, overthrow all, and ſet the whole World on fire.

Paul had vaſt thoughts, and was exceeding proud.

Paul the Fourth was naturally of a loſty Mind and Courage, and truſted much in his Knowledge and good Fortune, which did accompany him in all his Actions: whereunto the Power and Fortune of the Papacy being added, he thought every thing was eaſie. But two Humours did flote in him by turns; one, which by Cuſtom to make uſe of Religion in all his Attempts, did induce him to imploy his Spiritual Authority: the other was put into him by *Charles Caraffa*, his Nephew, who being Valiant, and exerciſed in War, made Cardinal of a Souldier, did retain his Martial Spirits, and perſwaded him to uſe his Temporal Power, ſaying, That the one without the other is deſpiſed, but, being joyned, are Inſtruments of great matters. The circumſpect old man, knew well that the Spiritual is made weaker, when it is manifeſted that there is need of the Temporal. But being ever intent to make his Name great, ſometimes he gave ear to his Nephew, and ſometimes he believed himſelf more. In the end he concluded to uſe the Temporal ſecretly, and the Spiritual openly, that, proceeding with this, he might add, or omit the other, as he ſhould be adviſed by the Events. Therefore he treated moſt ſecretly,

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by his Nephew, with the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, a League with the *French* King; which being almoſt made, *Lorraine* parted from *Rome*, to take away Suſpition, and the Cardinal *Tournon* went thither, with whom it was concluded, with the ſame Secrecy. The principal Capitulation whereof was the gaining of the Kingdom of *Naples* for a younger Son of the King, with great enlargement of the bounds of the Eccleſiaſtical State; whoſe Confines were to be St. *Germano*, *Gerigliano*, and on the further ſide of the *Appennine*, the River *Peſcara*, beyond *Beneventum*: and ſome things beſides were yielded unto for the Popes benefit. 1555. *Paulus* IV. *Charles* V. Q. *Mary*. *Henry* II. He treateth a League with the *French* King.

The Pope alſo, that he might have a Prop to lean on in both Courſes, thought it neceſſary to make a promotion of Cardinals, Dependants on himſelf, Men of Courage, who would not be afraid to Proſecute his Deſigns, and imploy themſelves in any hard Enterpriſe. He began to ſpeak of this promotion but a few days before he made it; which grieved the Cardinals, for that he would contradict the Capitulation which he had Sworn: and the *Imperialiſts*, above all, conſidering the quality of the Perſons to be promoted, purpoſed to oppoſe. The twentieth of *December*, the Pope being entred into the Conſiſtory, ſaid, ſo ſoon as he ſat down, That he would not give Audience to any that day, becauſe he had greater Matters to propoſe. Every one underſtanding by this, that his meaning was to create new Cardinals, the Cardinal of St. *James's* went to his Seat, to ſpeak with him; and the Pope refuſing, and the Cardinal not deſiſting, he ſet his hand on his Breaſt, and thruſt him from him. All being ſet, the Pope began to complain of thoſe who reported he could make but four Cardinals, in regard of that which he had Sworn in the *Conclave*, and ſaid, That this was to bind the Popes Authority, which is abſolute; that it is an Article of Faith, that the Pope cannot be bound, and much leſs can bind himſelf; that to ſay otherwiſe was a manifeſt Hereſie; from the guilt whereof he did Abſolve thoſe that were faulty, becauſe he thought they did not ſpeak Obſtinately, but hereafter if any ſhall ſay the ſame, or the like, againſt the Authority given him by God, he will give order that the *Inquiſition* ſhall proceed. He added, That he would make Cardinals, and would not have any contradiction, becauſe he wanted Perſons for imployment, which he could not put upon them, becauſe every one had his proper Faction: that it was fit to promote Men of Learning, and of exemplary Life, to imploy them for Reformation of the Church, eſpecially in the Council, whereof it was high time to treat ſeriouſly, which he would propoſe with the firſt occaſion. But now he would name unto them the Perſons to be promoted to the Cardinality (a thing not to be deferred any longer) that they having a conſultive Voice, might put to his conſideration what was for the good of the Church, wherein they ſhould be heard; and that they ſhould not believe they had a deciſive Voice, becauſe that belonged only to him. He propoſed ſeven Perſons: in which number only one was his Kinſman, and another of the *Theatine Congration*: the others were men of much Fame, either for Learning, or for the Negotiations of the Court. Amongſt theſe was *Johannes Groperus* of *Collen*, of whom often mention hath been made; who knowing he would not live long, thinking to honour his memory much more by refuſing a dignity, deſired even by great Princes, then by keeping it a few days, which would give matter of Diſcourſe to thoſe that were Emulous of him, he ſent the Pope many thanks, together with his Excuſe, and refuſing the Ornaments, would And createth Cardinals contrary to his Oath.

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neither have the Name, nor the Title. The Cardinals were created next Sunday before the League was concluded with *France*, which was the 15. of that Month.

Card. *Poole* is ordained Prieſt and made Arbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

At this time Cardinal *Poole*, who for many reſpects of Succeſſion, and to ſhew he was not ſo much obliged to the Papacy, would not receive Eccleſiaſtical *Orders*, theſe cauſes being ceaſed, went out of the number of the Deacon Cardinals, and was ordained Prieſt: and four Months after, the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury* being burnt, having been firſt degraded with many Ceremonies, he was put into his place.

The people of *Auſtria* deſire liberty of Religion.

The people of *Auſtria*, in regard of the *Receſs* made in the Dyet, and of *Ferdinands* declaration in favour of the Cities, and Nobles ſubject to Eccleſiaſtical Princes, entred into hope that themſelves alſo might retain liberty of Religion. Therefore having called a Dyet of his Subjects, to have a contribution againſt the *Turks* who made War againſt him, they demanded permiſſion and freedom to live in purity of Religion, and to injoy the benefit which was granted unto the *Confeſſioniſts*; telling the King that the ſcourges of the *Turks*, are Gods Viſitations, to invite them to amendment of life; that Arms are in vain taken againſt the Enemy, if the wrath of God be not firſt appeaſed, who will be honoured according to his own preſcript, and not according to the fancies of men. They beſeeched him that they might not be in worſe eſtate than other *Germans*, and that Miniſters of the Church might teach and diſtribute the Sacraments, according to the Evangelical and Apoſtolical Doctrine; and that the School-maſters ſhould not be baniſhed until their cauſe were heard, according to juſtice; offering, upon theſe conditions, to adventure their lives and goods, to give him contentment.

To whom *Ferdinand* anſwereth thus.

Ferdinand anſwered, that he could not grant their demand, not for want of Will to gratifie them, but becauſe he was bound to obey the Church, and that himſelf and *Cæſar* had ever deteſted the diſcords in Religion; for remedy whereof they had inſtituted many *Colloquies*, and finally procured the Council of *Trent*; which if it had not a happy ſucceſs, it was not to be imputed unto them, in regard it is known with what counſels and artifices it has been hindred by others: that afterwards an Edict was made in favour of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*, in which themſelves were partakers, becauſe it was ſaid therein, that every Prince not Eccleſiaſtical, might chooſe which of the two Religions he would, and the people follow the Religion of the Prince, with which if any be not content, he hath liberty to ſell his Goods, and to go whither he will; that therefore their duty was to continue in the old Catholick Religion, which himſelf profeſſeth: but to yield to their deſires as much as he could, he was content to ſuſpend that part of the Edict which concerneth the Communion of the *Cup*, yet with condition that they ſhould change nothing in the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, until the Decree of the future Dyet. And they, deſiring nothing elſe, were content to contribute readily againſt the Enemy.

The *Bavarians* alſo deſire liberty of Religion. Which their Duke doth grant unto them in ſome few points.

The *Bavarians* alſo deſired of their Duke, liberty of Religion, demanding a free preaching of the Goſpel, Marriage of Prieſts, the Communion *Sub utraque*, and to eat fleſh every day, proteſting, that otherwiſe, they would not pay the heavy Subſidies and contributions againſt the *Turks*. The Duke ſeeing that *Ferdinand* (his Wives Father) had granted his people the Communion of the *Cup*, to obtain contri-

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butions of them, did likewiſe grant them that Communion, and leave to eat Fleſh, if there were neceſſity on faſting days, until the cauſes of Religion were compoſed by publick Authority, the Edicts made by him in matter of Religion ſtill remaining in force; proteſting, in many and copious terms, that he would not depart from the Church, and Religion of his Anceſtors, nor change ought in the Ceremonies, without conſent of the Pope, and the Emperour promiſing to procure that his Metropolitan and Biſhops ſhould approve this grant, and not moleſt any for theſe things. The whole *Palatinate* did embrace the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*, becauſe the *Elector* being dead, his Nephew ſucceeded, who had declared himſelf to be of that *Confeſſion* many years before; for which he had ſuffered many Perſecutions. And now being made Prince, he preſently forbad the Maſſes and *Roman* Ceremonies throughout all his Principality.

1556. *Paulus* IV. *Charles* V. Q. *Mary*. *Henry* II.

The whole Palatinate doth imbrace the *Auguſtan* Confeſſion.

But the Pope having laid the Foundations before rehearſed, applying himſelf to ſpiritual matters, thought it neceſſary to gain credit with the World, which could not be done, if it did not appear by deeds, not by words onely, that the Court of *Rome* was reformed. Therefore being wholly bent to this in the end of *January* 1556. he erected a Congregation, in which were four and twenty Cardinals, and five and fourty Prelates and other Perſons, the moſt learned of the Court, to the number of 150. and divide them into three ranks, in each of which were eight Cardinals, fifteen Prelates; and others to the number of fifty. To theſe he committed the diſcuſſion of all the doubts in matter of Simony: which he Printed and ſent Copies of them to all Princes, and ſaid he had publiſhed them, that they might come to the knowledge of the *Univerſities* of general *Studies*, and of every learned Man, that all might have occaſion to make known their Opinions, which he would not openly deſire, becauſe it was not honourable for th See, which is Miſtriſs of all, to go about and beg them. He ſaid, That for himſelf he had no need of the inſtruction of any, becauſe he knew what *Chriſt* did command; but that he had erected the Congregation, that, in a matter wherein all are intereſted, it might not be ſaid that he had proceeded of his own head. He added, that having purged himſelf and his Court, it could not be ſaid to him, *Phyſician cure thy ſelf*, and that he would make Princes know, that there is greater Simony in their Courts, which he would take away, being Superiour as well to Princes as Prelates.

1556. The Pope erecteth a congregation to diſcuſs all doubts concerning Simony.

In the firſt Congregation of the firſt rank, held the 26. of *March*, before Cardinal *Bellai*, Dean of the Colledge, twelve Perſons did ſpeak, and there were three Opinions. One of the Biſhop of *Feltre*, who defended that for the uſe of the Spiritual power it is not inconvenient to take Money, when it is not for a price, but for other reſpects: another of the Biſhop of *Seſſa*, that this was by no means lawful, and upon no condition, and that it was abſolutely deteſtable Simony, as well to give as to receive, nor could be excuſed with any pretence: the third of the Biſhop of *Sinigaglia*, in the middle between theſe two, that it might be lawful, but in ſome certain time onely, and with certain conditions. The voyces of that rank being all given, and brought to the Pope after *Eaſter* Holy-days, he ſeeing the diverſity of the Opinions, did almoſt reſolve to publiſh a *Bull* according to his own Senſe, that it was not lawful to take a reward, preſent, or alms, not only demanded, but voluntarily offered, for any ſpiritual grace whatſoever, that he would grant no more Matrimonial diſpenſations, and was in a mind

In the firſt meeting of which three Opinions are broached.

The Pope intendeth to publiſh a *Bull* according to his own Opinion.

The *Bull* is hindred.

1556. *Paulus* IV. *Charles* V. Q. *Mary* *Henry* II.

mind to Redreſs thoſe that were already granted, as much as he could without Scandal. But there were ſo many Delays and Impediments interpoſed by divers, that he could not come to a Reſolution.

Some told him that it was neceſſary to handle ſuch a thing in a general Council, which he heard with great Indignation, and ſaid he had no need of a Council, himſelf being above all. And Cardinal *Bellai* ſaying, That a Council was neceſſary, not to add Authority to the Pope, but to find a means for Execution, which cannot be Uniform in all places, he concluded, that if a Council were neceſſary, it ſhould be held in *Rome*, and that it was not needful to go elſewhere, that he never conſented that the Council ſhould be held in *Trent*; as was known to them all, becauſe it was in the midſt of the *Lutherans*, that the Council is to conſiſt of Biſhops only; that other Perſons might be admitted for Counſel, yet only Catholicks, otherwiſe the *Turk* alſo ought to be admitted; that it was a great Vanity to ſend into the Mountains threeſcore Biſhops of the leaſt able, and fourty Doctors of the moſt unſufficient, as was twice done already, and to believe that by thoſe, the World could be better Regulated, than by the *Vicar* of *Chriſt*, with the Colledge of all the Cardinals, who are the Pillars of all Chriſtendom, Elected for the moſt Excellent of all Chriſtian Nations, and by the Counſel of the Prelates and Doctors which are in *Rome*, who are the moſt learned Perſons in the World, and more in number than by any diligence, can be brought to *Trent*.

His opinion concerning the Council to *Trent*.

But when news came to *Rome* of the grant of the *Cup*, made by the Duke of *Bavaria* to his Subjects, he entred into a great rage againſt him: and he put this amongſt other things, for which he deſired to make proviſion at once, being full of hope, that every thing would be eaſie unto him, if the Court were Reformed, and was not troubled though he ſaw the number of abuſes to increaſe. For a few days after the Ambaſſador of *Polonia*, coming expreſly to Congratulate his Holineſs for his Aſſumption to the Popedom, made five Demands in the name of the King and the Kingdom. To Celebrate the Maſs in the *Polonian* Tongue. To uſe the Communion *Sub utraque ſpecie*. The Marriage of Prieſts. That the payment of *Annates* might be taken away. And that they might call a National Council to reform the proper Abuſes of the Kingdom, and to reconcile the variety of Opinions. He heard theſe Demands with unſpeakable Impatience, and ſet himſelf to deteſt them moſt bitterly, ſpeaking againſt them, one after another, with infinite vehemency. And for concluſion, he ſaid that a general Council in *Rome* would cauſe the Hereſies and bad Opinions of many to be known, alluding to what was done in *Germany*, *Auſtria*, and *Bavaria*. And being for theſe reaſons almoſt reſolute in himſelf, (or at the leaſt, willing to ſeem ſo) that it was neceſſary to call a Council, he told all the Ambaſſadours that they ſhould ſignifie to the Princes his purpoſe to make a Lateran Council, like unto that which is ſo famous. And he ſent *Nuncii* to the Emperour and the *French* King, to exhort them to Peace, though in *France* he had a more ſecret Negotiation. He gave Commiſſion alſo to Treat with them of the Council; and ſaid in the Conſiſtory, in a long Diſcourſe, (as he was very copious) that it was neceſſary to celebrate it quickly, ſeeing that beſides *Bohemia*, *Pruſſia*, and *Germany*, which were much infected (for thoſe were his words) *Polonia* alſo was in danger. That in *France* and *Spain* they were well affected in Religion, but the Clergy was badly uſed. That which

He is much diſtaſted with the grant made by the Duke of *Bavaria*.

As alſo with the five demands made by the *Polonian* Ambaſſadours.

Which maketh him ſpeak of holding a *Lateran* Council.

He is angry with the *French* King.

which he principally reprehended *France*, was the exaction of the Tenths, which the King made the Clergy ordinarily pay. But he was more incited againſt *Spain*. For *Paul* the Third, and *Julius*, having granted the Emperour *Charles* the half and quarter Fruits, for a Subſidy of the War of *Germany*, and he having revoked the Grant, becauſe he was not ſatisfied with the *Receſs* of *Ausburg*, yet they perſevered in *Spain*, and forced the Clergy to pay, by Sequeſtrations and Impriſonments. 1556. *Paul* IV. *Charles* V. Q. *Mary*. *Henry* II.

He did not forbear to ſay that the Emperour was an Heretick; that in the beginning he favoured the Innovators of *Germany*, to depreſs that Holy See, and to make himſelf Lord of *Rome*, and of all *Italy*; that he held *Paul* the Third in perpetual trouble, and that he ſhould not do the like to him. He added, that although he might remedy all theſe Inconveniencies by his own Authority, yet, not to lay ſo great a burden upon himſelf alone, he would not do it without a Council; that he had called it in *Rome*, and named it the *Lateran*; that he had given Commiſſion to ſignifie it to the Emperour and *French* King in Courteſie, but not to have their Conſent or Counſel, becauſe his Will was, they ſhould Obey; that he was aſſured it would pleaſe neither of them, becauſe it is not for their purpoſe, living as they do, and that they will ſay many things againſt it, to diſturb it. But he will call it whether they will or no, and make known what that See can do, when it hath a Pope of Courage. The 26. of *May*, the Anniverſary of his Coronation, all the Cardinals and Ambaſſadours Dining with him, according to Cuſtom, he began after Dinner to diſcourſe of the Council, and that his reſolution was to celebrate it by all means in *Rome*, and that in courteſie, he gave notice thereof to the Princes, and that the high ways may be made ſecure for the Prelates. But if no Prelates would come thither, yet he would hold it with thoſe only who are in Court, becauſe he well knew what Authority he had. And with the Emperour much more.

While the Pope was buſie about the Reformation, News came to *Rome*, that a Truce was concluded the fifth of *February*, between the Emperour and *French* King, by the mediation of Cardinal *Pool*, who did interpoſe in the Name of the Queen of *England*: which made the Pope amazed, and the Cardinal *Caraffa* much more, having been treated and concluded without them. The Pope was diſpleaſed, principally for the loſs of Reputation, and for the danger which it brought, if thoſe two Princes were joyned, at whoſe diſcretion he muſt needs ſtand. To the Cardinal, impatient of reſt, it ſeemed that five years, in the decreprit age of his Uncle, did quite take from him all occaſions to chaſe the *Spaniard* out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, whom he ſo much hated. Yet the Pope not looſing Courage, made ſhew of joy for the Truce, but ſaid he was not fully ſatisfied with it, becauſe a peace was neceſſary, in regard of the Council, which he purpoſed to celebrate, which he was reſolved to treat, and for that end, to ſend Legates to thoſe Princes, being aſſured to conclude it, becauſe he would imploy his Authority. For he would not be hindred in the Government of the Church committed to him by *Chriſt*. To the Emperour, he ſent *Scipio Rebiba* Cardinal of *Piſa*, and to the *French* King, Cardinal *Caraffa* his Nephew. This went with all ſpeed, and to the other order was given to go ſlowly. *Rebiba* had inſtruction to exhort the Emperour to amend *Germany*, which was not done until then, becauſe none had proceeded aright in that enterpriſe. He knew the deſeſts of his Predeceſſors, who to ſtop the Reformation of the Court, did hinder the good progreſs of the Council. But contrarily he. But moſt of all for the Truce concluded between thoſe two Princes. Notwithſtanding he diſſembleth his Paſſion, and ſendeth Legates to them both, to treat a Peace, but intendeth nothing but War.

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he was reſolved to promote the Reformation, and celebrate a Council in his own preſence, and to begin with this point; aſſuring himſelf that when they ſhould ſee the Abuſes taken away, for which they have ſeparated themſelves from the Church, and remain contumacious ſtill, they will deſire, and run to receive the Decrees and Conſtitutions which the Council will make; where ſhall be reformed, not verbally, but really, the Head, Members, Clergy, Laity, Princes, and People. To do ſo good a work, a Truce of five years is not ſufficient, becauſe there are no leſs Suſpicions in Truces than in War; and one muſt ever be ready to provide againſt the time when they end; that a perpetual peace is neceſſary, to remove all Malice and Suſpicions, that all may bend themſelves joyntly, without Worldly reſpects, to that which concerneth the Union and Reformation of the Church. He gave the like inſtruction to *Caraffa*, and was content it ſhould be publiſhed, by giving out ſome Copies of it.

The Court did generally think that the Pope ſpake ſo often and ſo earneſtly of the Council, that no man elſe might propoſe it unto him, and did threaten the Princes, and all the World with it, to make them abhor it. But afterwards it was known, that he deſigned to free himſelf by another way, from the trouble given to his Predeceſſors. For when the Reformation onely of the Pope, of the Court, of the exempted and priviledged Perſons, dependants of the Popedom, was propoſed, every Prince, People and private man, in regard nothing was to be handled that concerned them, was forward to ſollicite the Council; but he propoſing the Reformation of the Clergy, Laiety, and eſpecially of the Princes, with a moſt ſevere *Inquiſition*, which he deſigned to inſtitute, he made them all equal, ſo that himſelf was not in queſtion onely, but others likewiſe. And this was a Secret, by which he meant to hold all men in fear, and himſelf in Reputation of Integrity and Worth. And concerning the Council, he meant to govern himſelf according to the Conjunctures, yet ever holding this point conſtantly, to celebrate it in *Rome*.

But to return to the Legates, he gave his Nephew a large inſtruction, to try the Kings mind, and if he ſaw him reſolute to obſerve the Truce, to thunder into his Ears the ſame leſſen of the Council: and to *Rebiba* he gave order to govern himſelf as he ſhould receive advice from his Nephew. *Caraffa* carried to the King the Sword and Hat, which the Pope had bleſſed on *Chriſtmas*-day at night, according to the Cuſtom. Of the Peace he made no mention, but repreſented to the King, that howſoever the League was not violated by the Truce of five years, yet it was made of no force, to the great danger of his Uncle and of his Family, and that they had already ſome taſte thereof, by that which the *Spaniards* had done. He recommended to him, in moſt effectual terms, Religion and the Papacy; to which his Predeceſſors gave ſingular Protection, and the Pope himſelf and his Family, much devoted to his Majeſty. The King was not averſe, but remained doubtful, conſidering the Popes Age, who might die when he ſhould have moſt need of him. *Caraffa* perceived this, and found a remedy, promiſing that the Pope ſhould Create ſo many Cardinals, Partial for *France*, and Enemies to *Spain*, that he ſhould ever have a Pope on his ſide. The Cardinals perſwaſions, and the promiſe of the promotion, and the abſolution from the Oath of the Truce, which he gave in the Popes name, together with the Negotiation of the Cardinal of *Lorraine*

The *French* King breaketh the Truce at the Popes inſtance.

Lorraine and his Brother, made the King reſolve to move War, though the Princes of the *Bloud*, and all the *Grandees* of the Court abhorred the infamy of breaking the Truce, and receiving Abſolution from the Oath. The Concluſion being made, *Caraffa* recalled the Legate ſent to the Emperour, who was Arrived at *Maſtric*, and cauſed him to come into *France*, though he was but two days journey diſtant from *Cæſar*: which made the Emperour, and the King his Son believe, that in *France* ſomething was concluded againſt them.

1556. *Paul* IV. *Charles* V. Q. *Mary*. *Henry* II.

The Popes diſtaſtes againſt the Emperour and his Son, did daily increaſe. He made a moſt ſevere Proceſs againſt *Aſcanius Colonna*, and *Marcus Antonius* his Son, for many offences, which he pretended to be done againſt the Apoſtolick See ſo long ſince, as when *Clement* was beſieged, and afterwards againſt *Paul* the Third, and *Julius*, and by *Marcus Antonius* againſt himſelf, and the State of the Church: and relating in Conſiſtory all the injuries done of old by the *Colonneſi*, againſt the Apoſtolick See, did Excommunicate *Aſcanius* and *Marcus Antonius*, deprive them of all Dignity and Fee, with Cenſures againſt thoſe that gave them aſſiſtance or favor, and did confiſcate all their poſſeſſions within the State of the Church, and gave them to the Count *Montorius* his Nephew, with the Title of Duke of *Pagliano*. *Marcus Antonius* retiring into the Kingdom, was received, and ſometimes made Excurſions upon his own Lands, with ſome few Souldiers, which much provoked the Pope; who thinking his Nods were Commandments unto all, able to terrifie every one, he could not endure to be ſo little eſteemed at *Naples*, his Country where he would have been thought to be Omnipotent. He thought in the beginning, by talking laviſhly of the Emperour, and of the King, to make them deſiſt from favouring the *Colonneſi*, and therefore ſpake very often diſgracefully of them, in the preſence of all ſorts of Perſons, but moſt willingly when any *Spaniſh* Cardinal was preſent, and at laſt, commanded it ſhould be written unto them.

The Pope proceedeth ſeverely againſt the *Colonneſi*.

Who retire into the Kingdom of *Naples*, and make excurſions upon their Lands.

None of theſe proofs taking effect, he proceeded further, and the three and twentieth day of *July* made the *Fiſcal*, and *Silveſter Aldobrandinus*, the Conſiſtorial Advocate, appear in the Conſiſtory, who declared that his Holineſs having Excommunicated, and deprived *Marcus Antonius Colonna*, and prohibited under the ſame Cenſures, all ſorts of Perſons to aſſiſt or favour him, and it being Notorious that the Emperour, and King *Philip* his Son, had furniſhed him with Horſe, Foot, and Money, they were fallen into the Puniſhments of the ſame Sentence, and had loſt their Territories, which they held in *Fee*. Therefore they deſired that his Holineſs would proceed to a declaratory Sentence, and give order for Execution. The Pope anſwered that he would adviſe of it, by the Councel of the Cardinals, and giving them leave to depart, he propoſed in Conſiſtory what was fit to be done, in a Caſe of ſo great Importance. The *French* Cardinals, ſpake with much Honour of the Emperour and King *Philip*, but ſo that the Pope was more provoked. The Imperialiſts uſed words of an Ambiguous Senſe, fit to gain time. The *Theatini*, the Popes own Cardinals, ſpake magnificently of the Papal Authority, and of the worth and wiſdom of his Holineſs, who only knew how to find a remedy for that malady, praiſing all that he had done, and referring themſelves unto him for all the reſt. The Conſiſtory being diſmiſſed without a Reſolution, the Pope knew that either he muſt yield, or come to a War; from which being not averſe, in regard of his natural Diſpoſition, full of courage and

The Pope maketh ſhew that he will proceed againſt the Emperor and his Son.

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hopes, advice came fitly to him from his Nephew, of what was concluded in *France*. So that the Diſcourſes of Reformation and Councils were turned into Parleys of Money, Souldiers and Intelligences; of which things, as not pertaining to my purpoſe, I will only ſay as much as may ſhow what the Popes mind was, and how much he was addicted to a Truce, or at leaſt to a colourable Reformation of the Church. The Pope armed the Citizens and Inhabitants of *Rome*, for the moſt part Artiſans and Strangers, to the number of 5000, diſtributing them under the Heads of the *Rioni*, for ſo they were called: he cauſed many of his Cities to be Fortified, and put Gariſons in them; and the *French* King ſent him at his inſtance, 3000 *Gaſcons* by Sea, that he might ſubſiſt while the Royal Army was prepared.

Provideth for War.

Wards or Precincts.

In theſe Negotiations, and Preparations for War, the Pope impriſoned many Cardinals, Barons and others upon Suſpicion: as alſo *Carfillaſſo di Vega* Ambaſſador of *Philip* King of *England*, and *Joannes Antonius Taſſis*, The Emperors Poſt-maſter. And to the Duke of *Alva*, who ſent to proteſt againſt him, for maintaining in *Rome* the Fugitives of the Kingdom of *Naples*, for laying hands on, and keeping in Priſon publick Perſons, without Reaſon, for having opened the Kings Letters (all which things he had done) adding that the King, for preſervation of his Honour, and of the Right of his People, could not chuſe, in caſe his Holineſs did perſevere in ſuch offenſive Actions, but ſeek revenge for the injury, he ſent back an anſwer, that he was a free Prince, and Superior to all others, not bound to give any Account, but to demand it of any whoſoever; that he might entertain any Perſons, and open any Letters, which he thought to be written againſt the Church: that if *Carfillaſſo* had done the Office of an Ambaſſador, nothing ſhould have been done againſt him, but having made Treaties, moved Seditions, plotted againſt the Prince to whom he was ſent, he had offended as a private Man, and as ſuch ſhould be Puniſhed, that no danger ſhould make him be wanting to the Dignity of the Church, and Defence of that See, referring all to God, by whom he was made Shepherd of the Flock of *Chriſt*. And the Pope ſtill continuing to make proviſion, the Duke of *Alva* being reſolved that it was better to aſſault than to be aſſaulted, ſent another Proteſtation againſt him, that the King having endured ſo many injuries, knowing that the intention of his Holineſs was to diſpoſſeſs him of the Kingdom of *Naples*, and being aſſured, that to this end, he had made a League with his Enemies, could not continue in thoſe terms: and therefore in regard his Holineſs did deſire War, he did denounce it againſt him, and would begin it quickly, proteſting that the Calamities thereof could not be imputed to him, and laying the blame upon the Pope. But if he deſired Peace, he did offer it likewiſe unto him with all readineſs. The Pope making a ſhew to deſire Peace, but anſwering only in general terms, to gain time, the Duke began to make War the fourth of *September*, and in the year 1556. poſſeſſed himſelf of almoſt all *Campania*, holding it in the name of the next Pope, and came ſo near to *Rome*, that he put all the City in fear, and made them ſtrengthen and fortifie it. And the Pope to teach the Governours of ſtrong places what they ought to do in ſuch Caſes, compelled all the Religious Perſons, of what State or Quality ſoever, to carry earth with a doſſer on their ſhoulders, to raiſe the Bulwarks. Amongſt other places which had need of Ramparts, one was near the Gate of the People, at the end of the way called *Flaminia*, where there is a Church of our Lady, of much Devotion, which the

And impriſoneth many Cardinals and Barons upon ſuſpicion, and King *Philip* his Ambaſſador.

The Duke of *Alva* proteſteth of the wrong done to his Maſter by the Pope, and receiveth a proud anſwer.

For which cauſe he moveth War againſt them.

The Pope armeth the Regulars, and purpoſeth to pull down a Church of great Devotion.

the Pope purposing to pull down, the Duke sent to pray him to let it stand, giving his Word and Oath that he would make no use of the opportunity of that place. But the greatness of the City, and other respects and dangers counselled him, not assailing *Rome*, to undertake smaller enterprises. 1556. *Paul* IV. *Charles* V. Q. *Mary*. *Henry* II.

It gave much matter of Discourse, that this year, *Charles* the Emperour parted from *Flanders*, and passed into *Spain*, to betake himself to a private life in a Solitary place; so that they made a Comparison between a Prince trained up from his Infancy, in the Negotiations and Affairs of the World, who at the Age of little more than fifty years, had resolved to quit the World, and only to serve God, changed from a mighty Prince to a mean Religious Person; and one who had formerly abandoned the Episcopal Charge, to retire into a Monastery, and now being at the Age of 80 years, and made Pope, did wholly addict himself to Pomp and Pride, and endeavoured to set all *Europe* on fire with War. The Emperor quitteth the World.

In the beginning of the year 1557. the Duke of *Guise* passed into *Italy*, with his Army in favour of the Pope, who, to observe the promise of his Nephew made to the *French* King, made a promotion of 10 Cardinals; 1557. The Duke of *Guise* passeth into *Italy* with an Army.

not being according to the meaning, and the end agreed on, neither for the number nor quality of the Persons, his excuse was, that he was so nearly conjoined with His Majesty, that his Dependants would be as serviceable to the King, as the *French-men* themselves, and that he might assure himself that they were all for him; and that he could not then make a greater promotion, seeing the number was so great already, arriving to 70, which would quickly be diminished, by removing some Rebels, and putting honest men in their rooms; which he meant of those who were already in the Castle, and others against whom he had a design as well for matter of State, as of Religion. For he was not so intent to the War, as that he did abandon the business of the *Inquisition*, which he said was the principal secret and mystery of the Papacy. He had some information against Cardinal *Morone*, that he held intelligence in *Germany*, and did imprison him in the Castle, deputing 4 Cardinals to examine him severely, and *Egidius Foscararus*, B. of *Modena*, as confederate with him. The Pope createth ten Cardinals. The Inquisition is the principal mystery of the Papacy. Card. *Morone* and the B. of *Modena* are imprisoned.

He deprived also Cardinal *Pool* of his Legation of *England*, and cited him to appear in the *Inquisition* at *Rome*, having already imprisoned his inward Friend, as one of his Complices, *Thomas* St. *Felice* Bishop of *Cava*. And that he might not pretend to stay in *England*, under colour of his Legation, and the Affairs of those Churches, he created Cardinal, at *Whitsontide*, *William Peto* Bishop of *Salisbury*, and made him Legate in the place of *Pool*. And although the Queen and King testifying what Service he had done to the Catholick Faith, made earnest intercession for him, yet the Pope would never remit one jot of his Rigour. Cardinal *Pool* obeyed, laying aside the Administration and Ornaments of a Legate, sending *Ornamento* to *Rome*, to give an account of his Legation; but himself parted not out of *England*, alledging the Queens Commandment, because neither she nor the King, thinking the Pope was passionate, would consent that he should go. In *England* many were scandalized for it, and alienated from the Pope, and many in *Rome* thought it a Calumny, invented to revenge himself for the Truce between the two Kings, treated by him being Cardinal and Legate, without imparting it to him. And the opposition which he made against him in the Conclave, to hinder him from being Pope, was thought to have no better ground. The new Legate, a man of great And Card. *Pool* deprived of his Legation. Wherewith many were offended.

1557. *Paul* IV. *Charles* V. Q. *Mary*. *Henry* II.

Integrity had the ſame conceits; who, though he took upon him the name of Legate, not to anger the Pope, yet in nine Months that he lived, after he had the Croſs of the Legation, he did never exerciſe the Charge, but bare the ſame reſpect towards *Pool*, as before.

The Duke of *Guiſe* being come into *Italy*, made War in *Piemont*, with purpoſe to continue it in *Lumbardie*, and ſo to divert the Arms taken up againſt the Pope: But the Popes Ardent deſire to aſſail the Kingdom of *Naples*, did not permit him. The *French-men* knew the difficulties, and the Duke of *Guiſe*, with ſome principal Commanders, went to *Rome* by Poſt, to make the Pope underſtand what the reaſons of War did perſwade. In whoſe preſence all being conſulted on, and the Popes reſolution not giving place to any other deliberation, it was neceſſary to yeild unto him. Yet they did nothing but aſſault *Civitella*, a place ſituated at the entry into the Province of *Abruzzo*, where the Army had the repulſe; and *Guiſe* complained much that the *Caraffi* had not made the Proviſions which they had promiſed, and were neceſſary. In ſum, the Popes Arms as well as his own, as Auxiliary, were not much favoured by God. But in the midſt of *Auguſt*, the Army of the Duke of *Alva* approaching *Rome*, not afraid of the *French*, which was entertained in *Abruzzo*, and the Pope underſtanding the ſurprize and ſack of *Signea*, the ſlaughter of many, and the danger in which *Pagliano* was, he related all in Conſiſtory with many tears; adding, that he did undauntedly expect Martyrdom, the Cardinals marvelling that he ſhould paint out the Cauſe to them, who underſtood the truth, as if it had been of *Chriſt*, whereas it was prophane, and proceeded from Ambition, and ſay it was the principal ſinew, and miſtery of the Papacy.

The Duke of *Guiſe* receiveth a repulſe, by default of the *Caraffi*.

The Pope is terrified by the approaching of the Duke of *Alva*.

When the Popes Affairs were in the greateſt ſtraits, the *French* Kings Army had ſuch a great overthrow near to St. *Quintin*, that he was forced to recal the Duke of *Guiſe* and his Forces, for the ſafety of the Kingdom, letting the Pope know his inevitable neceſſity, giving him leave to take what Counſel ſeemed beſt for him, and ſending him back the Hoſtages. The Pope refuſed to let *Guiſe* return, whereupon there being a great Conteſtation between them, the Pope not able to keep him, bid him go, ſeeing he had done little ſervice to the King, leſs to the Church, and none at all to his own Honour. In the end of that Month, the Duke of *Alva* approached *Rome*, which he had taken but for want of Courage. His retreat was aſcribed to the baſeneſs of his mind, who publickly ſaid, that he feared, that if *Rome* had been ſacked, the Army would have been ſcattered, and the Kingdom expoſed to danger without Forces or Defence. But ſecretly he ſaid, that being in the Service of a King, who bare great Reverence to that place, he refrained to do it, becauſe he knew not whether the Action would have been approved. Finally, a compoſition was made the fourteenth of *September*, between *Alva* and the *Caraffi*, the War having continued a whole year. In the Capitulations the Pope would not have *Colonna*, nor any of his Subjects comprehended, nor any word inſerted, to ſhew that he had offended in impriſoning the Emperours Miniſters, but maintained moſt conſtantly, that the Duke of *Alva* ought to come to *Rome* to ask pardon, and receive Abſolution: ſaying plainly, that before he would loſe one jot of this due, (for ſo he called it) he would ſee the whole World ruined: that the queſtion was not of his own, but of Chriſts honour, which he could not prejudice nor renounce. With this condition, and with the reſtitution of the

The Battel of St. *Quintin*.

Maketh the *French* King recal the D. of *Guiſe* and his Forces, whom the Pope diſmiſſeth with bad terms.

The Duke of *Alva* might have taken *Rome*, and did not.

But made a baſe compoſition with the Pope.

Cities

Cities taken, the Controverſie was ended. It was eſteemed a Prodigy, that the very day that the Peace was concluded, there was ſuch a great inundation of the River *Tiber*, that all the plain of *Rome* was drowned, and a great part of the Fortifications of the Caſtle St. *Angelo* was overthrown. The Duke of *Alva* went Perſonally to *Rome* to ſubmit himſelf to the Pope, and receive Abſolution in the Kings Name, and his own. So it happened, that the Conquerour bare the Indignity, and he that was overcome triumphed more, than if he had been Victorious. And it was no ſmall Favour that the Pope received him with Humanity, though he forbare not his uſual haughty State. 1557. *Paul* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Philip* II. King of *Spain.* Q. *Mary* *Henry* II. And goeth to *Rome* to demand Abſolution.

The War was no ſooner ended, but new troubles came upon the Pope. For advice was ſent out of *France*, that the fifth of *September* at night, in *Paris*, about two hundred Perſons were aſſembled in an Houſe, to celebrate the Communion; which being diſcovered by the common People, the Houſe was aſſaulted, and ſome fled, but the Women and weaker ſort were taken, of whom ſeven were burned, and the greater part of the others reſerved for the ſame Puniſhment, to be inflicted when the Complices were found out. The *Suiſſes* made interceſſion for theſe; and the King in regard of his War with the King of *Spain* (for ſo *Philip* was called after the Reſignation of his Father) having need of their Aſſiſtance, gave order that the proceeding againſt them ſhould be moderate. The Pope was infinitely angry, and complained in Conſiſtory, and ſaid it was no marvel if the Affairs of the King did not ſucceed well, becauſe he more eſteemed the Aſſiſtance of Hereticks, than the Favour of God. The Pope had forgotten that, in the time of his War, the Cardinals of the *Inquiſition* complaining that the Proteſtant *Griſons*, brought to his pay for the Defence of *Rome*, uſed many ſcorns againſt the Churches and Images his Holineſs did reprehend them, ſaying they were Angels ſent by God, for the cuſtody of the City, and of his Perſon, and that he had a ſtrong hope that God would convert them. So men judge diverſly of their own Intereſts, and of the Facts of others. The Pope took occaſion hence, to call in mind two Conſtitutions which the King had made the ſame year, which he ſaid were againſt the liberty of the Clergy, and therefore was reſolute they ſhould be abrogated. The one was publiſhed the firſt of *March*, that Marriages made by Sons before the Age of thirty years compleat, and of Daughters before twenty five, without conſent of the Father, or of him in whoſe Power they were, ſhould be void. The other the firſt of *May*, that all Biſhops and Curates would reſide, upon pain of loſs of the Revenues, with an impoſition of an extraordinary Subſidy, beſides the ordinary Tenths, to pay five thouſand Foot-Souldiers. The Pope thought not of theſe things when the news came, becauſe he was then in War, and had need of the King. But this reaſon ceaſing, he complained that he had medled even with the Sacraments, and unſupportably burdened the Clergy. He ſaid it was neceſſary to provide againſt theſe diſorders, by a Council which were greater than could be objected againſt the Clergy; that it was fit to begin the Reformation from hence; that the *French* Prelates durſt not ſpeak ſo long as they were in *France*, but being in a Council in *Italy*, free from fear of the King, their complaints would ſoon be heard. Amongſt theſe diſtaſtes the Pope received ſome joy, that the Colloquy begun in *Germany*, to compoſe the differences in Religion (which troubled his Holineſs and the Court, as all Colloquies had done) was reſolved into nothing. The beginning The Pope is angry with the *French* King for uſing moderation towards the Proteſtants. Proteſtants. And for making two conſtitutions in matter of Religion. But is well pleaſed with the diſſolution of the Colloquy in *Germany*.

1557. *Paul* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Philip* II. Q. *Mary.* *Henry* II.

ning Progreſs, and end whereof, I think neceſſary to recount, for the underſtanding of the things that follow.

Ferdinand having, in the Dyet of *Ratisbon*, confirmed Peace in Religion until a Concord were concluded, to find a way to make it, it was reſolved in the Dyet the thirteenth of *March*, that a Colloquy ſhould be held in *Worms*, of twelve Doctors of the old Religion, and twelve Proteſtants, in which the differences ſhould be diſcuſſed, to bring the Parties to an Agreement. *Ferdinand* appointed for Preſident of the Colloquy, the Biſhop of *Namburg*, who was ſo Famous. The Parties being met in the place the fourteenth of *Auguſt*, the twelve Proteſtants were not abſolutely of one Opinion. For ſome of them, deſiring a perfect Union of the Church, laboured to reconcile the Doctrine of the *Helvetians*, which was different concerning the Euchariſt; and for this end, the Miniſters of *Geneva* had made a *Confeſſion* in this point, which did not diſpleaſe *Philip Melancthon*, and ſix more of the *Confeſſion* of *Ausburg*, but did not ſatisfie the other five. This being perceived by the Biſhop, a Man Wiſe and Factious, whoſe end was that the Colloquy ſhould be diſſolved without Fruit, he made the Catholicks propoſe, that the Colloquy being inſtituted only between them, and the *Confeſſioniſts*, it was neceſſary to condemn all the Sects of the *Swinglians*, and of others; becauſe the Errours being Uniformly condemned, the truth would eaſily appear. The five aforeſaid, did conſent it ſhould be ſo. *Melancthon* who perceived the cunning which was to ſow diviſion between them, and to make them at variance with the *Suiſſes*, the *Pruſſians* and others; ſaid that it was fit to agree upon the Truth firſt, and then by that Rule to condemn Errours. The Biſhop ſhewing to the five, that they were contemned by the other ſeven, perſwaded them to depart from the Colloquy, and wrote the Succeſs to *Ferdinand*, concluding that they could not proceed in regard of the departure of theſe, and that thoſe which remained would not firſt condemn the Sects. *Ferdinand* anſwered, that his deſire was they ſhould proceed, and that the *Confeſſioniſts* ſhould recal thoſe five that were departed, and the Catholicks be in the mean ſpace content to begin and diſcuſs the controverſed Articles. The Biſhop ſeeing that he had loſt this point, perſwaded the Catholick Collocutors to write to the King, that it was not juſt to begin the Treaty, if all the Proteſtants were not United, becauſe it would be neceſſary to treat again with the abſent, that which was concluded with the preſent, and ſo to take double pains. They all retired, without expecting any anſwer, and each party blamed the other, excuſing it ſelf upon the reaſons aforeſaid.

A relation of the Colloquy.

1558. The Pope proceedeth ſeverely againſt his own Family.

The Pope perceiving that by the War paſt, he was deprived of the Credit with which he thought to daunt the whole World, thought to regain it by an Heroical Action, and did the ſix and twentieth of *January*, in Conſiſtory deprive Cardinal *Caraffa* of the Legation of *Bolonia*, and of all Government, and confined him to *Civita Lavinia*, and took from *John Caraffa* the Cardinals Brother, the command and charge of the Army, exiling him likewiſe to *Galeſſi*. He deprived the other Nephew of the Government of *Borgo*, and baniſhed him to *Monte-bello*, commanding that their Wives, Family, and Children ſhould depart from *Rome*, and themſelves not depart from the places to which they were baniſhed, upon pain of Rebellion. He deprived likewiſe all thoſe of their Offices; to whom he had given them in contemplation of theſe. He ſpent more than ſix hours, in complaining,

and

and inveighing againſt their Offences with ſuch fury, that he diſdained at the Cardinals who ſpake any good word to pacifie him. To Cardinal St. *Angelo*, who firſt commending Juſtice, put him in mind of a ſaying of *Paul* the Third, which he often uſed, that the Pope ſhould never take hope of favour from any; he anſwered, that his Grandfather *Paul* the Third ſhould have done better to have proceeded againſt his Father, and puniſhed his Villanies. He inſtituted a new Government in *Rome*, and in the State of the Church, giving the charge of all buſineſſes to *Camillus Orſinus*, unto whom he joyned the Cardinals of *Trani* and *Spoleto*, affecting a fame of Juſtice in theſe Actions, and laying the blame of all the Grievances which the People ſuffered, upon the Nephews. Being thus disburthened of the Government, he applyed himſelf wholly to the Office of the *Inquiſition*, ſaying it was the true *Ram* to beat down Hereſie, and defend the Apoſtolick See. And not regarding what did befit the time, he publiſhed a new Conſtitution, dated the fifteenth of *February*, which he made all the Cardinals ſubſcribe. In this he renewed every Cenſure and Puniſhment, pronounced by his Predeceſſors, and every Statute of Canons, Councils, and Fathers, in what time ſoever, publiſhed againſt Hereticks; ordaining that thoſe that were diſuſed, ſhould be brought in uſe again. He declared that all Prelates and Princes, even Kings and Emperours, fallen into Hereſie, ſhould be, and ſhould be underſtood to be deprived of all their Beneſices, States, Kingdoms, and Empires, without further declaration, and uncapable to be reſtored to them, even by the Apoſtolick See: and their Goods, States, Kingdoms, and Empires, ſhall be underſtood to be common, and to belong to thoſe Catholicks who can get them. This did miniſter much talk, and if it had not preſently been diſeſteemed by the World, it would have kindled a fire in all Chriſtendom.

1557. *Paul* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Philip* II. Q. *Mary* *Henry* II.

Iuſt ruteth a new Government in *Rome.*

And applieth himſelf wholly to the office of the *Inquiſition.*

Making a new Conſtruction.

Which was diſeſteemed by the World.

Another accident made the World know that he had not moderated the haughtineſs of his mind. The Emperor *Charles* in the year 1556. by his Letter written to the Electors and Princes, did abſolutely give to *Ferdinand* all the Adminiſtration of the Empire, without reſerving any thing to himſelf, commanding that he ſhould be obeyed by all. Afterwards he ſent *William* Prince of *Orange*, with two Colleagues, to the Dyet in *Germany*, to transfer the Name, Title, Crown, and Dignity upon *Ferdinand*, as if himſelf had been dead; which not ſeeming fit to the Electors, was deferred until the year 1558. in which the fourth of *February*, the day of the Nativity, Coronation, and other Felicities of *Charles*, the Ceremonies of the Reſignation being made by his Ambaſſadors, in preſence of the Electors, *Ferdinand* was inſtalled with the uſual Rites. The Pope hearing this, fell into an exceſſive rage. He pretended that as the Popes confirmation doth make the Emperor, ſo the Reſignation cannot be put into the hands of any but himſelf; in which caſe it belonged to him to make what Emperor he pleaſed; alledging that the Electors have power granted them by the Popes favour, to elect the Emperor in place of him that is dead, but not in caſe of Reſignation, in which it remaineth ſtill in the Power of the Apoſtolick See; as alſo to the Diſpoſition thereof are annexed all Dignities reſigned unto it. Therefore the Reſignation of *Charles* is void, and the whole Authority to chuſe an Emperor is devolved to him, and was reſolved not to acknowledge the King of the *Romans* for Emperour.

Ferdinand is inſtalled in the Empire.

The Pope refuſeth to acknowledge him.

Ferdinand, though he knew this, ſent *Martin Guſman*, his Ambaſſador,

1558. *Paul* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Philip* II. Q. *Mary.* *Henry* II.

And to hear his Ambaſſador.

dor, to give him an Account of his Brothers Reſignation, and his own Aſſumption, to teſtifie unto him the Reverence he bare him, to promiſe him Obedience, and to ſignifie unto him, that he would ſend a ſolemn Ambaſſage, to treat of his Coronation. The Pope refuſed to hear him, and referred the Diſcuſſion of the matter to the Cardinals: who related (for the Popes Will was they ſhould do ſo) that the Ambaſſador could not be admitted, before it did appear whether the Reſignation of *Charles* were lawful, and the Succeſſion of *Ferdinand* juſt. For he being Elected King of the *Romans*, and the Election confirmed by *Clement*, to Succeed after the death of the Emperour, it was neceſſary the Empire ſhould be void by Death. Beſides there was a *nullity* in all the Acts of *Francfort*, as made by Hereticks, who have loſt all Authority and Power. Wherefore it was neceſſary that *Ferdinand* ſhould ſend a Proctor, and renounce whatſoever was done in that Dyet, and beſeech the Pope, that he would graciouſly be pleaſed to make good the Reſignation of *Charles*, and his Aſſumption to the Empire, by Vertue of his Plenary Power, from whom he might expect all paternal Grace and Favour. The Pope reſolved according to this Counſel, and ſo declared himſelf to *Guſman*, giving him three Months to put it in Execution, beyond which time he would hear no more ſpeech of it, but himſelf would Create a new Emperour. Neither was it poſſible to remove him, though King *Philip*, to favour his Uncle, ſent *Francis Vergas* expreſly, and after him *John Figaroa* to intreat him. *Ferdinand* underſtanding this, gave order to *Guſman*, that, if within three days after the receipt thereof, he were not admitted by the Pope, he ſhould depart, and proteſt unto him, that *Ferdinand* together with the Electors, would reſolve of that which ſhould be for the Honour of the Empire: *Guſman* deſired Audience again, which the Pope granted in private, not as unto an Ambaſſador of the Emperour; and hearing him relate what he had in his Inſtructions, and that which was wrote unto him from the Emperour, he anſwered, that the things conſidered by the Cardinals were very important, and that he could not reſolve on them ſo ſoon; that he would ſend a *Nuntio* to the Imperial Majeſty of *Charles* the Fifth, and in the mean while, if he had Commiſſion from his Maſter to depart he might do it, and proteſt what he thought fit. Therefore the Ambaſſador, having made his Proteſtation departed. And although *Charles* died the ſame year the 21. of *September*, yet it was impoſſible to remove the Pope from this Reſolution.

Who having made a proteſtation, departeth from *Rome*.

The number of thoſe who call themſelves Reformed, being now increaſed in *France*, their Courage did increaſe alſo; and there being a cuſtom amongſt the People of *Paris*, in the Summers Evenings, to go out of the Suburbs of S. *German* in great multitudes, to take the *freſco*, and to ſolace themſelves with divers kinds of ſports, thoſe of the new Religion, inſtead of doing ſo, began to ſing the Pſalms of *David* in *French* Verſes. The multitude firſt laughed at the Novity, then leaving the Sports, joyned themſelves unto the Singers. And the number of thoſe who came to that place began to increaſe more than uſually. The Popes *Nuncio* told the King of this Novity, as of a thing pernicious and dangerous, becauſe the Miniſteries of Religion, uſually celebrated in the Church, in the Latine Tongue, by Religious men only, were put into the mouth of the common people, in the vulgar Language, which was an invention of the *Lutherans*; telling him, that if he did not reſiſt the beginnings, in a ſhort time all *Paris* would be *Lutheran*. The King gave order that the principal Authors ſhould be proceeded againſt.

againſt; wherein they went not very far, having found *Anthony* King of *Navar*, and his Wife, in that number: But for hereafter it was forbid upon pain of Death. 1558.

Paul IV. *Ferdinand.* *Philip* II. *Elizabeth.* *Henry* II.

The Religion in *England* was almoſt much changed this year. The Queen died the ſeventeenth day of *November*, and Cardinal *Pool* the ſame day; which ſtirred up many, who were not ſatisfied with the former Government, to reſtore the Reformation of *Edward*, and to ſeparate themſelves wholly from the *Spaniards*: which they did the rather, becauſe King *Philip*, to hold a Foot in *England*, had treated to marry *Elizabeth*, Siſter and Succeſſor to *Mary*, to *Charles* his Son: and when there was little hope of the life of *Mary*, he had alſo caſt forth divers words, that he would take her for his own Wife. But the new Queen being wiſe, as ſhe ſhewed her ſelf to be in all her Government, did firſt ſecure the Kingdom by Oath, that ſhe would not marry a Stranger, and was Crowned by the Biſhop of *Carlile*, an adherent to the Church of *Rome*, not making any open Declaration what Doctrine ſhe would follow, deſigning, ſo ſoon as ſhe was ſetled in her Government, to eſtabliſh it by the Counſel of the Parliament, and of learned and godly Men, and to make a conſtant Reformation of the State of Religion. Therefore ſhe exhorted the Chief of the Nobility, who deſired a change, to proceed without Tumult, aſſuring them that ſhe would not enforce any. She cauſed preſently an Account to be given to the Pope of her Aſſumption, with Letters of Credence written to *Edward Cerne*, who was Ambaſſador to her Siſter, and was not departed from *Rome*. But the Pope, proceeding according to his uſual Rigour anſwered, that that Kingdom was held in *Fee* of the Apoſtlick See; that ſhe could not Succeed being Illegitimate; that he could not contradict the Declarations of *Clement* the Seventh, and *Paul* the Third, that it was a great boldneſs to aſſume the Name and Government without him; that for this, ſhe deſerved not to be heard in any thing; yet being deſirous to ſhew a fatherly Affection, if ſhe will renounce her Pretenſions, and refer her ſelf wholly to his free Diſpoſition, he will do whatſoever may be done with the honour of the Apoſtolick See. Many did believe that as he ſpake thus by his own inclination, ſo he was incited by the *French* King, who fearing a marriage between her and the King of *Spain* might be made by the Popes Diſpenſation, thought fit to aſſure himſelf by cutting off the Practices in the very beginning. But the new Queen underſtanding the Popes anſwer, and wondring at the mans haſty Diſpoſition, thought it not profitable, either for her, or the Kingdom, to treat any more with him. So that the Cauſe ceaſing, ſhe gave the Nobility leave to conſult what was fit to be done for the ſervice of God and quiet of the Kingdom. A diſputation was held in *Weſtminſter*, in preſence of all the States, between learned Men, choſen on both ſides, which began the laſt of *March*, and laſted until the thirtieth of *April*: and a Parliament being aſſembled to this end, all the Edicts of Religion made by *Mary*, were aboliſhed, thoſe of her Brother *Edward* reſtored, Obedience taken away from the Pope, the Title of the Head of the Church of *England* given to the Queen, the Revenues of the Monaſteries confiſcated, and aſſigned ſome to the Nobility, and ſome to the Crown, the Images taken out of the Churches by the People, and the Roman Religion baniſhed. Another Accident happened alſo. For in the Dyet of *Ausburg* it appearing, by the Acts of the *Colloquy* the year before, diſſolved without fruit, that there was no hope to do any good by that means, *Ferdinand* told them

Mary Queen of *England* dieth.

And *Elizabeth* is Crowned.

With whom the Pope doth preſently conteſt.

A diſputation is held in *Weſtminſter* in matter of Religion.

1558. *Paul* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Philip.* II. *Elizabeth.* *Henry* II.

he would procure the general Council to be reſtored, exhorting all to ſubmit themſelves to the Decrees thereof, as being the way to remove differences. The Proteſtants anſwered, that they would conſent to a Council called, not by the Pope, but by the Emperour, to be held in *Germany*, in which the Pope ſhould not preſide, but ſhould ſubmit himſelf to the Judgment thereof, and releaſe the Bishops and Divines of their Oath; in which alſo the Proteſtants ſhould have a deciding Voyce, and all ſhould be determined according to the holy Scripture, and whatſoever was concluded in *Trent*, ſhould be reexamined: which if it cannot be obtained of the Pope, yet the Peace of Religion ſhould be confirmed, according to the agreement of *Paſſau*, having known by too manifeſt Experience, that no good can be drawn from any Popiſh Council. The Emperour knowing the difficulty to obtain of the Pope a grant of the things propoſed, and that now he had no means to negotiate with him, in regard of the Controverſie about the Reſignation of *Charles*, and his Succeſſion, he confirmed the accord of *Paſſau*, and the *Receſſes* of the Dyets following.

Ferdinad promiſeth to procure a general Council.

And confirmeth the accord of *Paſſau.*

The Pope having cut off all means to treat with the Emperour and *Germany*, knew not what to ſay to this. Yet he was more diſpleaſed with their Diſcourſe concerning the Council, than with the liberty granted by the *Receſs*, being reſolute not to call any Council, but in *Rome*, whatſoever ſhould happen. In this reſpect another Accident was as grievous as the former; that is, the Peace made at *Cambray* the third of *April*, between the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, which was confirmed by the Marriages of the Daughter of *Henry* to the King of *Spain*, and of his Siſter to the Duke of *Savoy*. In which Peace amongſt other Capitulations it was agreed, that both the Kings ſhould make a faithful promiſe to labour joyntly, that the Council ſhould be celebrated, the Church reformed, and the differences of Religion compoſed. The Pope conſidered how goodly a ſhew the Title of Reformation, and the name of a Council did make; that *England* was loſt, and all *Germany* alſo, partly by the Proteſtants, and partly by his difference with *Ferdinand*; that thoſe two United Kings were much offended by him, the *Spaniards* by Deeds and Words, the *French* by Words at the leaſt, there remaining none to whom he might have refuge, that the Cardinals were weary of his Government, and his people not well affected, in regard of the incommodities of the War, and the Taxes laid upon them. Theſe Cogitations did ſo afflict the old Pope, that he was unfit to Rule. He could not hold the Conſiſtories ſo often as he was wont, and when he did hold them, he ſpent the moſt part of the time in ſpeaking of the *Inquiſition*, and exhorting the Cardinals to favour it, as being the only way to extinguiſh Hereſies.

Wherewith the Pope is much diſpleaſed.

But more with the Capitulations of the peace of *Cambray.*

So that he became unfit to rule.

But the two Kings did not agree to procure the Council for any ill will, or intereſts, which either of them had againſt the Pope, or Papacy, but to provide againſt the new Doctrines, which did exceedingly increaſe, being willingly heard and received by all men of Conſcience: and which was of more importance, the Male-contented, and thoſe who were deſirous of Innovations, put themſelves on that ſide, and did daily under pretence of Religion, make ſome Enterpriſes, as well in the *Low-Countries*, as in *France*, in regard thoſe people did love their liberty, and had commerce with *Germany*, as bordering upon it. In the beginning of the troubles ſome Seeds were ſowed, which that they might not take root, the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, in the *Low-Countries*, and the *French* King, in his Kingdom, made many Edicts, and commanded divers

The progreſs of the reformed Religion, and the means uſed to ſuppreſs it.

divers Executions whereof we have ſpoken in their due places. But after that the number of the Proteſtants did increaſe in *Germany*, and the Evangeliques did multiply amongſt the *Suiſſes*, and the ſeparation was made in *England*, by reaſon of the often Wars between the Emperour and *French* King, either Party was forced to call Auxiliaries out of theſe three Nations, who publickly profeſſing and preaching the Reformed Religion in their quarters, by their example, and by other means; divers of the People become of their Opinion. It is certain, that this compelled *Charles* the Emperour, to attempt the bringing in of the *Spaniſh Inquiſition*, ſeeing that other remedies did not prevail, though he was partly forced to deſiſt, for the cauſes before related. And *Henry* the *French* King, gave the Biſhops Authority to puniſh Hereticks; a thing never uſed before in that Kingdom. And although in the *Low Countries*, from the firſt Edict of *Charles*, until this time of the Peace, there were hanged, beheaded, buried alive, and burned, to the number of fifty thouſand, and very many put to death in *France*, yet both places were then in worſe caſe than ever. This made the Kings to think joyntly of finding a remedy, by the great perſwaſion of the Cardinal of *Lorraine* for the French, and of *Granvel* Biſhop of *Arras* for the *Spaniards*, who being in *Cambray*, from *October* until *April*, with other Deputies of the two Kings, to treat a Peace, did confer particularly amongſt themſelves, how that Doctrine might be rooted out; and were afterwards the chief Inſtruments of whatſoever did happen in both States. The cauſe they alledged to be the Zeal of Religion, and the Service of their Princes: but it was Univerſally believed, that it was rather Ambition, and a deſign to enrich themſelves by the Spoils of thoſe who were to be Condemned.

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In the Low-Countries 50000 were executed for Religion in a ſhort time, and very many in *France*.

Whereof the Cardinal of *Lorraine* and *Granvel*, Biſhop of *Arras* were Cauſes.

The Peace being made, The King of *Spain*, to begin to give ſome order, not being able to bring in the *Inquiſition* openly, thought to do it obliquely by the Biſhops. But there being but two Biſhopricks in the Low-Countries, *Cambray*, and *Utrecht*, and the reſidue of the Clergy ſubject to the Biſhops of *Germany*, and *France*, and thoſe two Biſhopricks alſo ſubject to Forraign Arch-biſhops, to whom appeals could not be denied, ſo that he could not work his Will by means of them, he thought fit to free all that Clergy from the Subjection of Biſhops, who were not his Subjects, and to inſtitute three Arch-biſhopricks in thoſe Countries, *Meclin*, *Cambray*, and *Utrecht*, and to erect into Biſhopricks, *Anwerp*, *Balduck*, *Gant*, *Bridges*, *Ipre*, St. *Omer*, *Namur*, *Harlem*, *Middleburgh*, *Lewarden*, *Groninghe*, *Ruremond*, and *Daventer*; annexing unto them, for Revenues, ſome rich Abbies. He cauſed the Pope to approve all this by his *Bull*, dated the ninth of *May* the ſame year. The pretence for doing of this was, that formerly thoſe Countries, being not much inhabited, did not need a greater number of Biſhops, but now the multitude of People, and Dignity of the Cities did require they ſhould be honoured with Eccleſiaſtical Titles. Yet the Nobility and Commonalty did imagine that it was an Art to bring in the *Inquiſition*; in which Opinion they were confirmed when they ſaw the Popes Bull. For according to the uſe of *Rome*, to enlarge their Power or Profit in every Bargain, he alledged for a Cauſe of that now Inſtitution, that that Country was compaſſed, and as it were, beſieged by Schiſmaticks, who did not obey him, the Head of the Church, ſo that the true Faith was in great danger by the Frauds and Inſidiations of the Hereticks, if new and good Guardians were not placed over them. This Occurrence made the Nobility to adhere together, and to think how to make reſiſtance

The King of *Spain* erecteth Biſhopricks in the Low Countries, that he might more eaſily bring in the *Inquiſition*.

Which maketh the Nobility to combine and refuſe to pay Tribute.

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before there was means to compel them by force of Arms. They reſolved therefore not to pay Tribute, until the *Spaniſh* Soul[illegible] were removed out of the Country, and began to incline more to the new Opinion, and to favour it: which cauſed the other troubles which ſhall be ſpoken of.

The *French* King entereth into the Mercurial.

But the *French* King deſirous to make proviſion that the Lutheran Sect ſhould not encreaſe in the Kingdom, underſtanding that ſome of the Counſellors of the Parliament were infected with it, in a Mercurial (ſo they call the Judicature, inſtituted to examine and correct the Actions of the Counſellors of Parliament, and Judges of the King) held in *Paris* the 15. of *June*, where they were to treat of Religion, after the Congregation was aſſembled, entred in Perſon. He ſaid he had eſtabliſhed Peace in the whole World, by the Marriages of his Siſter and Daughter, that he might provide againſt the inconveniencies bred in his Kingdom about Religion, which ought to be the principal care of Princes. Therefore underſtanding they were to treat of this Subject, he exhorted them to handle Gods Cauſe with ſincerity. And having commanded them to proſecute the things begun, *Claude Viole* one of them, ſpake much againſt the manners of the Court of *Rome*, and the bad cuſtoms, grown to be pernicious Errours, which have cauſed the new Sects. Therefore it was neceſſary to mitigate the ſevere Puniſhments, until the differences of Religion were removed, and the Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline amended by Authority of a General Council, the only remedy for theſe Evils, as the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil* have judged, commanding that one ſhould be celebrated every ten years. His Opinion was followed by *Ludovicus Faber*, and ſome others. *Anne du Bourg* did add, that many Villanies were committed, Condemned by the Laws, for Puniſhment whereof the Rope and Fire were not ſufficient; as frequent Blaſphemies againſt God, Perjuries, Adulteries, not only ſecret, but even cheriſhed with impudent Licence; making himſelf to be plainly underſtood, that he ſpake not only of the Grandees of the Court, but of the King himſelf alſo; adding that while men lived thus diſſolutely, divers Torments were prepared againſt thoſe who were guilty of nothing, but of publiſhing to the World the Vices of the Church of *Rome*, and deſiring an amendment of them. In oppoſition of all this, *Egidius Magiſter*, the prime Preſident ſpake againſt the new Sects, concluding that there was no other remedy, but that which was formerly uſed againſt the *Albigenſes*, of whom *Philippus Auguſtus* put to death ſix hundred in one day, and againſt the *Waldenſes*, who were choaked in the Caves, whither they retired to hide themſelves. When all the Voices were given, the King ſaid, he had now heard with his own Ears, that which before was told him, that the contagion of the Kingdom doth hence ariſe, that there are in the Parliament who do deſpiſe the Popes Authority, and his; that he well knoweth they are but few, but the cauſe of many Evils. Therefore he exhorted thoſe who are good Subjects to continue in doing their Duty, and immediately gave order that *Faber* and *du Bourg* ſhould be impriſoned, and afterward cauſed four more to be apprehended in their Houſes: which did much daunt thoſe who embraced the new Religion. For the Counſellors of Parliament in *France*, being reputed moſt ſacred, and inviolable, who notwithſtanding were put into Priſon for delivering their Opinion in publick Aſſembly, they concluded that the King would pardon none.

And commandeth ſome of the Counſellers of Parliament to be impriſoned.

1559. But examples of great fears are always joyned with others of equal boldneſs.

boldneſs. For at the ſame time, as if there had been no danger at all, the Miniſters of the Reformed (for ſo the Proteſtants are called in *France*) aſſembled in *Paris* in the Suburbs of Saint *German*, made a Synod, in which *Franciſcus Morellus*, the chief man amongſt them, was Preſident, ordaining divers Conſtitutions, of the manner of holding Councils, of removing the Domination in the Church, of the Election and Office of Miniſters, of Cenſures, of Marriages, of Divorces, of degrees of Conſanguinity and Affinity, that throughout all *France* they might not only have an uniform Faith, but Diſcipline alſo. And their Courage did increaſe, becauſe the Fame of the Severity uſed in *France* coming into *Germany*, the three Electors and other Proteſtant Princes ſent Ambaſſadors to the King, praying him to proceed with Piety and Chriſtian Charity againſt the Profeſſors of their Religion, guilty of nothing but of accuſing the corrupted manners, and the Diſcipline perverted by the Church of *Rome*, which had been done more than an hundred years ſince by other Godly Doctors of *France*. For that Kingdom being now in quiet, the differencies of Religion may eaſily be compoſed, by the diſputation of able men, deſirous of Peace, who may examine their Confeſſion by the rule of holy Scripture, and of the ancient Fathers, ſuſpending in the mean time the ſeverity of the Sentences; which they will receive as a thing moſt grateful, and remain much obliged to him for it. The King gave a courteous anſwer in general words, promiſing to give them ſatisfaction, and to ſend one expreſly to ſignifie ſo much unto them. Yet he remitted nothing of the Severity, but after the Ambaſſadors were parted, he deputed four Judges of the body of the Parliament, in the Cauſes of the Priſoners, with the Biſhop of *Paris*, and the *Inquiſitor*, *Antonie de Mocares*, commanding them to proceed with all expedition.

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The Reformatiſts hold a Synod in *Paris.*

And are encouraged by the interceſſion of the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany.*

Which did them no good.

The Pope, unto whom all theſe things were known, as he was much diſcontented with the progreſs of the new Doctrine in the States of both the Kings, ſo he was pleaſed that thoſe Princes did think of it, and moved them by his *Nuncii*, and by their Ambaſſadors reſiding with him to do ſo ſtill. But he would not have any other means than that of the *Inquiſition*, which he thought the only remedy, as he ſaid upon all occaſions, judging that the Council would do as formerly it had done, that is, reduce all into a worſe State. While he was poſſeſſed with theſe Cogitations, and weak of Body, the King of *France* died the ſecond of *July*, by a wound in the Eye, running at *Tilt*; for which he ſeemed very ſorrowful, and was ſo indeed. For although he ſuſpected, and with reaſon, the intelligence between the two Kings, yet he had ſtill hope to ſeparate them. But the one being dead, he ſaw he was at the diſcretion of the other alone, whom he more feared becauſe he was more offended by him, and was of a more cloſe nature, hard to be ſounded. He feared alſo, that in *France* a Gate would be ſet wide open to let in Sects, which might be confirmed before the King could get ſo much Wiſdom and Reputation, as was neceſſary to oppoſe ſo great difficulties. He lived ſome few days, afflicted with theſe Cogitations; but now laying aſide all hopes, which had until then kept him alive, he died the eighteenth of *Auguſt*, recommending to the Cardinals nothing but the Office of the *Inquiſition*, the only means as he ſaid, to preſerve the Church, exhorting all to employ all their endeavours, to eſtabliſh it in *Italy*, and whereſoever elſe they could.

Henry the ſecond dieth, the ſecond of *July.*

The Pope dieth the 18 of *Auguſt*, recommending to the Cardinals nothing but the Office of the *Inquiſition.*

The Pope being newly dead, or rather ſtill breathing, there did ariſe, by

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by reaſon of the great hatred conceived by the People againſt him, and his whole houſe, ſuch Tumults in *Rome*, that the Cardinals were more troubled with theſe, as being neer and urgent, than with thoſe that were common to all Chriſtendom. The City was all in Sedition; the head of the Popes *Statua* was beaten off, and drawn through the Streets; the Priſons broken open, and more than four hundred Priſoners ſet at liberty: and going to *Ripeta* where the *Inquiſition* was, they did not only take out the impriſoned, but burnt the place, and all the Proceſſes and Writings kept there; and they had almoſt burned the *Convent* of *Minerva*, where the Fryars imployed in that Office do dwell. The Colledge of Cardinals had recalled *Caraffa* in the life time of the Pope, and in the firſt Congregation which they held after his Death, they delivered the Cardinal *Morone* out of the Caſtle, who was ready to be Cenſured for an Heretick. A great queſtion was made, whether he could have a Voyce in the Election, being oppoſed by thoſe who thought him their Adverſary. But at the laſt, it was reſolved on his ſide. The Cardinals were forced to conſent, that all the moveable Arms and Monuments of the Houſe of *Caraffa* ſhould be torne in peices, and the Immoveable demoliſhed.

The people ſhew their Deteſtation of him.

Card. *Morone* was ſet at liberty, who was ready to be Sentenced for an Heretick.

Being aſſembled in the *Conclave* the fifth of *September*, eight days after the juſt time, becauſe they were hindred by thoſe inconveniencies, they made Capitulations, which according to Cuſtom, were ſworn to by all, that they might give ſome order for the Government, which was wholly confuſed by the too great Severity of *Paul* 4. two of them did belong to the matter whereof we Treat; one, that the difference with the Emperor, which might hazard the loſs of all the reſidue of *Germany*, ſhould be compoſed, and he acknowledged for Emperour; the other, that for the neceſſity of *France* and *Flanders*, the Council, as the only remedy againſt Hereſies, ſhould be reſtored. The Papacy was vacant longer than the neceſſity of the time did comport, not ſo much for the Diſcords of the Cardinals, as for the Intereſts of Princes, who did interpoſe more than they were wont. While they were locked up in the *Conclave*, King *Philip* going from the *Low-Countries* into *Spain* by Sea, with reſolution never to remove thence, fell into a ſtorm, in which almoſt all the Fleet was wracked, his Houſhold Stuff of very great Value loſt, and himſelf hardly eſcaped. He ſaid he was delivered by the ſingular Providence of *God*, to root out Lutheraniſm, which he preſently began to do. For the 24th of *September*, ſo ſoon as he was arrived in *Sevil*, to give an example in the beginning of his Government, and to leave no hope to any, he cauſed *Johannes Pontius* Count of *Boyleno*, together with a Preacher, and many others of the Colledge of St. *Iſidore*, where the new Religion was entered to be burned for Lutherans; as alſo ſome Noble Women, to the number of thirteen, and laſt of all the *Statue* of *Conſtantinus Pontius*, Confeſſor to *Charles* the Fifth, who ſerved him in his retired life, and held him in his Arms when he died. This man died in Priſon a few days before, where he was put immediately after the Emperours death, for imputation of Hereſie: which Execution though againſt an unſenſible *Statue* increaſed the fear, becauſe every one concluded that no connivency nor mercy could be hoped for from the King, who bare no reſpect to him, whoſe Infamy did diſhonour the memory of the Emperour deceaſed. Afterwards he went to *Validolid*, where he cauſed twenty eight of the prime Nobility of the Country to be burned in his preſence, and kept Fryar *Bartholomew Caranza* in Priſon, mentioned often in the firſt

Capitulations ſworn upon by the Cardinals in the *Conclave*.

King *Philip* is in great Peril at Sea. Who at his arrival in *Spain* uſeth great ſeverity againſt the *Lutherans*.

firſt reduction of the Council of *Trent*, who was Arch-biſhop of *Toledo*, chief Prelate of *Spain*, taking from him all the Revenues. And it cannot be denied that theſe Executions, with others which daily ſucceeded, though not ſo exemplary, kept thoſe Countries in quiet, while all other places were full of Sedition. For although the new Opinions were ſowed in the minds of many, eſpecially of the Nobility, yet they were concealed within their hearts, in regard of the cloſe Nature of the *Spaniards*, who abhor Dangers, never adventuring upon hard Enterpriſes, but aiming to proceed ſecurely. 1559. *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand* *Elizabeth.* *Francis* II.

The Kings Death in *France*, which the Reformed did aſcribe to miracle, increaſed their Courage, though they durſt not ſhew themſelves openly in *Paris*. For his Son *Francis* the new King, after he was Conſecrated at *Rhemes*, the twentieth of *September*, gave order to Proſecute the Proceſs of the Counſellers who were in Priſon, and deputed the Preſident of St. *Andreas*, and the *Inquiſitor Antonius de Mocares*, to diſcover the Lutherans. The Judges having gained ſome of the common ſort, formerly Profeſſors of that Religion, had notice of the places where they did ſecretly aſſemble. Therefore many, both Men and Women were Impriſoned, and many fled, whoſe Goods were Confiſcated, after a Citation by three Edicts. And by the example of *Paris*, the ſame was done in *Poytou*, *Tholouſe*, and *Aix* of *Provence*, by the Inſtigation of *George* Cardinal of *Armignac*, who not to abandon that Enterpriſe, would not go to *Rome* to the Election of the Pope, uſing all diligence that thoſe who were diſcovered might be apprehended. The Profeſſors of that Religion being ſtirred up hereby, and imboldned, becauſe they knew they were many, ſent about many Writings, againſt the King and Queen, and thoſe of *Lorraine* (by whom the King was governed) Authors of the Perſecution, intermixing ſome points of Doctrine, which being willingly read by all as things compoſed by publick liberty, did imprint the new Religion in the minds of many. The young *French* King imitateth the Severity of his Father.

In the end of the Proceſs againſt the Counſellers, after a long Conteſtation, all were Abſolved, except *Anne du Burg*, who was burnt the eighteenth of *December*, not ſo much by the inclination of the Judge, as by the reſolution of the Queen, provoked againſt him, becauſe the Lutherans did divulge in many Writings, and Libels ſpread abroad, that the King had been wounded in the Eye by the Providence of God, for a puniſhment of his Words, uſed againſt *du Bourg*, that he would ſee him burnt. But the death and conſtancy of a man ſo conſpicuous, did make many curious to know what Religion that was, for which he had ſo Courageouſly indured puniſhment, and made the number increaſe: which augmenting alſo every day for other Cauſes, thoſe who were intereſſed in their overthrow, either for love of the old Religion, or as Eccleſiaſticks, and Authors of the former Perſecutions, thought it neceſſary to diſcover them, before they were ſo many as that they could not be ſuppreſſed. To this end they cauſed the Pictures of the bleſſed Virgin, and of Saints, to be placed in every corner throughout all *France*, and eſpecially in *Paris*, burning Candles before them, making the Porters, and other vulgar Perſons ſing the uſual Prayers of the Church, and appointing men to ſtand there with little Boxes, to ask Alms for the buying of Candles: and he that did not honour the Images in paſſing by, or did not ſtand with reverence at thoſe corners, or did not give the Almes that were asked, were held ſuſpected, and the leaſt evil that did befal them, was to be abuſed by the People, with boxes and ſpurnings: But many of them were impriſoned, and put in ſuit. This provoked *Anna Borgis* is burned. Whoſe conſtancy giveth an encreaſe to the reformed Religion. Means uſed in *France* to diſcover the Reformatiſts.

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provoked the Reformatiſts, and cauſed the great Conſpiracy of *Geffery Renant*, of whom we will ſpeak hereafter.

In *Rome*, after divers Contentions and Practices to create Pope, the Cardinals of *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, *Carpi*, and *Putea*, finally the 24th of *December* at night, *John Angelo* Cardinal of *Medicis*, was Created and named himſelf *Pius* 4. who having appeaſed the Tumults of the City, and ſecured the minds of all by a general Pardon of whatſoever was committed in time of their Sedition, applyed himſelf ſuddenly to the Execution of two Capitulations, which he had ſworn concerning the moſt common Affairs: and the thirtieth of the ſame Month calling together 13. Cardinals, and conſulting with them about the rejection of the Ambaſſage of *Ferdinand*, and the Determination of *Paul* not to acknowledge him for Emperour, the common Opinion was, that he had received wrong. But after a long Conſultation how to remedy this Inconvenience, many things being propoſed and diſcuſſed, but no means found how to Treat without danger of greater Incounters, in caſe the *Electors* ſhould interpoſe (as it was impoſſible to forbid them) the common Opinion was, that they were to avoid all Negotiation, becauſe it would conclude with the diſhonour of the Pope, and that it was better not to expect any requeſt to be made from the Emperour. This was approved by the Pope, who thought it Wiſdom to give that, which he could neither keep nor ſell. He therefore preſently called for *Franciſcus della Torre*, the Emperors Miniſter in *Rome*, and told him that he approved the Reſignation of *Charles*, a Succeſſion of *Ferdinand* to the Empire, promiſing to write unto him with the uſual Titles, and bad him ſend Advice hereof.

John Angelo Card. of *Medicis*, is created Pope.

He approveth the Reſignation of *Charles*, and the Succeſſion of *Ferdinand.*

After this, he thought ſeriouſly of the Council, being aſſured he ſhould be importuned for it, from divers parts. Conferring with the Cardinal *Morone*, whom he truſted for his Wiſdom and Friendſhip, he much doubted, as himſelf ſaid, whether the Council were good for the Apoſtolick See or not; and if not, whether it were better to deny it abſolutely, and freely oppoſe whoſoever ſhould deſire it, or to make ſhew he was willing, and to croſs it with ſome Impediments, beſides thoſe which the buſineſs it ſelf would bring: and if it were fit to celebrate it, whether it were better to expect until he were requeſted, or to prevent and require it himſelf. He called to mind the Cauſes why *Paul* the 3. did diſſolve it under colour of Tranſlation, and the hazards which *Julius* did run, if good Fortune had not aſſiſted; that now there was no Emperour *Charles* to be feared, and that the weaker the Princes are, the BB. are the more bold, who were the more to be looked unto, becauſe they cannot advance themſelves but upon the ruins of the Papacy. To oppoſe openly the demand of the Council was ſcandalous, in regard of the glorious Name thereof, and of the vain Opinion which the World hath, that it muſt needs be profitable; as alſo becauſe every one is perſwaded that the Council is refuſed for fear of Reformation, which maketh the refuſal a greater ſcandal. And if neceſſity ſhall enforce to grant that which had been abſolutely denied, it will be a total loſs of Reputation, and incite the World to debaſe him who hath oppoſed. In theſe Ambiguities the Pope was aſſured that the Council could not be profitable for the Church, nor for the Kingdoms divided, and muſt neceſſarily endanger the Papal Authority; yet he could not openly oppoſe it, becauſe the World was uncapable of this Truth. But he was uncertain, whether in caſe the Kings or Kingdoms did require it, the Conjunctures of the future Affairs might be

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be ſuch, as that the ſecret impediments might take effect. When he had thought of all, he concluded to ſhew himſelf ready, yea, deſirous, and to prevent the deſires of others, that he might conceal himſelf the better in croſſing them, and have more credit in repreſenting the contrary difficulties, referring to the ſuperiour cauſes that deliberation, to which humane judgment could not reach. So much he reſolved of, and no more.

The Coronation was made at the Epiphany; and the Eleventh of the ſame Month he held a frequent congregation of Cardinals, in which he declared his mind at large, that he would reform the Court, and call a general Council, charging them all to conſider what things deſerved Reformation, and of the place, time and other preparations of the Synod, that it might not bring forth the ſame fruit, that it had done twice before. And afterwards he ſpake of this in private diſcourſes with the Cardinals and Ambaſſadours, upon all occaſions; yet did nothing which might manifeſt his intention more plainly.

The Emperour ſendeth an Ambaſſadour to *Rome.*

News came to the Emperour at *Vienna* of what the Pope had intimated to his Miniſter; who immediately deputed an Ambaſſadour, and, before his departure, wrote to the Pope to give him joy of his aſſumption, and thanks, that he had wiſely, and, like a Father, ended the difficulty, which *Paulus* 4. had, againſt reaſon and equity, ſet on foot, giving him an account of the Ambaſſadour, which he had appointed to come unto him. This was *Scipio*, Count of *Arco*, who came to *Rome* the Tenth of *February*, and fell into a great difficulty in the very beginning. For the Emperour gave him commiſſion to render to the Pope reverence only, and the Pope was reſolute he ſhould render him obedience, ſhewing that the Ambaſſadours of other Emperours had done ſo to his predeceſſors, and ſaid plainly, that otherwiſe, he would not admit him. The Ambaſſadour of *Spain*, and the Cardinal *Pacceco* adviſed him not to tranſgreſs his Commiſſion, but the Cardinals *Morone* and *Trent* perſwaded the contrary; whoſe opinion he followed, becauſe the Emperour had given him charge to conſult with thoſe two Cardinals in all matters. After the Ceremony was ended in the Conſiſtory, with ſatisfaction of the Pope, the Ambaſſadour began to pray him in the firſt private Audience, in *Cæſar*'s Name, to call the Council to compoſe the Diſſentions of *Germany*, was prevented by him, with the Ambaſſadours great contentment; who believing that he was to treat with the Pope, about an unpleaſing buſineſs, was prepared to deliver it in ſugered terms, that it might be heard more willingly. The Pope told him, that the Cardinals, being in the Conclave, conſulted how they might ſet the Council on foot again, in which conſultation himſelf was a very principal party; and now, being Pope, was more confirmed in the ſame determination. Yet he would not proceed blindly, but ſo as that he might avoid the difficulties, which happened before, and would be ſure of the neceſſary preparatories, that the deſired fruit might ſucceed. He ſaid the like to the Ambaſſadours of *France* and *Spain*, and wrote to his *Nuncii* to impart it to their Kings: he ſpake of it alſo with the Ambaſſadours of the King of *Portugal*, and of the Princes of *Italy*, which were in *Rome*.

Who, after ſome conteſtation, rendereth obedience to the Pope, not reverence only.

And is well pleaſed that his Holineſs beginneth to ſpeak of the Council.

The Duke of *Savoy* demandeth the Popes leave to hold a *Colloquy.*

After this the Duke of *Savoy* ſent one expreſly to deſire the Pope, that by his favour, he might make a *Colloquy* of Religion, to inſtruct his people of the *Vallies*, who were generally alienated from the old Reli-

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Religion. Theſe were a part of the *Waldenſes*, who 400 years ſince, forſook the Church of *Rome*, and in regard of the Perſecutions, fled into *Polonia*, *Germany*, *Puglia*, *Province*, and ſome of them into the *Vallies* of *Mountſenis*, *Luſerna*, *Angronia*, *Peroſa*, and S. *Martin*. Theſe having always continued in their ſeparation, with certain Miniſters of their own, whom they called Paſtors, when the Doctrine of *Zuinglius* was planted in *Geneva*, did preſently Unite themſelves with thoſe, as agreeing with them in points of Doctrine, and principal Rites: and when *Piemont* was under the *French*-men, though they were forbid upon pain of Death to exerciſe their Religion, yet by little and little, they made it publick, ſo that when the Country was reſtored to the Duke of *Savoy*, the exerciſe of it was almoſt free. The Duke reſolved to make them receive the Catholick Religion; ſo that many were burned, and put to Death by other means, and more condemned to the Gallies, at the inſtigation of the *Inquiſitor*, *Thomaſo*, *Jacomello*, a *Dominican Fryer*. This made them conſult whether it were lawful to defend themſelves with Arms; wherein their Miniſters did not agree. Some ſaid they might not oppoſe their Prince, though it were to defend their own lives, but might carry away their Goods, and retire into the Mountains. Others ſaid they might uſe force, in ſo deſperate a Caſe as this, eſpecially it being not ſo much againſt the Prince, as againſt the Pope, who abuſed the Authority of the Prince. Many of them did follow the firſt Opinion, and the others ſtood upon their guard; ſo that the Duke perceiving they had not Rebellious thoughts, and that they might eaſily be gained by inſtruction, received the Counſel which was given him, to inſtitute a *Colloquy* to this end. But becauſe he would not diſpleaſe the Pope, by proceeding without his knowledge, he gave him an account hereof, and asked his conſent. The Pope being angry, that in *Italy* alſo, even under his Noſe, his Authority ſhould be queſtioned, anſwered that he would conſent by no means; but if thoſe people had need of inſtruction, he would ſend a Legate, with Authority to abſolve them who would be converted, accompanied with Divines, who might give them inſtruction. But he ſaid he had little hope to convert them, becauſe the Hereticks are Obſtinate, and whatſoever is done to exhort them to acknowledge their fault, they expound to be a want of force to compel them. That it cannot be remembred that any good was ever done by this moderation, but that Experience is taught, that the ſooner juſtice is uſed, and force of Arms, when that other is not ſufficient, ſo much the better the ſucceſs is. If he would proceed thus, he would ſend him aſſiſtance; but if he thought it not fit, all might be deferred until a general Council, which he would ſuddenly call. The Duke did not like the ſending of a Legate, becauſe it would have provoked them more, and forced him to proceed according to the intereſts of others, thinking it better to take Arms, which the Pope commended more, and promiſed aſſiſtance. Therefore there was War in theſe *Vallies* all this year, and part of the next, whereof we will ſpeak in the time when it ended.

To inſtruct the people of his *Vallies*, whom before he had perſecuted.

But his Holineſs refuſeth to grant it.

And therefore the Duke taketh Arms againſt them.

A great Conſpiracy in *France*, and the Cauſes of it.

There was a great Conſpiracy in many parts of *France*, into which many were entred, and the major part for cauſe of Religion, diſdaining to ſee poor people drawn every day to the Stake to be burned, guilty of nothing, but of Zeal to worſhip *God*, and to ſave their own Souls. To theſe were joyned others, who thinking the *Guiſards* to be the cauſe of all the diſorders of the Kingdom, judged it an Heroick act to deliver it from Oppreſſion, by taking the publick Adminiſtration out

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of their hands. There were alſo Ambitious Perſons deſirous of change, who could not work their Will, but in the midſt of troubles. Both theſe covered themſelves with the Cloak of Religion, to gain more followers: and the better to confirm their minds, cauſed the Principal Lawyers of *Germany* and *France*, and the moſt famous Proteſtant Divines to publiſh in writing, that, without violating the Majeſty of the King, and Dignity of the lawful Magiſtrate, they might oppoſe with Arms, the violent Domination of the houſe of *Guiſe*, who offended true Religion, and lawful Juſtice, and kept the King as it were in Priſon. The Conſpirators prepared a great Multitude, who ſhould appear before the King without Arms, to demand that the ſeverity of the Judgments might be mitigated, and liberty of Conſcience granted, deſigning they ſhould be followed by Gentlemen, who ſhould make Supplication againſt the Government of the *Guiſards*. The Conſpiracy was diſcovered, and the Court retired from *Blois*, an open place fit for the Execution of ſuch a purpoſe, unto *Amboiſe*, a ſtrong Fortreſs. This troubled the Conſpirators; who, while they were thinking of a new Courſe, ſome of them, who took Arms were beaten and ſlain, and others taken and ſentenced to Die; and to appeaſe the Tumult, Pardon was granted by the Kings Edict, dated the eighteenth of *March*, to all who ſimply moved with Zeal of Religion, had entred into the Conſpiracy, ſo that they diſarmed within 24 hours. Afterwards the King by his Edict, pardoned all the Reformatiſts, until they returned to the Church. He forbad all aſſemblies for Religion, and committed to the Biſhops the hearing of the Cauſes of the Hereſie. This diſpleaſed the Chancellor; though he conſented, for fear the *Spaniſh Inquiſition* would be brought in, as the *Guiſards* deſired.

The Conſpirators are diſcovered, and many of them executed, and the reſt pardoned.

The humours moved, were not quieted by the puniſhment of the Conſpirators, and the Pardons publiſhed, nor the hopes laid aſide, which they had conceived, to have liberty of Religion, yea, greater Tumults of the People were raiſed in *Provence*, *Languedoc*, and *Poitou*, whither the Preachers of *Geneva* were called, and came willingly: by whoſe Sermons the number of the Proteſtants did increaſe. This general and ſudden Combinations made the Governours of the Kingdom reſolve, that there was need of an Eccleſiaſtical remedy, and that very quickly; and a National Synod was propoſed by the whole Council. The Cardinal of *Armignac* ſaid, that nothing was to be done without the Pope; that he alone was able to make Proviſion; that they ſhould write to *Rome*, and expect an anſwer. To which Opinion ſome few Prelates did adhere. But the Biſhop of *Valence* ſaid, that a ſudden remedy could not be expected from the Pope, becauſe he was far diſtant, nor a fit one, becauſe he was not informed of the particular neceſſity of the Kingdom, nor a charitable one, becauſe he was buſied in making his Nephews great; that *God* had given to all Kingdoms, all things neceſſary to governthem; that *France* had Prelates of its own, to regulate the Cauſes of Religion, who better know the wants of the Kingdom; that it would be a great abſurdity to ſee *Paris* burn, having the Rivers of *Seine* and *Marne* full of Water, and to believe that water muſt be brought from *Tiber*, to quench the Fire. The reſolution of the Council was, That there being need of a ſtrong and ſudden remedy, the Prelates of the Kingdom ſhould aſſemble, to find a way to hinder the Courſe of theſe great miſchiefs, And the eleventh of *April* the Synod was intimated, for the tenth of *September*.

The Proteſtants do increaſe by means of the Preachers of *Geneva*.

A National Synod is intimated in *France*.

But that the Pope might not take it in ill part, a Currier was diſpatched

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ſpatched to *Rome*, to give him an account of the Reſolution, and to inform him of the neceſſity of that remedy, and to pray him not to take it amiſs. The Ambaſſador repreſented to his Holineſs the infection of the Kingdom, and the dangers, and the hope which the King had of ſome good Remedy by a general Convocation of the Prelates, without which he ſaw no means to make an effectual Proviſion. Therefore he was forced not to defer longer, nor to expect Remedies from places Remote, which were uncertain, and long in coming, and to uſe that which was in his own Power: And he added, that no Conſtitution of that Synod ſhould be of force before it were Confirmed by his Holineſs.

The Pope blameth the *French* King for pardoning Hereticks.

The Pope on the contrary, did grievouſly complain, that the King had pardoned the Errours committed againſt Religion, even of thoſe who did not ask it; wherein none had Power but himſelf. And what King is there (he ſaid) who thinketh he is able to pardon Offences againſt *God*? That it is no marvel if, by the juſt wrath of *God*, there be ſo many Tumults in that Kingdom, where the Sacred Canons are diſeſteemed, and the Popes Authority uſurped.

And will not approve the National Synod.

He ſaid that the aſſembling of the Prelates would do no good, yea, would cauſe a greater diviſion; that he had propoſed a general Council, which was the only remedy; that the cauſe why it was not aſſembled already, proceeded from them who would not have it; that he was reſolved to Celebrate it, though it were deſired by none, but would not by any means conſent to the aſſembly of the Prelates, either in *France*, or elſewhere, that this was never tolerated by the Apoſtolick See; that if every Prince ſhould celebrate Councils of himſelf, a confuſion and ſeparation of the Church muſt needs follow. He complained much that the aſſembly was firſt intimated, and then his conſent demanded; which he muſt needs think was done with ſmall reſpect of the head of the Church, to whom all Eccleſiaſtical Affairs are to be referred, not to give him an Account when they are done, but to receive from him Authority to do them; that the Edicts publiſhed did infer an Apoſtaſy in that Kingdom from the See of *Rome*; for remedy whereof he would ſend an expreſs *Nuncio*, to make his Will known to the King.

But ſendeth a *Nuncio* into *Spain* to diſſwade it.

He ſent the Biſhop of *Viterbo*, with inſtruction, to ſhew him, that a National Council of that Kingdom, would be a kind of Schiſm from the Univerſal Church, give a bad example to other Nations, and make his Prelates proud, aſſuming greater Authority, with diminution of his own; that it is generally known how earneſtly they deſire the Reſtitution of the *Pragmatick*, which they would firſt of all bring in, by which means the King would loſe his whole collation of the Regalities, and the Preſentation of the Biſhopricks and Abbies: whence it would follow that the Prelates, not acknowledging the Power of the King, would refuſe to obey him. And yet, with all theſe inconveniences, the evils which do now preſs him, would not be provided againſt. For the Hereticks do profeſs already that they eſteem not the Prelates, ſo that whatſoever they ſhould do, would be oppoſed by the Proteſtant Miniſters, if for no other Cauſe, becauſe it was done by them, that the true remedy was to make the Prelates and other Curates reſide, and keep their Flocks, oppoſing the fury of the Wolves, and to proceed in Juſtice againſt thoſe who are judged to be Hereticks, by the Judge of Faith, and where it cannot be done in regard of the Multitude, to uſe force of Arms, to compel all to the performance of their Duty: before the Contagion doth increaſe, that all theſe things being done now, all differences might be compleatly ended, by the Celebration

of the general Council, which he would immediately intimate; that if the King would reſolve to reduce the Contumacious to Obedience, before they did more increaſe in number and ſtrength, he promiſed to aſſiſt him with all his Power, and to labour that the King of *Spain*, and Princes of *Italy* ſhould do the like. But if he would not be perſwaded to compel his Subjects by force, the *Nuncio* had Inſtruction to propoſe unto him, that all the miſchief which troubleth *France*, and the Poyſon which infected that Kingdom, and the Neighbour places cometh from *Geneva*; that the extirpation of that root would take away a great nouriſhment of the evil; that making War out of the Kingdom, he ſhould evacuate thoſe bad humours which did trouble it. Therefore he was to exhort the King to joyn with him in this good work, promiſing that he would induce the King of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, to do the like.

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And to perſwade the King to make War againſt *Geneva*.

The Pope gave the Biſhop Commiſſion alſo to negotiate the ſame thing with the Duke of *Savoy*, as he paſſed. He wrote to the King of *Spain*, and dealt with him by his *Nuncio*, that he would labour to divert his Couſin from the National Council, which would be hurtful to *France*, and a bad example for *Spain*, and worſe for the *Low-Countries*. The Duke of *Savoy* hearkned to the propoſition of the War of *Geneva*, promiſing to employ himſelf wholly in it, ſo that thoſe two Kings would be content to aſſiſt him, and that the War were to be made by him and for him. For that City belonging to his Dominion, it was not juſt, in Caſe it were won, that any ſhould poſſeſs it but himſelf. Therefore if his Holineſs would come to the effect, it was neceſſary to make a League with plain Capitulations, leſt ſome great inconvenience might ariſe, if either the Kings ſhould not agree, or himſelf ſhould be abandoned, after he had provoked the *Suiſſes* againſt him, who would undoubtedly defend the City.

For *Geneva*, the King of *Spain* conſidered, that *France* would not permit it ſhould be in the hands of any but *French*-men; which was not good for his Service, in regard of the Vicinity of the *Franche County*. Therefore he anſwered that he thought it not a fit time to make attempt. But for the National Council of *France*, he was perſwaded it would be a dangerous example to his States. Therefore he diſpatched away *Antonio di Toledo*, Prior of *Lions*, to ſignifie to the *French* King, that the Celebration of that Council would be very hurtful, in regard of the diviſion which might ariſe, the Kingdom being infected. He prayed him not to go on herein, and ſaid that nothing moved him to make this requeſt, but only his love to him, and his Zeal to the glory of God. He left to his conſideration, beſides the Contentions which it might cauſe within his Kingdom, the pernicious example which other Provinces would take, and the prejudice it would bring to the General Council, which was to be held, and was the only remedy for all the evils and diviſions of Chriſtendom; that it would ſhew there was not ſo good intelligence between the Emperour and them as ſhould be, and would make the Proteſtants wax proud, in prejudice of the publick Cauſe. He added, that he wanted not force to repreſs the Inſolencies of his Subjects, and if he would make uſe of the Forces of him the King of *Spain*, he would very willingly employ them in this Caſe, and his own Perſon alſo, if there were need, that his Subjects might not boaſt, they had brought him to any indignity: whereof he was to conſider much now, in this beginning of his Reign. He gave Commiſſion alſo to his Ambaſſadour, that if he could

The King of *Spain* diſſwadeth the *French* King from the National Synod.

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could not obtain this, he ſhould for the ſame and other reaſons, negotiate a Suſpenſion of it, for as long a time as he could, and ſhould treat with the Cardinal of *Lorraine*, who, as he underſtood, had a great hand in this Council, that, as a Prince of the Church, and as having a great part in the Government of that Kingdom, he was bound to conſider the dammage which might redound to it, and all Chriſtendom. He cauſed alſo the ſame requeſt to be made to the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Conſtable, the Queen Mother, and to the Marſhal St. *Andrew*. He gave him Commiſſion alſo to adviſe the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, and *Vargas* his Ambaſſador at *Rome*, of whatſoever he did. Likewiſe he gave the Pope adviſe of the earneſt Requeſt he had made by one expreſly ſent, and of the need that King had of Aſſiſtance. To this he added, the neceſſity in which himſelf was, the *Turks* having taken from him the year before twenty Gallies, twenty five round Ships, and the Fortreſs of *Gerbe*; which forced him to increaſe his Army. He therefore requeſted his Holineſs, to grant him a large Subſidy of the Churches, and Benefices of his Kingdoms.

And demandeth of the Pope a Subſidy from the Eccleſiaſticks.

The *French*-men are diſtaſted with the propoſition of aſſaulting *Geneva*.

The propoſition of aſſaulting *Geneva*, was not well taken in *France*, becauſe it would make the *Hugonots* (ſo the Reformatiſts are called) ſuſpicious, and Unite themſelves. Beſides, none going to that War but the Catholicks, the Kingdom would be left open to the Oppoſites. And to provoke the *Suiſſes*, Protectors of that City ſeemed not good, in regard of the Service they might do that Crown. Therefore they anſwered the *Nuncio* only thus: That while ſo great Confuſion did afflict the Kingdom within, it was impoſſible to apply themſelves to matters abroad. But for the National Council, the ſame anſwer was given to *Toledo* and the *Nuncio*, that the King was reſolved to keep himſelf and the Kingdom in the Catholick Union; that he would make a National Council to ſeparate himſelf, but to Unite to the Church thoſe that went aſtray; that a general Council would more pleaſe, and in likelihood be more profitable, if his urgent occaſions would ſuffer him to expect the time, which muſt needs be very long, that the National Council which he deſireth, ſhall depend on the Apoſtolick See, and the Pope, which ſhall ceaſe when the General ſhall be aſſembled, and ſhall incorporate with it. And that his deeds may anſwer to his words, he deſired the Pope to ſend a Legate into *France*, with Power to aſſemble the Biſhops of the Kingdom, and to ſettle the Affairs of Religion.

The *French* Kings anſwer concerning the National Synod.

Maketh the Pope haſten the General Council.

The Pope caſt forth the Propoſition to make War againſt *Geneva*, not ſo much for the hatred he bore to that City, as the Seminary of the Zuinglian Preachers in *France*, or for fear of ſome Innovation in *Italy*, as to prolong the treaty of the general Council. For if the War had been kindled, it would have laſted a year at the leaſt, and in the mean while, the Council would have been forgotten, or a good form would have been found for it. But now ſeeing that his propoſition did not take effect, and that the *French* did ſtill perſevere in their Reſolution for a National Synod, he thought it neceſſary not to defer his Determination for the General, and to ſtop the *French*-men with this, and with ſome grant of what they deſired. He conferred hereof with the Cardinals which were moſt intimate with him, and particularly about the place, which ſeemed of moſt importance, becauſe in concluſion, the Council doth produce effect according to the mind of him that is ſtrongeſt in the place where it is Celebrated. He would fain have propoſed *Bolonia*, or ſome other of his own Cities, promiſing

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promiſing to go thither in Perſon, but ſaw it would be ill conſtrued by the World. He was reſolved not to accept of any City beyond the Mountains, no not to hear any Propoſition of it. The Cardinal *Pacceco* propoſed *Milan*, and he condeſcended, ſo that he might have the Caſtle in his hands, during the time of the Council; which was to refer himſelf to an impoſſible Condition. He thought alſo upon ſome of the *Venetian* Cities, but the Republick excuſed it ſelf, leſt they ſhould make the *Turks* ſuſpicious, of whoſe Forces they were then afraid. When he had conſidered all, he found no fitter place than *Trent*. For the Council having been held there twice before, every one had Experience of what was good, and what bad in that Place, and therefore would more eaſily conſent to go thither than elſewhere. And there was alſo ſome appearance of reaſon for it, becauſe the Council celebrated by *Julius*, was not finiſhed, but ſuſpended. He thought to ſatisfie the *French*-men, by ſending Cardinal *Tornon* into *France*, not in Quality of a Legate, but with Power, when he was there and ſaw there need, to aſſemble ſome of the Prelates of the Kingdom, ſuch as the King and himſelf thought fit, but not all, that there might be no appearance of a Council, and to treat with theſe, but to reſolve of nothing.

Who, after Conſultation, thinketh *Trent* the fitteth place for the aſſembly.

And ſendeth Card. *Tornon* into *France* to hinder a National Synod there.

There were alſo two other Accidents of no leſs conſideration, which thruſt the Pope forward to ſpeak more plainly of a Council, one far off, but imported the loſs of a Kingdom; the other concerned one Perſon onely, but was of great conſequence. The Nobility of *Scotland*, who had a long time made War to chaſe the *French*-men, out of the Kingdom, and to take the Government out of the hands of the Queen Regent, and had ever encountred many difficulties, in regard of the great Succours, ſent her by her Son in Law the *French* King, to maintain the Kingdom for his Wife; finally that they might quite free themſelves, they reſolved to joyn with the *Engliſh*, and incite the People againſt the Regent. To this end they gave way to liberty of Religion, to which the People was inclined. By this means they brought the *French*-men into great ſtraits, and the old Religion was little eſteemed; for which the Pope was blamed, becauſe the World thought, that if the Council had been begun, all popular Commotions would have been ſtopped. The other Accident was, that the King of *Bohemia* had a long time held intelligence with the Proteſtant Electors, and Princes of *Germany*, and was formerly ſuſpected for it by *Paul* the Fourth, ſo that he could not refrain to object to the Emperour, in private diſcourſe which he had with *Martin Guſman* his Ambaſſadour, that his Son was a favourer of Hereſie. The ſame ſuſpition continuing in the Court after the death of *Paul*, the Pope cauſed the Count of *Arco* to tell him, that if he would not live as a Catholick, he would not confirm him King of the *Romans*, yea, would deprive him of all Dominion. Notwithſtanding, this advice came afterwards to *Rome*, that he entertained a Preacher, and heard him often, who had brought in the uſe of the *Cup* in divers places, but not in the City; and the King himſelf ſaid, he could not receive it otherwiſe: which although he put not in practice, yet thoſe words gave the Pope great ſuſpicion, eſpecially becauſe almoſt in all places of *Germany*, the Communion of the Chalice was uſed by all that would, and none hindred the Prieſts to miniſter. For all theſe former reſpects the Pope was reſolute to make this great jump.

Scotland revolteth from the Pope.

Maximilian is not without cauſe, thought to be a Proteſtant.

Which two Accidents incite the Pope to call the Council quickly.

The third of *June* he called the Ambaſſadours of the Emperour, of *Spain*, *Portugal*, *Polonia*, *Venice*, and *Florence*; who appearing all before

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before his Holineſs, except the Ambaſſadour of *Polonia*, that was ſick, he complained firſt, that he could not call the *French* Ambaſſadour for fear of ſome queſtion of precedency, which was a cauſe to hinder the publick benefit of conſulting on the common affairs of Chriſtendom: but thoſe two Kings, being Couſins, it was neceſſary they ſhould reſolve to accommodate the difference, for the good of the Chriſtian Common-wealth, and eſpecially of their own Kingdoms. Then he ſaid, that, the cauſe why he had called them, was the celebration of the Council, which he was reſolved to bring to effect, removing all difficulties, which Princes, for their own ends, might ſet on foot: that the place ſhould be *Trent*, which having pleaſed twice, could now be denied by none, in regard it was not a new place, and the Council celebrated there only ſuſpended. Therefore taking away the ſuſpenſion, the Council is open, as before; and many good Conſtitutions having been made there, it would not be fit to call them in queſtion, by making ſhew of calling a new Council. He added, that it was neceſſary to do it quickly, becauſe things grew worſe every day, as appeared in *France*, where they treated of a National Council; which he neither would nor could endure, becauſe *Germany*, and every Province would do the like; that he would give order to his *Nuncii* with the Emperour, Kings of *France* and *Spain*, to treat hereof with their Majeſties, and did now intimate the ſame to all them, that they might ſend their Princes word of it. For although he could both reſolve and execute of himſelf, yet he thought fit to do it with their knowledge, that they might put him in mind of ſome things for the common benefit, and reformation of the Church, and ſend Ambaſſadours to the Council, and favour it by treating with the Proteſtants. He added, that he did believe that ſome of the Princes of *Germany* would go thither in perſon, and that he was ſure the Marqueſs of *Brandenburg* would.

Wherein he declareth his purpoſe to all the Ambaſſadors reſiding with him.

Vergas made a long anſwer, relating what had been done in former Councils. He diſcourſed of the manner of celebrating Councils, and then deſcended to the place, and ſpake of what was done in *Trent*, where himſelf was preſent. He diſtinguiſhed General Councils from National, much condemning that which was intimated in *France*. The Ambaſſadour of *Portugal* commended the Popes purpoſe, and promiſed the obedience of his Maſter. The *Venetian* ſaid, that, in times paſt, never any better remedy was found than Councils, and thanked *God* for inſpiring his Holineſs to do ſo pious a work, which was for the preſervation of Religion, and benefit of Princes, who could not hold their States in peace in change of Religion. The *Florentine* Ambaſſador ſpake in the ſame manner, offering all aſſiſtance from the Duke. The Pope wrote to his *Nuncio* in *Germany*, *France*, and *Spain*, in conformity of that which he ſpake to the Ambaſſadours; Yet he never talked of the Council, but he caſt forth ſome ſeed of a contrary herb, which might hinder the birth of it, or choke it afterwards; being aſſured, that, when the affairs of the world did ſtand ſo, that the life of it might do him ſervice, he could root out that which he had ſowed upon it. He told the ſame Ambaſſadours apart, ſome more plainly, ſome in jeſt, that, to call the Council with profit, it was neceſſary to think more of the end, than of the beginning, and of the execution, than of the Convocation, proſecution: that the Convocation belonged to him alone, the proſecution to him and the Prelates, the execution to the Princes: and therefore that it was meet, that firſt of all they ſhould bind themſelves to it, and make a League, and cleſt a general Captain to

But always uttereth ſomething that may croſs it.

to go againſt the diſobedient, to execute the determinations of the Council, conſidering that, without this, it would be fruitleſs, and diſhonourable to the Apoſtolick See, and to thoſe Princes who had ſent Ambaſſadours, and afforded favour and aſſiſtance. 1559. *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.*

The Pope did not receive a conformable anſwer from his *Nuncii.* The King of *Spain* commended the Council, approved the place of *Trent*, promiſed to ſend his Prelates to it, and to favour it by all other means; but added, that it was not fit to do any thing without the good will of the Emperour, and *French* King. The anſwer of this King was, that he approved the celebration of the Council, but not the place of *Trent*, alledging, that his Prelates could not go thither, and propoſing for places more fit, *Conſtance*, *Triers*, *Spire*, *Worms*, or *Aganoa*. He intimated alſo, that they ought not to make a continuation of the things begun in *Trent*, but to abandon them quite, and make a whole new Council. This anſwer troubled the Pope, who thought it did not proceed from the King's own motion, but from the *Hugonots*. *Elizabeth.* *Francis* II.

The *French* King doth not think *Trent* a fit place for the Council,

Nor that the Doctrines, already diſcuſſed there, ſhould be maintained without re-examination.

But the Emperour ſent a long writing, in which he ſaid, he could promiſe nothing for the Princes of *Germany*, before he knew their opinion; which he could not do without a Diet: which if he would call, it was neceſſary not to name the Council, becauſe the Princes would not go thither, but pretending another cauſe to call it, he might afterwards ſpeak of it by occaſion. He added, that, for his patrimonial States, he had no hope to bring them to the Synod, without granting them the Communion of the Cup, and marriage of Prieſts, and without a good reformation were made; but above all, that no mention ought to be made of a continuation of the things begun in *Trent*. For the *Lutherans* would never conſent otherwiſe, yea, the very name of *Trent* would make them refuſe. And he propoſed *Conſtance*, or *Ratisbon*. The Pope ſaw that the propoſition of a Diet did require the time of a year, and perhaps of two, and was glad of it, but was ſorry that the occurrences of *France* required haſte. He told every one, to ſhew his forwardneſs, that he cared not for one place more than another, and would take *Spire*, *Collen*, or any other City which pleaſed the Emperour, ſo that the Biſhops might come and go in ſafety, it not being convenient to ſecure thoſe who have no voice in the Council, and leave others without ſecurity who certainly have. But it was not fit to ſpeak of revoking what was done in *Trent*, ſaying he would ſpend his blood in maintaining it, it being a matter of faith. Concerning that which is of humane conſtitution, as the Communion of the Cup, and Marriage of Prieſts, theſe prohibitions being made for a good end, as he would not take them away of himſelf, which he had power to do, ſo he would refer all to the Council, howſoever he ſaw they would never forſake their opinion whatſoever was granted them. He complained of the Emperour's weakneſs, who feared his own Son no leſs than others, and then deſired the Prelates ſhould be ſent into *Germany*, where he declared he had not power to ſecure them, that he would go to *Conſtantinople*, ſo that he might have ſecurity, which could not be expected from the Emperour; that the *Germans* were almoſt all Hereticks, and the King of the *Romans* more potent than his father; that he regarded not one place more than another, ſo that it were in *Italy*, which only is ſecure for the Catholicks.

Of whoſe opinion the Emperour is.

Therefore he anſwered the *French* King, and the Emperour, in general terms, that he was content with any ſecure place, ſaying that the ſecurity of the Councils hath always been eſteemed neceſſary,

The Pope's Anſwer to them both.

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and was now as much as ever; without making particular oppoſition againſt the places named by them. But, in his anſwer to the Catholick King, he commended his good mind, and confirmed him in his purpoſe; and, for the Subſidy he deſired, he interpoſed divers difficulties, as well to maintain the profits of the Church, as not to offend him, and make him his oppoſite, in the time of the Council.

The Low-country-men wax peremptory againſt their King.

The affairs of the Catholicks waxed every day more difficult. For the Hugonots in *France* grew ſtronger, and in *Scotland* liberty of Religion was granted to all by Publick Decree, and in *Flanders* the humors were prepared to ſtir, upon the firſt occaſion; which the King did appeaſe by proceeding ſlowly, granting them what they would, though to his own loſs and indignity. Firſt, they refuſed to contribute to the King, before the *Spaniſh* Souldiers were removed out of the Country; when theſe were diſmiſſed, they would pay to none but to the people of their own Country, and only for the guard of ſtrong places, and thoſe not to depend of the Kings Miniſters. The King endured all, knowing that every little diſtaſt would make them ſet on foot the pretence of Religion, and expected until the heat were extinguiſhed; which he did the rather, becauſe it was diſcovered that the ſeeds of the new opinions in *Spain* were not dead, but only covered for fear, and that in *Savoy* there were more Hereticks, beſides the old *Waldenſes*.

The anſwer of *Maximilian* to the Pope's Nephew, concerning his Religion.

But the Court of *Rome* was grieved moſt of all, that the Pope having, by his Nephew, *Marcus Altemps*, who afterwards was Cardinal, perſwaded the King of *Bohemia* to be a good Catholick, with many promiſes of honours and profits, intimating the ſucceſſion of the Empire; which he would hardly obtain in caſe he ſhould do otherwiſe, was anſwered by the King, that he thanked his Holineſs, but that his Souls health was more dear to him, than all the things of the world; which anſwer they ſaid in *Rome*, was a *Lutheran* form of ſpeech, and ſignified an alienation from the obedience of that See; and they began to diſcourſe what would happen after the Emperour's death.

The Pope's Subjects of *Avignion* rebel againſt him.

While theſe accidents troubled the Pope's mind, news was brought him, that the Hugonots his Subjects in the Territory of *Avignion* were aſſembled, and diſputed whether they might take Arms againſt the Pope their temporal Lord, and reſolved they might, becauſe his ſucceſſion was not lawful, as well becauſe that Country was not juſtly taken from *Raimondus*, Count of *Thoulouſe*, as alſo for that the Eccleſiaſticks cannot, by the commandment of Chriſt, poſſeſs any temporal Dominion: and reſolving to rebel, by the means of *Alexander Guilotimus*, a Lawyer, put themſelves under the protection of *Charles de Montbrun*, who was in Arms for Religion, and was much followed in *Dolphiny*. *Charles*, entring the Territory with three thouſand foot, made himſelf Lord of the whole Country, with much joy of the Inhabitants. *James Maria*, Biſhop of *Viviers*, Vice-Legat of *Avignion*, made oppoſition, and very hardly kept the City. The Pope was much afflicted herewith, not ſo much for the loſs of the Country, as for the cauſe, which, being taken for an example, would touch the very root of the Papacy. Therefore he ſent Cardinal *Farneſe*, who was Legat, to defend the City. But the danger was moderated, becauſe Cardinal *Tornon*, (whoſe Neece *Charles* had married) who was then not far from that place, as he was going to the Court, made him deſiſt, and go to *Geneva*, by promiſing reſtitution of his goods, confiſcated for rebellion, and to be recalled ſhortly, with liberty of conſcience, if he would go out of *France*. So the Pope's Territory, deprived of that protection, did remain

But all danger was taken away by means of Cardinal *Tornon*.

remain in ſubjection, but full of ſuſpicions, and ready to embrace every novelty. 1559.

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The Proteſtants ſtill increaſing in *France*, and, which was of more importance, the diſſentions and ſuſpicions between the Grandees, the 21*ſt* of *Auguſt*, 1560. the King called a very great Aſſembly at *Fountainbleau*, in which having briefly exhorted, to ſet down what was fit for his ſervice, the neceſſities of the Kingdom were declared by the Chancelour, which he compared to a man ſick of an unknown diſeaſe. Afterwards *Jaſper Coligny* gave the King ſome Petitions, which he ſaid were delivered to him, by a multitude of people, when he was in *Normandy*, unto whom he could not deny this favour, to preſent them to his Majeſty. The ſum of them was; that the faithful Chriſtians, diſperſed throughout the whole Kingdom, did pray his Majeſty to look on them with a favourable eye; that they deſired nothing but a moderation of the cruel puniſhments, until their cauſe were heard; and that they might make publick profeſſion of their Religion, to avoid ſuſpicion by private aſſemblies. Then *John Monluc*, Biſhop of *Valence*, having declared the infirmities of the Kingdom, and commended the chaſtiſing of the ſeditious, ſaid that the cauſe of the evil remained, yea, ſtill grew worſe, ſo long as Religion might be taken for a pretence; againſt which, proviſion had not been formerly made, becauſe the Popes had no other aim, but to hold the Princes in War; and the Princes, thinking to ſuppreſs the evil with puniſhments, have not attained the wiſhed end, nor the Magiſtrates and Biſhops juſtly performed their duty. The principal remedy was to fly unto *God*, to aſſemble godly men out of the whole Kingdom, to find a way to root out the vices of the Clergy, to forbid infamous and immodeſt ſongs, and, inſtead of them to command the ſinging of Pſalms, and holy Hymns, in the vulgar tongue; and if the common interpretation, which goeth about, be not good, to take away the errours, ſuffering that which is good to be uſed by all. Another remedy was, the General Council, always uſed to compoſe ſuch differences; that he could not ſee how the Pope's conſcience could be quiet one moment, in regard ſo many ſouls did periſh every day; ſaying, that if a General Council could not be obtained, they were to aſſemble a National, by the example of *Charles* the Great, and *Lewis* the *Deboneere*; that they did grievouſly err, who troubled the publick quiet with Arms, upon pretence of Religion, a thing always abhorred by Antiquity; that their error was as great, who condemned to death thoſe that adhered to the new Doctrine, only for the opinion of piety; who, dying conſtantly, and contemning the loſs of their goods, ſtir up the minds of the multitude, and make them deſirous to know what faith that is, for which they endure ſo great puniſhments.

1560. The *French* King calleth an Aſſembly at *Fountainbleau*.

In which the opinions were divers.

* *Charles Marillac*, Biſhop of *Vienna*, ſpake in the ſame manner; commending the General Council, but adding, that it might ſooner be deſired than hoped for, conſidering the difficulties which do uſually ariſe in ſuch a buſineſs, wherein *Charles* the Fifth, having taken great pains, hath ever been deluded by the Popes. Beſides, the diſeaſe of *France* is ſo ſharp, that there is no time to call a Phyſician from far. Therefore they were to call a National Council, as had been uſed from the time of *Clodove*, until *Charles* the Great, and afterwards until *Charles* the Seventh, ſometimes of the whole Kingdom, and ſometimes of part: that now, the diſeaſe being urgent, they were to expect no longer, nor to hold any eſteem of the impediments which the

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Pope did interpoſe; in the mean while that the Prelates ought to reſide, and that the *Italians*, who have a third part of the Benefices, were not to be ſuffered to enjoy the fruits in their abſence; to take away all Simony, and ordain, as was done in the *Anciran* Council, that Alms ſhould not be given in times of adminiſtring the Sacraments; that the Cardinals and Prelates, deputed by *Paul* the Third, gave the ſame counſel; that *Paul* the Fourth thought it neceſſary, though afterwards he gave himſelf to Luxury and War; that if this were not done, there was danger to ſee the prophecy of *Bernard* verified, *That Chriſt would deſcend from Heaven to whip the Prieſts out of the Temple, as he had the Merchants.* Then he ſpake of the Remedies for the other Maladies of the Kingdom. *Coligni*, when it was his turn to ſpeak, ſaid, that requiring thoſe who gave him the Petitions to ſubſcribe them, he was anſwered that 5000 men would ſubſcribe, if there were occaſion.

Francis of *Guiſe*, concerning the point of Religion, ſaid, he referred himſelf to the judgment of learned men, but proteſted that no Council ſhould have ſo great authority with him, as to make him decline one jot from the old belief. The Cardinal of *Lorain*, having ſpoken of other particulars, deſcending to that of Religion, ſaid, that the Petitions preſented were moſt proud, and that to grant the Orators publick exerciſe, were to approve their Doctrine; that it was a clear caſe, that the greater part uſed Religion for a pretence; and therefore his opinion was, they ſhould be proceeded againſt with more ſeverity, mitigating the puniſhment of thoſe who aſſemble without Arms only for Religion, inſtructing and admoniſhing them; and to this purpoſe to cauſe the Prelates to reſide, hoping that by theſe remedies, all will be provided for, without either General or National Council. The voices being not uniform, a Decree was made, the 27th of that Month, that there ſhould be an Aſſembly of the States at *Meaux*, the tenth of *December*, and, if the General Council ſhall not be called ſuddenly, as the Pope hath made ſhew, the Biſhops ſhall aſſemble the 13th of *January*, to treat of celebrating a National: in the mean while the puniſhments for cauſe of Religion were ſuſpended, except againſt thoſe who took Arms.

The Decree of this Aſſembly.

The Pope, informed of the reſolution of the Aſſembly of *Fountainbleau*, wrote to Cardinal *Tornon*, to hinder the meeting of the Biſhops, and, if he could not, return to *Rome*. And the three and twentieth of *September* he called the Ambaſſadours, and told them the neceſſity of the ſudden celebration of a General Council, in regard of the determination of the *Frenchmen*, to call a National; which, though he had given order to Cardinal *Tornon* to hinder, yet he did not hope it could be done. But he ſaw a neceſſity to celebrate the General Council, that it might not be ſaid, that the Nationals were called for want of it. Therefore that he muſt needs open the Council of *Trent*, taking away the ſuſpenſion; that the place was moſt fit, being between *Germany* and *Italy*, though others propoſe *Spire*, *Triers*, and other places, which he would accept, if they were ſecure, being ready to go to *Conſtantinople*, if he might with ſafety; that one could not truſt thoſe who want faith; that no Catholick could be ſecure in thoſe places, no not the Emperour himſelf; that, if they refuſe *Trent*, they may find places in the Dukedom of *Milan*, the Kingdom of *Naples*, in the State of *Venice*, of the Dukedom of *Savoy*, or *Florence*. Concerning the revocation of the things already decided, it was not to be mentioned; that he would neither revoke nor confirm them, but

Cauſeth the Pope to make ſhew, that he is reſolved to call the Council ſuddenly.

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but refer all to the Council, which, with the aſſiſtance of the holy Spirit, will determine whatſoever it ſhall pleaſe God. He did much ruminate upon the National Council of *France*, ſaying that *Germany* would follow the example, and that ſome ſtirs would be raiſed in *Italy*, if order were not taken, that they would ſubmit the Papacy to the Council, and whatſoever belongeth to it. But his reſolution was this: *Pro fide & religione volumus mori:* Deſiring the Ambaſſadours to ſpeak their opinion, the Emperours Ambaſſadour ſaid, it was better to take time, in regard the Emperours affairs would not permit him to conſent. The Pope ſeeming to be angry, the Ambaſſadour added, that it was good firſt to win the minds of the Princes of *Germany*. The Pope anſwered more angrily, that there was now no time to do it; and the Ambaſſadour replying, that he feared that by this means the Hereticks would be incited againſt *Italy*, the Pope ſaid aloud, that *God* would not abandon his own cauſe, and that he ſhould be aſſiſted by the Catholick Princes, with men and money, for his defence. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour commended the Pope's purpoſe, and ſaid that his King would not fail to favour him, and that to this end he had already ſent *Antonio di Toledo* into *France*. The Ambaſſadours of *Portugal*, *Venice*, and others offered the favour and aſſiſtance of their Princes, and, in the end, the Pope gave them order to ſignifie his intention, and ſo diſmiſſed them.

Wherein he is contradicted by the Emperour's Ambaſſadour only.

Afterwards he received anſwer from Cardinal *Tornon*, that, having tried all means, he was not able to remove the King, nor any of his Council, nor could hope for any better ſucceſs hereafter, yea, that he ſaw all things to wax worſe. The King of *Spain*, having ſent to the Pope the final anſwer given to *Toledo*, wrote withal, that the *French* King excuſed himſelf, that, without a National Council, he could not remedy the diſorders of his Kingdom, and that it was no marvel, if, to withſtand inconveniencies, Princes do that alone, which they ſhould do together with the Pope. This Letter troubled his Holineſs, thinking he did infer, that he might do the ſame alſo himſelf in *Flanders*. It was afterwards diſcovered, that the Pope's purpoſe was, if he could not abſolutely avoid the Council, to defer it at the leaſt, until he had ſet in order his domeſtical affairs. For, being to hold a Synod, it was neceſſary to give a good example in the mean ſpace, and ſpend exceſſively in maintaining poor Prelates, and Officers, and other things, neceſſary for the Synod, which would conſume all the revenews; and the buſineſs it ſelf alſo would take up all his time, ſo that he could not take care of his houſe. But he reſolved, though againſt his will, not to defer the Convocation any longer. Whereupon the twentieth of *October* he held a Congregation of Cardinals, in which he gave them an account of the anſwer of the *French* King to *Toledo*, of the King of *Spain* his Letter to him, and of the negotiation of the Cardinal *Tornon*; adding a new advertiſement ſent him out of *France*, that although the General Council were opened, they would not go thither, if the Proteſtants did not conſent to receive it. Theſe things put them in a great confuſion, and all feared, that though the General Council ſhould proceed, yet *France* would make the National, whence, by conſequence, an alienation from the obedience of the Apoſtolick See would ariſe, and an example to the reſidue of Chriſtendom to do the like, either with, or without the conſent of their Princes.

The Pope's ſecret purpoſe was to avoid, or defer the Council.

But maketh a contrary reſolution againſt his will.

And is much troubled with the occurrences of *France*.

Some thought much of the Proteſtation made to the Cardinal of *Trent*,

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Trent, that he ſhould not be too liberal in offering that City, but remember that the Emperour is Lord of it, without whoſe conſent he neither can, nor ought to diſpoſe of it in ſuch a buſineſs; who had declared himſelf already, that, by all means, he would firſt make a Diet. They were alſo much troubled with that which D. *Antonio di Toledo* wrote, that all the Grandees, yea, the Biſhops themſelves did favour the new opinions, to ſettle and augment their own eſtates. Notwithſtanding all this, all the Cardinals, except the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, were of opinion to open the Council, removing the ſuſpenſion. The Pope ſaid the Council ſhould begin at Saint *Martin*'s tide; and conſidering the imminent dangers, and the hopes to overcome them, he reſolved himſelf, and did comfort alſo the Cardinals and his other dependents with it, that the loſs would be great to *France*, and little to him. For the Apoſtolick See receiveth yearly out of that Kingdom but five and twenty thouſand Crowns; but, on the other ſide, the King's Authority being great, granted by the Popes, to diſpoſe of Benefices, he would loſe it all, in regard the Pope's Authority being taken away, the *Pragmatike* would take place, and the Biſhops would be elected by the Canons, the Abbots by the Monaſteries, and the King bereaved of all this. Therefore he was ſorry for nothing, but for the loſs of ſo many ſouls. But if *God* would correct them for their faults and infidelity, he could not help it.

His comfort is, that the loſs will be greater to the *French* King, than to the Apoſtolick See.

The Emperour writeth to the Pope againſt the continuation of the old Council, and ſo the Convocation of a new.

In the beginning of *November*, Letters came to *Rome* from the Emperour; in which he ſaid, though in general terms, that, concerning the Council, he would do, for his own perſon, whatſoever the Pope pleaſed; but added, that, to hold a Council out of *Germany*, or to continue that of *Trent*, by taking away the ſuſpenſion, would do no good, but raiſe a greater hatred in the Proteſtants, with danger that they would endeavour to hinder it with Arms; in which kind he had heard of divers Treaties: but, making a new Council, there was hope to perſwade them to go thither. This cauſed variety of opinions amongſt the Cardinals, it being plain, that, if there were not a continuation of the Council of *Trent*, all the things already determined would be vain and void, having never been confirmed by any Pope. This was propoſed in Congregation by his Holineſs, whereof they conſulted and ſpake much, without giving of voices; which being demanded in another Congregation, *Carpi* ſhewed at large, that it was neceſſary to continue the Council, removing the ſuſpenſion only, and was followed by *Ceſis* and *Piſano*. But the Cardinal of *Trent*, who was next, ſaid, that in a matter where they were to treat *de ſumma rerum*, full of ſo many difficulties, it was better to think a little more on it. And this opinion was followed by all the other Cardinals. And, fitly, the next evening a Currier came in haſt, to *Rome*, out of *France*, with proteſtations from the King, that, if the General Council were not called, he could no longer defer the National: and that they were not to think of *Trent* or any place in *Italy*, in regard the Council having been deſired ſo many years for the neceſſities of *Germany*, and now the danger of *France* being added, it was meet to hold it in a convenient place for both the Nations: otherwiſe it would be in vain, if the *Germans* and *Frenchmen* went not thither, adding, that if any place in *France* were choſen, it ſhould be moſt ſecure. In the end the Pope thought not fit to delay it any more, but the fifteenth of *November* reſolved in the Conſiſtory, to make, the next Sunday, a Proceſſion in ſackcloth and aſhes, giving a Jubilee, and ſinging the Maſs of the Holy

Wherein the Cardinals are divided in opinion.

The proteſtation of the *French* King ſent to *Rome*.

A Proceſſion and Jubilee for the determination to celebrate the Council.

Holy Ghoſt, for the determination made to celebrate the Council in *Trent*; concluding, that if, after it was aſſembled, it ſeemed commodious to tranſlate it to another place, he would do it, and go himſelf alſo in perſon, ſo that it were ſecure. He added, that he could find Arms to uſe, if any went about to infringe the things determined, and began to conſider of the tenor of the Bull. Every day a Congregation was held, to reſolve whether they ſhould plainly declare the continuation, taking away the ſuſpenſion (as he deſired) that the things determined might not be diſputed on again, or examined. The *Imperialiſts* and *Frenchmen* laboured much with the Pope and the Deputies, that it might be called a new Council, that the *Dutch* and *Frenchmen* might go thither, ſaying, they might reſolve in it, that things already handled might not be handled again; otherwiſe it were in vain to ſpeak of a Council to reduce the Proteſtants, giving them occaſion at the firſt to refuſe it, and to ſay they could not ſubmit themſelves to thoſe who have condemned them before they were heard. On the contrary, the *Spaniards* and Duke of *Florence*, who was then in *Rome*, laboured that the ſuſpenſion only might be removed, and a continuation declared. The Pope and Deputies took a middle way, hoping both parties would be ſatisfied. A Jubilee was publiſhed, and ſent into all places, and, the 24th day, the Pope, with the Colledge of Cardinals, and all the Court, went on foot, with a ſolemn Proceſſion, from St. *Peter's* Church to *Minerva*; in which there was great confuſion. For the Ambaſſadours, who were wont to go before the Croſs, perceiving that the BB. did follow, and after them the Duke of *Florence* between two *minor* Cardinals, they would have that place alſo. Whereupon there aroſe a diſorder; for compoſing whereof, after ſome conteſtation, the Pope gave them place between himſelf & the Cardinals, who went before him.

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A great queſtion in *Rome*, whether the continuation ſhould plainly be declared.

The 29th day the Convocation of the Council was publiſhed in the Conſiſtory, the Bull whereof was intitled, of the *Intimation* of the Council of *Trent*, the Latine word was *Indictionis*. And it was ſo printed in many places; though afterwards when the whole body of the Council was printed, the word, *Celebrationis*, was uſed. The tenor of the Bull was;

The Bull of the intimation of the Council.

That the Pope, from the beginning of his aſſumption, did apply his mind to the rooting out of hereſies, extinction of diviſions, and amendment of manners; for remedy whereof he reſolved to celebrate a general Council, that *Paul* the Third, and *Julius* had aſſembled it before, but could not finiſh it; and relating all the occurrences under thoſe Popes, aſcribeth the ſucceſs to divers impediments, promoted by the enemy of mankind, at the leaſt, to defer ſo great a benefit of the Church, which he could not abſolutely hinder; ſaying, that in the mean while the hereſies and diviſions were multiplied. But it having pleaſed *God* to give peace to Chriſtian Kings and Princes, he conceived hope to put an end to the evils of the Church, by means of the Council, which he would not defer any longer, that he might take away Schiſm, and Hereſies, reform Manners, and preſerve Peace amongſt Chriſtians. Therefore, by the counſel of the Cardinals, and advice of *Ferdinand*, Emperour elected, and other Kings and Princes, whom he hath found ready to help forward the celebration, by the authority of *God* and of the holy Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul*, he doth intimate a General Council, in the City of *Trent*, to begin at Eaſter, removing all ſuſpenſion whatſoever, exhorting, and commanding, under the canonical puniſhments, all Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Abbots, and others, who have a deciding voice

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by Law, Priviledge, or Ancient Cuſtom, not being lawfully hindred, to be there before that day; admoniſhing thoſe alſo in the ſame manner, who have, or may have any intereſt there; praying the Emperour, Kings, and Princes, to ſend their Proctors, if they cannot be perſonally preſent, and to cauſe their Prelates to perform their duty without excuſe or delay, and to make the paſſage free and ſecure, for them and their company, as himſelf will do within his Territories, having no other end in celebrating the Council, but the honour of *God*, the reducing of the diſperſed Sheep, and the perpetual peace of Chriſtendom; ordaining that the Bull ſhould be publiſhed in *Rome*: and that by vertue thereof after the end of two months, it ſhall bind all that are comprehended, as if it had been perſonally intimated unto them.

Did not pleaſe either party.

The Pope thought he had ſatisfied himſelf, thoſe who would have a new Council intimated, and thoſe who deſired a continuation of the old. But as middle counſels do uſually diſpleaſe both parties, ſo the Pope gave ſatisfaction to none, as ſhall be declared. Preſently after the publication of the Bull, the Pope ſent *Nicheto* into *France* with it, with commiſſion, if the form did not pleaſe, to ſay, that they ſhould not except againſt the word *Continuare*, becauſe it did not hinder them to ſpeak again of the things already propoſed. He ſent it alſo to the Emperour, and King of *Spain*. He ſent likewiſe *Zacharias Delphinus*, Biſhop of *Lieſina*, to the Princes of *High Germany*, and *Joannes Franciſcus Comendone*, Biſhop of *Zante*, to thoſe of *Low Germany*, with Letters to them all, and with order, firſt to receive inſtruction from the Emperour how to treat with them, and then to execute their Ambaſſage.

The Queen of *England* is invited to the Council.

He ſent alſo the Abbot *Martinengo* to the Queen of *England*, to invite her and her Biſhops to the Council, being perſwaded ſo to do by the forenamed *Edward Cerne*, who promiſed him that his *Nuncio* ſhould be received by one half of the Kingdom, by the Queen's conſent. And although the Pope was put in mind to ſend *Nuncii* into *England*, and to Princes elſewhere, who do profeſs open ſeparation from the See of *Rome*, would be a diſreputation to him, yet he anſwered he would humble himſelf to Hereſie, in regard whatſoever was done to gain Souls to *Chriſt*, did beſeem that See. For the ſame reaſon alſo he ſent *Canobius* into *Polonia*, with deſign to make him to go into *Moſcovia*, to invite that Prince and Nation to the Council, though they have never acknowledged the Pope of *Rome*.

Afterwards he returned to ſpeak of the Council in Conſiſtory, deſiring to be informed of the learned men, of good life and opinion, of divers Provinces, fit to diſpute and perſwade the truth, ſaying he purpoſed to call many of them; promiſing that, after he had uſed all poſſible diligence to make all Chriſtians come thither, and to unite them in Religion, though ſome, or many, refuſed to come, he would not forbear to proceed. Yet he was troubled, becauſe the Proteſtants of *Germany*, unto whom a great part of *France* was united, would deny to come, or would demand exorbitant things, which he could not grant them, and doubted they might be able to diſturb the Council with Arms. Neither did he hope to be aſſiſted by the Emperour againſt them, in regard of his ſmall Forces. He confeſſed that the dangers were great, and the remedies ſmall, and was perplexed and troubled in mind. The Bull of the Council, going through *Germany*, fell into Proteſtants hands, aſſembled at the Marriage of the Duke of *Salzemburg*, who did intimate a Diet in *Namburg*, to begin the twenieth of *January*.

Vergerius writeth a Book againſt the Bull.

Vergerius wrote a Book againſt this Bull, in which, after a great in-

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vective againſt the pomp, luxury, and ambition of the Court, he ſaid, that the Council was called by the *Pope*, not to eſtabliſh the Doctrine of *Chriſt*, but the ſervitude and oppreſſion of poor ſouls; that none were called, but thoſe who were bound by Oath to the *Pope*, ſo that not only all were excluded who are ſeparated from the Church of *Rome*, but alſo men of the greateſt underſtanding amongſt themſelves, taking away all liberty, in which only there was hope of agreement.

The Prince of *Conde* is impriſoned, and a guard is ſet upon the King of *Navarre*.

At this time news came to *Rome*, that the *French* King had impriſoned the Prince of *Conde*, and ſet a guard upon the King of *Navarre*; which pleaſed the *Pope* much, as a thing which might wholly diſturb the National Council. And his hope was the ſtronger that he ſhould receive no diſtaſt, becauſe advice came that the King was very ſick, and in danger to dye; which hindred the Aſſembly of the States in *Meaux*. And, in the end, there was great alteration. For *Francis*, the *French* King, dying the fifth of *December*, and *Charles* the Ninth, of the age of ten years, ſucceeding, in regard of his minority, the government fell principally upon the King of *Navarre*, as firſt Prince of the *Blood*. The Queen Mother adhered to him, to maintain and continue the authority which ſhe had taken in the life-time of her other Son; and *Navarre* was content to participate with her, the better to maintain his own. He did almoſt openly favour the new Religion, and was wholly governed by the counſel of *Jaſper Coligni*, the Admiral, who did make profeſſion of it; ſo that the Proteſtants were more confident to obtain liberty of Religion, as they deſired. They aſſembled almoſt publickly, with much diſcontent and indignation of the people, and danger of Sedition. Hereupon the King's Mother, and the chief of the Council reſolved to hold the States in *Orliens*, and began to do it the 13th of *Decemb.*

The *French* King dieth, and *Charles* the 9th ſucceedeth.

The King of *Navarre* and Q. Mother govern *France*.

which maketh the Proteſtants more confident.

The States are held in *Orliens*.

Amongſt other things, there propoſed for the benefit of the Kingdom, the Chancellor ſaid, that Religion is the moſt potent weapon, overcometh all affections, and charity, and is the ſureſt bond of humane ſociety; that Kingdoms are more bounded and more divided by Religion, than by the Confines themſelves; that he that is moved with Religion, contemneth Wife, Children, and Kindred. If there be difference of Religion in the ſame Family, the Father agreeth not with his Sons, nor the Brothers among themſelves, nor the Husband with the Wife. To remedy theſe diſorders, there is need of a Council, which the *Pope* hath promiſed: but in the mean while, it is not to be tolerated, that every one ſhould ſhape out his own Religion, and bring in new Rites at his pleaſure, and ſo trouble the Publick Peace. If the Council fail by the *Pope's* default, the King will make proviſion another way: but it was neceſſary that every one ſhould amend himſelf, becauſe a good life is a vehement Orator to perſwade; that the names of *Lutherans*, *Hugonots*, and *Papiſts*, no leſs factious than thoſe of the *Guelphes* and *Ghibilines*, were to be taken away, and Arms to be taken againſt thoſe who cover their Avarice, Ambition, and deſire of Innovation, with the Cloak of Religion.

Where the Chancellor beginneth to ſpeak.

John Angelo, Advocate in the Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, ſpake for the Third Order: he ſpake much againſt the bad Manners, and Diſcipline of the Clergy, noting their Ignorance, Avarice, and Luxury, as Cauſes of all the Evils, and did much diſcourſe upon them: in the end, he demanded that all might be redreſſed by a ſudden celebration of the Council.

John Angelo ſpeaketh for the Third Order.

James, Earl of *Rochfort*, ſpake for the Nobility; who, amongſt other things, ſaid that all the evil did ariſe from the large donations, made by the King and other Grandees, to the Churches, eſpecially of juriſdictions; a thing much inconvenient, that he that ought

James, Earl of *Rochfort*, ſpeaketh for the Nobility.

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to give himself wholly to Prayer and Preaching, should exercise power over the lives and goods of the King's Subjects; and that it was necessary to remedy these inconveniencies. And, in the end, he gave a petition, demanding in the name of the Nobility, to have publick Churches for their Religion. *Jacobus Quintinus* a *Burgundian*, spake for the Clergy. He said, the States were assembled to provide for the necessities of the Kingdom, not to amend the Church, which cannot err, which is without blemish or wrinkle, and will always remain without corruption, though the discipline, in some small part, may need reformation. Therefore those are not to be hearkened unto, who, renewing the Sects, long since buried, demand Churches apart from the Catholicks, but are to be punished as Hereticks, and do not deserve that the King should hear them, who ought to force all his Subjects, to believe and live according to the form prescribed by the Church; that those who have forsaken the Kingdom for Religion, ought not to be suffered to return; that those that are infected with Heresie, ought to be proceeded against capitally; that the Ecclesiastical Discipline will easily be reformed, if the Clergy be freed from payment of Tenths, and Elections restored to the Chapters. it being observed, that, in the year 1517. when by the *Concordate*, the nomination of Ecclesiastical Dignities was given to the King, the Heresies of *Luther* began, who was followed by *Zuinglius* and others. In the end, he demanded that all Immunities and Priviledges of the Clergy should be confirmed, and all Grievances removed.

Jacobus Quintinus speaketh for the Clergy.

The opinions of *Luther* began when the *Concordate* was made.

The King ordained that the Prelates should put themselves in order to go to the Council, which was intimated at *Trent*; commanded, that all that were in Prison for Religion, should be set at liberty, their Processes made void, their Offences, committed until that time, pardoned, and their Goods restored. He constituted a capital punishment, for those who gave offence for matter of Religion, either in words or deeds. He admonished all to follow the Rites used in the Church, without making any innovation. The residue was deferred until *May* next, when the Petition presented by *Rochfort*, was to be considered of.

The Ordinations of the King.

The *Pope*, understanding of the death of King *Francis*, together with the advice of the Cardinal *Tornon*, that the Queen was joyned with *Navar*, was troubled in mind, fearing the rains would be more given to the Protestants. Therefore he sent *Lorenzo Lentio*, Bishop of *Fermo*, and caused the King of *Spain* to send *Jo. Manriques*, to condole with the Queen, for the death of her Son, and to pray her to be careful of the Religion, in which she was born and bred; to remember the great benefits received from the Apostolick See, by the means of *Clement*, and not to suffer Schism to arise, by too much licence, nor to seek remedies elsewhere for the evils present and imminent, but from the Church of *Rome*; for which end the Council was intimated; that in the mean space, she would take care that the Kingdom should not swerve from true piety, and that no prejudice should be done to the Council intimated.

The *Pope* sendeth a *Nuncio* to the Queen Mother, and the King of *Spain* an Ambassador.

1561. The Negotiation of the *Spanish* Ambassador.

The Year 1560. ended thus, leaving some Seeds, from whence greater troubles did spring. The next Year *Manriques* came into *France*, and delivered his Ambassage: Who, having received from the Queen a pious and favourable answer concerning Religion and the Council, and speaking again of the same subject, as occasion was offered, did continually exhort her to proceed with punishments against the *Hugonots*, adding threats also to his exhortations. *Navar*, contrary to all the *Spanish* designs, did oppose, in regard of his pretensions to the

the Kingdom of *Navarre*. *Manriques* did combine with the Houſe of *Guiſe*, and others, who had the ſame deſign, to make him favour the Catholicks, the Pope, and the Council, to propoſe unto him the patronage of the Catholick Religion in *France*, and that he would be divorced from his Wife, *Joan* of *Alibert*, Queen of *Navarre*, by inheritance, and would retain right to the Kingdom by the *Pope's* authority, of which ſhe ſhould be deprived for Hereſie by his Holineſs, and would take to Wife *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, by whom he ſhould have the Kingdom of *England*, *Elizabeth* being deprived by the *Pope*. For effecting all this, the *Guiſards* promiſed him the *Pope's* Authority, and the Forces of the King of *Spain*, who, for *Navarre*, would give him the Kingdom of *Sardinia*. Theſe things they continually repreſented unto him in divers forms, even until his death.

1561. *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX.

In *Germany*, the Princes of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*, aſſembled in *Neumburg*, eſpecially in regard of the Council, being aſhamed that their Religion ſhould be eſteemed a confuſion for the variety of Doctrines amongſt them, did propoſe that they might firſt agree in one, and then reſolve whether they ought to refuſe or accept the Synod. Concerning the firſt point, many ſaid, that the difference was not eſſential, and that the Papiſts did more ſubſtantially differ, diſſenting even in the very foundations of Religion. They ſaid the *Auguſtan Confeſſion* was to be the ground of their Doctrine; and if they differed in any point not contained therein, it would be of ſmall importance. But there being divers Copies of that *Confeſſion*, which differed in regard of divers additions made in divers of them, ſome approving one, and ſome another, many thought they ought to take that only which was preſented to *Charles*, in the year 1530. Whereunto thoſe of the *Palatinate* did not conſent, except it were declared, in a Proheme made unto it, that the other Edition did agree with it. The Duke of *Saxony* anſwered, they could not ſtop the eyes and ears of the World, that they ſhould not ſee and hear their differences, and that if they would make ſhew of union where they were at variance, they ſhould be convinced of vanity and lying; and, after many contentions, they remained without agreement in that point. For the Council, ſome thought fit to refuſe it abſolutely, and others were of opinion, to ſend Ambaſſadors to make offer that they would go to a Free and Chriſtian Council, and to propoſe the exceptions, of the ſuſpicion of the Judges, of the inconveniency of that place, and others, oftentimes propoſed, to ſhew they did not refuſe the authority of a lawful Council, and that the union of the Church was not hindred by them, but by the ambition of the Court of *Rome*: which would make the *German* Catholicks more favourable to them. And they concluded to make petition to the Emperour in this form.

The Proteſtants make an Aſſembly in *Neumburg*, to deliberate concerning the Council.

The two *Nuncii*, arriving in *Auſtria* at the ſame time, found the Emperour at *Vienna*, who gave them counſel to go both immediately to *Neumburg*, in *Saxony*, where the Proteſtants were aſſembled in a Diet, and to treat as modeſtly with them as was poſſible, taking care not to exaſperate or offend them. For if they went to each of them into their own States, they would be poſted from one to another, and would never have any certain anſwer, and when they had both performed this Office, jointly, they might divide themſelves, and go apart to whom they were ſent. He put them in mind of the Conditions with which the Proteſtants did formerly condeſcend to the Council, that, if mention were made thereof again, they might be prepared to reply,

To which place the *Popes* two *Nuncii* are ſent by the Emperor, with three Ambaſſadors of his own.

1561.
Pius IV.
Ferdinand.
Elizabeth.
Charles IX.

in the *Pope's* name, what they thought fit. The Emperour ſent three Ambaſſadors of his own to go with them to the Aſſembly, and the King of *Bohemia* did recommend them to the Duke of *Saxony*, that they might go ſecurely. The Emperour's Ambaſſadors, having had audience at the Diet, exhorted the Princes to aſſiſt in the Council, and to put an end to the calamity of *Germany*. The Princes, after they had conſulted together, thanked *Cæſar*, and, concerning the Council, ſaid they would not refuſe it, if the Word of God were to be judge, if the BB. were releaſed of their Oaths, made to the *Pope* and the See of *Rome*, and if the Proteſtant Theologues might have deciſive voices. But ſeeing that the *Pope* admitteth no Biſhops to be in the Council but ſuch as are ſworn unto him, againſt which they have always proteſted, they could hardly agree unto it; that they were willing preſently to repreſent ſo much to the Emperour with all reſpect, deferring their abſolute anſwer until the Princes, then abſent, were informed. Afterwards the *Pope's Nuncii* were brought in; who, having commended the *Pope's* Piety and Religion, in reviving the Council, to extirpate Sects, in regard there are as many Religions and Goſpels, as there are Doctors, ſaid, he had ſent to invite them, to help forward ſo laudable an enterpriſe, promiſing that all ſhould be handled with Chriſtian Charity, and that their voices ſhall be free. They preſented alſo the *Pope's* Briefs, written to each of them. The next day all the Briefs, ſealed as before, were ſent back, and the *Nuncii* called to receive an anſwer; which was to this effect: That they did not acknowledge any juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Rome*; that there was no cauſe to reveal their pleaſure concerning the Council to him, who had no power either to call or hold it; that they had delivered their mind and determination to the Emperour, their Lord; that to the *Nuncii*, who were nobly deſcended, in a Common-wealth which they loved, they offered all good office, and would do more if they had not come from the *Pope*. Thus they did end the Aſſembly, and did intimate another, to begin in *April*, to finiſh the Treaty of uniting themſelves together.

The Proteſtants anſwer to the Emperor's Ambaſſador.

And to the *Pope's Nuncii.*

The Proteſtants do intimate another Aſſembly, to begin in *April.*

The Negotiation of *Delphinus.*

The *Nuncio Delphinus*, delivered his Ambaſſage in divers Cities as he returned. The Senate of *Noremberg* anſwered, that they would not forſake the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*, not accept of the Council, as not having the conditions required by the Proteſtants. The Senates of *Argentine*, *Francfort*, *Ausburg*, and *Ulma*, anſwered in the ſame manner.

Of *Comendone.*

Comendone, parting from the Diet, went to *Lubec*, from whence he ſent to *Frederic*, King of *Denmark*, to demand his ſafe-conduct, to come to him, to deliver to him the *Pope's* Ambaſſage, and invite him to favour the Council. He anſwered, that neither *Chriſtian*, his Father nor himſelf, had ever any thing to do with the *Pope*, and therefore he cared not to receive any Ambaſſage from him. Both the *Nuncii* had a favourable anſwer from the Prelates, Princes, and Cities Catholick, with promiſe of devotion to the *Pope*; but, concerning the Council, they ſaid they were to treat with the Emperour, it being neceſſary to conſult together, for fear of the *Lutherans*.

Of *Martinengo.*

Jerolamus Martinengo, ſent to the Queen of *England* for the ſame cauſe, being in *Flanders*, received commandment from her not to paſs the Sea; and although the King of *Spain*, and Duke of *Alva*, did make earneſt entreaty that he might be admitted, and heard, commending the cauſe of that Legation, that is, the Union of all the Chriſtian Church in a General Council, yet the Queen did perſevere in her firſt reſolution, anſwering that ſhe could not treat with the Biſhop of *Rome*, whoſe authority was excluded out of

England

England, by conſent of Parliament. *Canobius*, when he had delivered his Ambaſſage to the King of *Polonia*, by whom he was well received, could not go into *Moſcovia*, by reaſon of the War between that Prince and the King. But going into *Pruſſia*, he was anſwered by that Duke, that he was of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*, and could not conſent to a Popiſh Council. The *Suiſſes*, aſſembled in a Diet at *Bada*, heard the *Pope's Nuncio*, and, receiving the Brief, one of the Burgomaſters of *Zuric* did kiſs it. The *Pope*, advertiſed hereof, could not chuſe but tell it to all the Ambaſſadors reſiding with him, with much joy. But, having conſulted of the buſineſs concerning the Council, the Catholicks anſwered, that they would ſend thither, and the Evangelicks that they would not accept of it.

1561.
Pius IV
Ferdinand.
Elizabeth.
Charles IX.
And of *Canobius.*
The *Pope* rejoyceth that his Bull was kiſſed by a Burgomaſter of *Zuric.*

The Negotiation of the *Nuncii* in *Neumburg* being publiſhed in *Rome*, there was a whiſpering againſt the Pope, for ſending Miniſters to the Diet of the Proteſtants: wherein he excuſed himſelf, that it was not by his order, but by the Emperours, to whoſe direction he did defer the *Nuncii*; for which he did not blame him, in regard he did not care for nice points of honour, but only for doing of good. The Emperour, having conſulted with his Divines concerning the Bull of the Council, wrote to the *Pope*, that as *Ferdinand*, he could totally adhere to the will of his Holineſs, and be content with any form of the Bull, and endeavour that all *Germany* ſhould ſubmit themſelves to him; but, as Emperour, he could ſay nothing, until he was informed, what was done by the *Nuncii*, and his Ambaſſadors, who went to the Diet of the Proteſtants in *Neumburg*. He was almoſt ſecure, that if the Pope had not declared, that the Convocation of the Council was not a continuation, but a new *Indiction*, or that the Points already decided might be reviewed, and handled again, the Bull would have been accepted. The *French* King wrote to his Ambaſſador in *Rome*, the laſt of *January*, that there were ſome things to be reformed in the Bull before he could receive it. For although the word *Indictio*, was uſed in the title, yet in the body of it there were words which did ſignifie the removing of the ſuſpenſions of the Council already begun, which *Germany* ſuſpecting, would undoubtedly require an interpretation of them: which would draw the Council in length, and not giving the Emperour ſatisfaction, and them, would cauſe ſo many diviſions in Chriſtendom, and ſo many difficulties, that it would be a Council in ſhew only, without fruit or profit. That, for his part he was pleaſed that *Trent* ſhould be the place, nor made any difference whether it were a new *Indiction*, or a continuation, in regard his Holineſs was willing, as he was told by *Nicheto*, that the determinations already made may be diſputed, and examined again: wherein, as the real performance would give ſatisfaction to all, ſo, to take away fear, and ſecure every one, it was neceſſary to declare ſo much beforehand, taking care to ſatisfie the Emperour by all means, without whom no good ſucceſs of the Council could be hoped for. He ſaid, that if all this were not performed, he would, as the purpoſe of his Brother was, call a National Council, which was the only remedy for the neceſſities of his Kingdom. He gave order to his Ambaſſador alſo to complain to his Holineſs, that his Brother having procured with ſuch earneſt entreaty, the opening of the Council, yet no honourable mention was particularly made of him in the Bull; the reaſon whereof every one knew to be, becauſe he would not name the *French* King immediately after the Emperour. Notwithſtanding all theſe reſpects, the King, to promote the buſineſs of Religion, wrote at the ſame time to the Prelates of his Kingdom,

The Emperour excepteth againſt the Bull of the Council.

And ſo doth the *French* King.

1561. dom, to prepare themſelves to go to the Council, and to be there at the time of the Convocation: of which Letter he ſent a Copy to *Rome*.

Pius IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX.

The *Pope* was advertiſed by his *Nuncio*, that the King ſpake againſt the Bull, by inſtigation of the Cardinal of *Lorain*; and, after he heard the Ambaſſadors Propoſition, he anſwered, That he marvelled that the King, who doth not acknowledge any Superiour, would ſubject himſelf to the diſcretion of another Prince, and not refer himſelf to the Vicar of *Chriſt*, to whom it belongeth to moderate whatſoever doth concern Religion; ſaying, that his Bull was approved by all others, and had no need of Reformation, and that he was reſolved it ſhould ſtand as it did. That, for naming the *French* King, he had not thought of it, and that the Cardinals, to whom the compoſition of it was committed, thought it ſufficient to name the Emperour and all Kings in general; otherwiſe, naming one in particular, it would have been neceſſary to have done the like in all the reſt; that himſelf took care only of the ſubſtance of the Bull, leaving all the reſt to the Cardinals. This Anſwer did not ſatisfie the *Frenchmen*, who thought their pre-eminence was not to be paſſed over in general terms, in regard as well of their greatneſs, as of their merits, towards the Apoſtolick See. In the end, the *Pope* gave them contentment, ſaying, he could not have his eye upon all things, but would be careful not to commit any error hereafter. Yet he made no great account of that Kingdom, ſeeing that, without any reſpect of his authority, they intermedled in things properly belonging to him: as in pardoning Hereticks, and ordering things Eccleſiaſtical, though reſerved to himſelf. For the States aſſembled in *Orleance* in *January*, did ordain that the Biſhops ſhould be elected by the Clergy, with the aſſiſtance of the Judges of the King, twelve of the Nobility, and as many of the People; that no Money ſhould be ſent to *Rome* for *Annates*; that all Biſhops and Curates ſhould reſide perſonally, upon pain of loſing the Fruits of their Benefices; that in every Cathedral Church, a Prebend ſhould be reſerved for a Reader in Divinity, and another for a Schoolmaſter; that all Abbots, Abbeſſes, Priors, and Prioreſſes, ſhould be ſubject to the Biſhops, notwithſtanding any exemption; that nothing ſhould be exacted for adminiſtring the Sacraments, for Burials, or other Publick Functions; that Prelates ſhould not uſe cenſures, but for publick faults and ſcandals; that women ſhould not make profeſſion to be of any religious order, before the age of twenty years, nor men before the age of five and twenty, until which time they might diſpoſe of their goods to whom they pleaſed, except to the Monaſtery; that the Eccleſiaſticks ſhould not receive Legacies, or any thing left unto them, or given them by laſt Will. And other things alſo were ordained, for better reformation of the Church, and of the Clergy; which though they were not then publiſhed, yet the *Nuncio* ſent them to the *Pope*, and thoſe that governed *France*, thought it ſufficient to give ſatisfaction in ſhew only, to thoſe that required a Reformation, not caring that any thing ſhould be executed.

To whom the *Pope* anſwereth.

The *Pope* doth not eſteem *France*.

The King of *Spain* excepteth againſt the Bull.

But, on the contrary, the King's Divines in *Spain* did not approve the Bull, becauſe it did not plainly ſay, it was a continuation of the Council already begun, yea, they thought, though the affectation of ambiguity were manifeſt, that it was plainly a new intimation, and ſome of them held, that it might be drawn from the words of a clear conſequence, that the determinations made already in *Trent*, might be re-examined; which they ſaid was dangerous, would embolden the Proteſtants,

ſtants, and might cauſe a new diviſion amongſt the Catholicks. The King would not publiſh or receive the Bull, upon pretence that the words were ambiguous, and that it ought to be expreſſed plainly, that it was a continuation of the Council, and that the things already determined might not be called into queſtion: but the true cauſe was, for that the King of *Navarre*, having ſent the Biſhop of *Cominges* to tender his obedience to the *Pope*, according to the cuſtom, he received him in the King's Hall, and as Ambaſſador of the King of *Navarre*, thinking it prejudicial to his poſſeſſion of that Kingdom, to which he had no Title, but by the excommunication of *Julius* the Second, and becauſe he gave audience to *Monſieur de Cars*, who came to intreat him in the ſame King's name, to be a means that the Kingdom might be reſtored to him, or ſatisfaction given him, and had promiſed his pains herein. The *Pope* ſent the Biſhop of *Terracina*, expreſly, into *Spain*, to juſtifie and excuſe what he had done in favour of the King of *Navarre*, and to expound, as it were by occaſion, the meaning of the Bull. To thoſe that were afraid, in regard of the contrary opinions of ſo great Princes, he anſwered, that, as a loving Father, he had invited all, but that he eſteemed the Proteſtants as loſt, and that the Catholicks of *Germany* could not adhere to the Council without making a ſeparation from the others, and raiſing a War: and if any Catholick Prince would forſake him, he would proceed by his own authority, as did *Julius* the Third, without the *French* King. But he told his inward friends, that he accounted all theſe troubles to be indifferent, in regard, not knowing the iſſue of them, he might as well hope for a good ſucceſs, as fear a bad. In the mean ſpace he ſaw that he received ſome benefit by this uncertain Council, becauſe it ſerved him as a Bridle for Prince and Prelate, in attempting any novity, and for a colour to deny unpleaſing ſuits, ſaying, that the Council being opened, he ought to proceed warily, and with reſpect, and not to be prodigal in beſtowing graces and favours: and when any great difficulty did ariſe, he did refer it to the Council. Only he was afraid, that the bad affection of the Proteſtants towards the Church of *Rome*, might cauſe ſome excurſion into *Italy*, which would be derived wholly upon himſelf; and he ſaw an overture thereof by a difference of precedence between the Dukes of *Florence* and *Ferrara*, who deſcended to uncivil terms. *Coſmo*, Duke of *Florence*, ſaid, he held the place of the *Florentine* Republick, which was ever preferred before the Dukes of *Ferrara*. *Alfonſo*, Duke of *Ferrara*, pretended that the Dukedom had continued in the Houſe of his Progenitors for many ſucceſſions, whereas *Coſmo* was the firſt Duke of *Florence*, whoſe precedency could not be maintained by the right of the Republick, becauſe it was no more in being. This Duke was favoured by *Francis*, as Couſin to *Henry* the Second: and Brother-in Law to thoſe of the Houſe of *Guiſe*. The other grounded himſelf upon a Sentence of *Charles* the Fifth, in his favour. *Alfonſo* made inſtance in *Germany*, that the Emperour, with the Electors, would be judge of it in a Diet. The *Pope* thought it dangerous that the Diet of *Germany* ſhould give ſentence concerning *Italy*, which did by conſequence import an execution, and danger of Arms. For remedy whereof, he wrote to both the Dukes, that it belonged only to the Apoſtolick See, and Vicar of *Chriſt*, to give ſentence in ſuch cauſes, commanding them both to ſhew him their proofs, and to expect his determination. And to be prepared for all events, he reſolved to fortifie the Caſtle of *Rome*, and the City *Leolina*, commonly called *Borgo*, and

1561.
Pius IV.
Ferdinand.
Elizabeth.
Charles IX.

And is angry with the *Pope* for receiving the Ambaſſador of the K. of *Navarre* in the King's Hall.

For which two cauſes the *Pope* ſendeth a *Nuncio* into *Spain*.

The uncertainty of the Council did ſtand the *Pope* in ſome ſtead.

A difference about precedence, between the Dukes of *Florence* and of *Ferrara*.

1561. *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX.

and other places in his State, as he thought convenient, and impoſed a Tax, of three *Julii*, upon every meaſure of Corn called a *Rubie*, throughout his whole Territory. And, not to give cauſe of jealouſie to Princes, he called the Ambaſſadors of the Emperour, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Venice*, to whom he imparted his determination, and his reaſons, commanding them to advertiſe their Princes of it: and ſaid, that the Subſidy laid upon his Subjects would be but ſmall, leſs than that which was impoſed by *Paul* 4. when he commanded the celebration of the Chair of St. *Peter*; becauſe by his Impoſition, the poor man paid but three *Julii* a year, but by the Feaſt of *Paul* 4. did loſe five, and that days work.

The *Pope* appointeth Preſidents for the Council.

The time prefixed to begin the Council approaching, the *Pope*, not to fail in any thing that was to be performed by him, deputed a Legate to preſide, *Hercules Gonzaga*, Cardinal of *Mantua*, a man eminent, in regard of the greatneſs of his Houſe, of his Brother *Ferandus*, and of his own Vertue. He uſed the Emperour to perſwade him to accept, and was confident of his worth and dexterity. To him he joined *Jacobus Puteus*, of *Nizza*, an excellent Lawyer, who was exerciſed a long time, firſt in the *Rota*, and then in the *Signature*; ſaying, that he purpoſed to make three more, and that, if he could not find able men in the Colledge, he would create new Cardinals, Divines, and Lawyers, men of honeſty, for this employment. And he called a Congregation of Cardinals and Prelates, to give order for all things neceſſary for the beginning of the Council in *Trent*, at the time appointed: and Letters came very fitly from the *French* King; and, in conformity of them, his Ambaſſador, *Monſieur* of *Angoleſme*, did declare unto him, that he was content with the Council upon any terms, being deſirous to ſee the effect of it, and that fruit which all Chriſtendom did require. And he ſent *Monſieur de Ramboullet* expreſly unto him, to make the ſame requeſt, and to repreſent unto him the neceſſities of *France*, and to tell him of the inſtance made unto him herein, by the States aſſembled in *Orliens*; ſignifying unto him, that, if this remedy were not quickly applyed, he ſhould be conſtrained to receive a medicine in his own Kingdom, by an Aſſembly of his Prelates, in regard there was no means to compoſe the differences of Religion, but by a free General Council, or, in defect thereof, by a National. The *Pope* anſwered, that none did deſire the Council more than himſelf, the delay whereof proceeded not from him, but from the divers opinions of Princes, for whoſe ſatisfaction he had given ſuch a form to the Bull, as ſeemed moſt fit to content them all. They changed their opinion in *France*, becauſe, being in as bad a ſtate as might be, thought that every mutation made elſewhere would better their condition.

The *French* King accepteth the Bull.

And ſo doth the King of *Spain*.

Viterbo wrote out of *Spain*, that the King did approve his propoſitions, and that, after ſome conſultation with his Prelates, was finally reſolved to accept the Bull, without making any difficulty, and to ſend his Prelates as ſoon as the ſeaſon was fit for travel, and an honourable Ambaſſage, to aſſiſt in the Council. He ſent advice alſo, that the Prelates of *Portugal* were already parted from their Houſes, and that the King would ſend an Ambaſſador; but that he had perceived that ſome of thoſe Prelates had a purpoſe, that the ſuperiority of the Council above the *Pope* ſhould be defined in the Synod, which point they had ſtudied, and cauſed many Divines to do the like. The *Pope* was troubled with this advice, and conſidered what he might look for when the Prelates were aſſembled in the Council, and did treat altogether, who had ſuch high thoughts before they parted from home, and feared,

The *Pope* is troubled with the deſign of the *Portugal* Divines.

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that the King and his Counſel had a finger in it. Yet, as a wiſe Prince, he conſidered, that when the Council was held, not that novity only would be propoſed, but many more to the diſadvantage of others as well as of himſelf: ſaying that every weight had his counterpoiſe, and that of the things that are attempted, not one in a thouſand doth take effect.

He was more attentive to the enterpriſes of the *French men*, as being more imminent, and of perſons who are not flegmatical in reſolving, as the *Spaniards* are. Therefore he imparted to the Ambaſſador every advice that came unto him, and told him in divers Conferences, that they were not to think of National Councils, Aſſemblies, or *Colloquies*, in matter of Religion, becauſe he could not but eſteem them all for ſchiſmatical; that he prayed the King not to uſe thoſe remedies, which would certainly reduce *France*, not only into a worſe condition, but into the worſt of all; that the difficulties of *Spain* being removed, the Council ſhould certainly be celebrated, becauſe thoſe which do continue in *Germany* are not conſiderable; that the Catholick Princes and Biſhops will conſent, and perhaps the Duke of *Saxony* alſo, as he hath made ſhew, by ſeparating himſelf from the others aſſembled in *Neumburg*; that he hoped the Emperour would aſſiſt perſonally, if there were need, as himſelf did promiſe to do, if he thought it fit, wherein he would not ſubject himſelf to the judgment of any but himſelf.

One of the Preſidents falleth ſick, and another is put in his place.

Eaſter drawing near, which time was appointed to begin the Council, and Cardinal *Puteus* being very ſick, he put in his room Fryar *Jerolamus*, Cardinal *Seripando*, a Divine of much fame, and cauſed him to depart preſently, and to paſs by *Mantua*, taking with him the other Legate, and to be at *Trent* at the time appointed. Notwithſtanding which commandment they came not thither until the third Feaſt of the Reſurrection, and found there nine Biſhops, who were arrived before them. The *Pope* was diligent to make the *Italian* Biſhops put themſelves in order; and therefore wrote effectual Letters to the Vice-Roy of *Naples*, and his *Nuncio* there, and cauſed his Miniſters to perſwade the Biſhops of the State of *Milan*, to be ready for their journey to the Council, as ſoon as might be. He deſired alſo the State of *Venice* to ſend the Biſhops of their Territories in *Italy*, of *Candia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Cyprus*, with all poſſible expedition, and to create Ambaſſadors, to aſſiſt in the Council, in the name of that Republick. The *Italian* Prelates were not eaſily moved, becauſe they knew the beginning could not be before the conſent of the Emperour did come: which was ſtill prolonged, becauſe the *Spaniards* and *French-men* were expected, before whoſe arrival in *Italy* they thought it ſuperfluous to go to *Trent*. And many of them, eſpecially the Courtiers, could not believe but that the *Pope* did counterfeit. But the truth was, that, being aſſured he could not avoid the Council, he did deſire to ſee it quickly. He ſaid he knew what inconvenience the prolongation did cauſe, but knew not what the celebration might do: and thought that the Enemies of his own perſon, and of the Apoſtolick See might do him more hurt in the time of the expectation, than they could do in the Council it ſelf. And being of a reſolute nature, he uſed the Proverb, *It is better to prove the evil once, than always to fear it.*

The *Italian* Prelates are not ſo haſty to go to the Council as the *Pope* would have had them.

The Duke of *Savoy* maketh a compoſition with the *Waldenſes* of *Montjenis*.

While theſe delays were uſed, the Duke of *Savoy* made a compoſition with the *Waldenſes* of the Vallies of *Montjenis*. For, having made more than a year's tryal to reduce them by puniſhments, and, after

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after they ſtood upon their guard, as hath been ſaid, maintained Souldiers againſt them, for which the *Pope* did aſſiſt him with money, howſoever they proceeded rather with skirmiſhes, than any ſet War, becauſe of the craggedneſs of the Country, yet, at the laſt, they came to a formal Battel, in which the Duke had a great overthrow, loſt ſeven thouſand men, and ſlew but fourteen of the Enemies: and although he did often repair his Army, yet he had always the worſe. Therefore conſidering he did nothing but make his Rebels more warlike, conſume his own Country, and ſpend his money, he reſolved to receive them into favour, and made an agreement with them, the fifth of *June*; in which he pardoned all faults paſt, gave them liberty of conſcience, aſſigned them certain places, where they might make their Congregations, in other places gave them leave to comfort the ſick, and do other duties of Religion, but not to preach; gave leave to thoſe that were fled to return again, and reſtitution of goods to thoſe that were baniſhed. It was agreed alſo, that the Duke might ſend away which of their Paſtors he pleaſed, and that they might provide themſelves of others; that the *Roman* Religion might be exerciſed in all places, but no man inforced to profeſs it. The *Pope* was much diſtaſted that an *Italian* Prince, aſſiſted by him, and not ſo potent, but that he might ſtill have need of him, ſhould permit Hereticks to live freely in his State: and the example did trouble him above all, becauſe it would be alledged to him, by greater Princes, when they would permit another Religion. He made a bitter complaint hereof in the *Conſiſtory*, comparing the Miniſters of the Catholick King, with that Duke, who having, at the ſame time, diſcovered three thouſand *Lutherans*, who went out of *Coſenza*, and retired themſelves to the mountains, to live according to their Doctrin, did hang ſome, burn others, and put the reſt into the Gallies; and he exhorted all the Cardinals to think of a remedy. But there was great difference between oppreſſing a few diſarmed perſons, far from help, and overcoming a great number of armed men in a place advantagious for them, with potent ſuccours at their ſhoulders. The Duke ſent to juſtifie his cauſe, and the *Pope*, not able to anſwer his reaſons, was pacified.

By reaſon of a great overthrow.

Which giveth diſtaſt to the *Pope*.

Who was pacified by the Duke.

In *France*, though the Queen and Prelates did deſire to ſatisfie the *Pope*, in referring the cauſes of Religion to the Council, yet a Congregation of the Prelates was put in order: in which, howſoever the Ambaſſador aſſured the *Pope*, that nothing ſhould be ſpoken of Doctrine, nor any thing prejudicial to his authority, but only a courſe ſet down how to pay the King's Debts, to provide againſt ſome Abuſes, and to conſult what was to be handled in the General Council; yet his Holineſs was not ſatisfied, yea, was of opinion that they thought, that to provide againſt Abuſes, was to hinder the Profits of the Court, and that to conſult of the Council, was to join with the *Spaniards* (whereof he had ſome intelligence) in the point of the Supreme Power of the Council, even over the *Pope*. And, by reaſon of the diſſentions between the Grandees of the Court, ſpread alſo over all the Provinces becauſe every one ſought to increaſe his Faction, there being a great liberty of ſpeaking, the Profeſſors of the new Religion were plainly diſcovered, and protected by the greateſt about the King, with much indignation of the Catholicks. Whereupon there were contentions and diſcords throughout the whole Kingdom, calling one another, in ſcorn, *Papiſts*, and *Hugonots*, the Preachers making the people tumultuous, and every one having divers ends. He plainly ſaw, that if the Catholick party had not all the ſame aim, ſome great inconvenience would ariſe; for

The *Pope* is offended with the Congregation of the Prelates in *France*.

for preventing whereof, and to croſs thoſe deſigns, he thought it ne- 1561.
ceſſary to have a Miniſter there, a man of authority, and not a *French-man*, who would have more intereſt in the Kingdom, than in the ſervice of the Apoſtolick See; and reſolved to ſend a Legate thither. And caſting his eye upon all the Cardinals, he made choice of *Ferrara* in whom all neceſſary qualities did concur, ſingular Wiſdom, dexterity in Negotiations, nobility of Birth, being allyed to the Royal Houſe of *France*, Brother-in-Law to the King's great Aunt, Daughter of *Lewis* the 12th, and ſo near a Couſin to thoſe of *Guiſe*, (the Duke's Wife being the Cardinal's Neece) that they could not chuſe but favour him, in regard of their nearneſs in blood. He gave him four particular Commiſſions; to favour the Catholicks, and oppoſe the Proteſtants; to divert the National Synod, and Aſſembly of the Prelates; to ſollicite the going of the Prelates to the Council; and to cauſe an abrogation of the Conſtitutions, made in matters Eccleſiaſtical.

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Into which Kingdom he ſendeth for Legate the Cardinal of *Ferrara*. And giveth him four Commiſſions.

While the Legate was preparing to go, there fell out an accident which made the King's neareſt friends fear the Catholicks, as much as the Proteſtants. For the fourteenth of *July*, *Arthurus Deſideriius* was apprehended near to *Orleans*, who was ſent into *Spain* with a Supplication, written in the name of the Clergy of *France*, in which they demanded the aſſiſtance of that King againſt the Proteſtants, becauſe they could not be ſuppreſſed by a Boy and a Woman, with other more ſecret inſtructions in Cypher, to be imparted to his Majeſty. This man being impriſoned, and interrogated of the Confederates, diſcovered ſome, whom it was dangerous to make known: for which cauſe they reſolved to proceed no further, but condemned him to make honourable ſatisfaction, to tear the ſupplication, and to be perpetual Priſoner in the Monaſtery of the *Carthuſians*. But many of his confeſſions being divulged, the King's Counſel thought fit to give the other party ſome ſatisfaction. Whereupon the King did prohibit the names of *Hugonots* and *Papiſts*, ordaining, that no man, under pretence of diſcovering the Congregations for Religion, which were forbid, ſhould enter with many or few, into another man's Houſe; that thoſe who were in Priſon for Religion ſhould be ſet at liberty, and that thoſe which fled, ſince the time of *Francis* the Firſt, might return and repoſſeſs their goods, in caſe they would live like Catholicks, or, if they would not, might ſell them, and go to another place. The Parliament of *Paris* did oppoſe, and ſaid, it was a kind of grant of liberty of Religion, which was never known in *France*; that the return of the Fugitives would cauſe great troubles, and that the liberty to ſell their Goods, and go to another place, was againſt the Laws of the Kingdom, which do not give leave to carry forth any great quantity of money.

A ſupplication ſent out of *France* into *Spain*.

The King maketh an ordination in favour of the Proteſtants.

But notwithſtanding all theſe oppoſitions, the Edict was executed; ſo that the Proteſtants being increaſed in number, and making more and greater Aſſemblies than they were wont, the King, with the Queen and Princes, went into the Parliament to provide a remedy, by the mature counſel of men skilful in matters of State and Juſtice. The Chancellour ſaid, they were not to ſpeak of Religion, but of making proviſion againſt daily tumults, which did ariſe by the means of it; leſt being made licentious, by raiſing of ſtirs, they might lay aſide all obedience to the King. There were three opinions. 1. To ſuſpend all puniſhments againſt the Proteſtants, until the deciſion of the Council. 2. That they ſhould be capitally proceeded againſt. 3. That they ſhould be puniſhed by the Eccleſiaſtical Court, forbidding their

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Congregations, either publick or private, and liberty to preach, or a miniſter the Sacraments, but after the *Roman* faſhion. In concluſio they took a middle courſe, and made an Edict, which is called tl Edict of *July*. That all ſhould abſtain from doing injuries, and live peace; that the Preachers ſhould not raiſe tumults, upon pain of death that none ſhould preach or adminiſter the Sacraments, but according to the *Roman* Rite; that the Eccleſiaſticks ſhould be Judges of Hereſie; that if the perſon guilty were delivered to the Secular Power, no greater puniſhment ſhould be inflicted than baniſhment, and this to continue till a General or National Council did determine otherwiſe; that all thoſe who have moved any tumult, for the cauſe of Religion, ſhould be pardoned, living hereafter in peace, and like Catholicks. Afterwards treating how to accommodate the Controverſies, it was ordained, that the Biſhops ſhould meet in *Poiſi*, the tenth of *Auguſt*, and that the Proteſtant Miniſters ſhould have a ſafe-conduct to come thither. This was contradicted by many of the Catholicks, who thought it ſtrange, diſhonourable, and dangerous to put the Religion of their Predeceſſors, received until that time, to compromiſe, and in hazard. But they yielded at the laſt, becauſe the Cardinal of *Lorain* promiſed largely that he would confute the Hereticks, and take the burden upon himſelf; wherein he was aſſiſted by the Queen, who, knowing his deſire to make oſtentation of his wit, was willing to give him ſatisfaction.

The Edict of *July*.

A *Colloquy* is ordained at *Poiſi*.

In which the Card. of *Lorain* undertaketh to confute the Hereticks.

The *Pope* had news at once of theſe two Edicts; in which he found ſomething to commend, and ſomething to blame. He commended the Parliament, for maintaining the cauſe of Religion, and blamed it, becauſe they had ordered it contrary to the Decretals, not to proceed to any greater cenſure than baniſhment. His concluſion was, that when the malady is greater than the remedy, it ought to be made lighter by patience. But the imminent danger of the Aſſembly of the Prelates, eſpecially together with the Proteſtants, he thought was intolerable, and ſaid, he would do the beſt he could to hinder it; wherein if he ſhould not be able to prevail, yet he was without fault. Therefore he treated effectually with the Ambaſſador, and with the King by his *Nuncio*, that, ſeeing the Aſſembly could not be omitted, yet at the leaſt the arrival of the Cardinal of *Ferrara* might be expected, that being made in preſence of an Apoſtolical Legate, with abſolute authority, it might be lawful. He wrote alſo to the Prelates, that their power did not extend ſo far as to make Decrees in matter of Religion, or Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and that if they went beyond their bounds, he would not only make all void, but proceed againſt them with all ſeverity. Neither the *Nuncio* nor the Ambaſſador could prevail, in regard that not only the *Pope's* Adverſaries did oppoſe, but even the Cardinal of *Lorain* himſelf, with his Adherents; and it was told the *Nuncio* in the King's Name, that the *Pope* might reſt ſecure, becauſe nothing ſhould be reſolved on, but by the opinion of the Cardinals.

The Council of the *French* King determineth that the Princes of the Blood ought to precede the Cardinals.

But, for all this, the Affairs of the Church did precipitate: and in *Rome* it was thought to be a great fall, that there being a controverſie for precedency between the Cardinals and Princes of the Blood, in the Aſſembly of the States continued in *Pontoiſe*, the King's Counſel did determine it againſt the Cardinals, and the Cardinals *Chaſtillon* and of *Armignac* did yield, though *Tornon*, *Loraine*, and *Guiſe* departed, diſdaining and murmuring at their Colleagues. And the Deputy of the Third Order, who ſpake againſt the Clergy, was heard with applauſe,

plauſe, objecting to them Ignorance, and Luxury, demanding, that all Juriſdiction ſhould be taken from them, and the Revenues, and a National Council held, wherein the King or Princes of the Blood ſhould preſide; and that in the mean time thoſe, who do not receive the *Romiſh Ceremonies*, might aſſemble and preach, in the preſence of a publick Miniſter of the King, that it might plainly appear that nothing is done againſt him. 1561. *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX.

They treated alſo of applying to the publick a part of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, and many other things againſt that Order; and the number of thoſe who did favour the Proteſtants did ſtill increaſe. The Clergy, to free themſelves, were forced to promiſe to pay the King four tenths yearly, for ſix years, and ſo the humours, ſtirred againſt them, were quieted. And, which was the greateſt precipice, the Queen wrote a long Letter to the *Pope*, dated the fourth of *Auguſt*, ſhewing the imminent dangers for the differences of Religion, and exhorting him to uſe ſome remedy; ſhe ſaid there were ſo many ſeparated from the Church of *Rome*, that it was impoſſible to reduce them, either by Law or Force; that many of the Grandees of the Kingdom did draw others by their example; that there being none of them who deny the Articles of Faith, nor the ſix Councils, many did adviſe to receive them into the Communion of the Church; but if this did not pleaſe, and that it ſeemed better to expect a General Council, in the mean ſpace, in regard of the urgent neceſſity and danger of delay, it was neceſſary to uſe ſome particular remedy, by making *Colloquies* of both parties, by admoniſhing them to abſtain from injuries, contentions, and offenſive words, by clearing the minds of thoſe who were not alienated as yet, taking from the place of adoration the Images, prohibited by God, and condemned by St. *Gregory*; by removing from Baptiſm, ſpittle, and exorciſms, and other things, not inſtituted by the Word of God; to reſtore the uſe of the *Cup* in the Communion, and Prayers in the Vulgar Tongue; that the firſt Sunday in every Month, or more often, the Curates ſhould call thoſe who will communicate, and, ſinging Pſalms in the vulgar, ſhould, in the ſame alſo, pray for the Prince and Magiſtrates, for the ſalubrity of the Air, and fruits of the Earth; then, expounding the places of the *Evangeliſts*, and of St. *Paul*, concerning the *Euchariſt*, they ſhould come to the Communion; that the Feaſt of *Corpus Chriſti* ſhould be taken away, becauſe it is inſtituted only for pomp; that if the *Latine* Tongue muſt be uſed in Prayers, yet the Vulgar ſhould be added, for the benefit of all; that the *Pope's* authority ſhould not be diminiſhed, nor the Doctrine changed, in regard it is not juſt to take away the Miniſtry, becauſe the Miniſters have erred. It was thought that ſhe wrote theſe things at the perſwaſion of *John Monluc*, Biſhop of *Valence*, with too much *French* liberty; and they troubled the *Pope* very much, conſidering the time, full of ſuſpicions, when a National Council was ſpoken of, and a *Colloquy* intimated in *Poiſi*. Having well conſidered all, he reſolved to diſſemble, and not to anſwer, but only that, the Council drawing near, whatſoever was thought neceſſary might be there propoſed, with aſſured hope that no reſolution ſhould be made but for the ſervice of God, and peace of the Church.

The Pope is diſcontented with a Letter ſent unto him by the Queen Mother.

Theſe occurrences did confirm the *Pope* in his opinion, that the Council was profitable both for himſelf and the Court, and that it was neceſſary to celebrate it for his defence, againſt the preparations which were and might be made. And he ſhewed tokens of joy, for the Letters which came

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came unto him, the 24th of *Auguſt*, from the Emperour, in which he ſaid that he did abſolutely conſent unto the Council, and that he did not declare himſelf until then, that he might more eaſily win the Princes of *Germany*; but now, not being able to do any more, he prayed him to continue his endeavours, in haſtening the celebration. Having called together all the Ambaſſadors of Princes, and moſt of the Cardinals, ſo that it was almoſt a Conſiſtory, he ſhewed the Letters to them all, ſaying, it was worthy to be written in Letters of Gold; that the Council would be moſt profitable; that it was not to be deferred: that it would be ſo univerſal that the City of *Trent* would not be able to receive it, and that it would be neceſſary to think of tranſlating it to a place more large and fertile. His diſcourſe was approved by all that ſtood by, though ſome thought it dangerous to name the *tranſlation* in the beginning, in regard that every little ſuſpicion might either hinder or delay the Council. Others believed that this would not diſpleaſe the *Pope*, and that he caſt forth that word to open a gate where the difficulty might enter.

But is comforted by another, received from the Emperour.

It being not only reſolved, but generally known, that none of the *Dutch* Prelates would come to *Trent*, and a doubt made alſo, in regard of the *Colloquy* inſtituted, that the *French-men* would treat only amongſt themſelves, and that the Council would conſiſt of none but *Italians*, except ſome few *Spaniards*, the *Italians* were of opinion, that a few of them would ſerve the turn, ſo that many of them uſed means to the *Pope* to be excepted; who told them plainly, that he was aſſured that all the *Ultramontans* would come, full of hopes to ſubject the Popedom to the Council, which being the common intereſt of *Italy*, whereby it is preferred before other Nations, they ought to go all thither for the publick defence; that he would not exempt any, but rather take all hope from them, ſaying, that they might be aſſured thereof, ſeeing how diligent he was in ſending the Legates thither. For, beſides the Cardinal of *Mantua* and *Seripando*, he had ſent *Staniſlaus Oſius*, *Cardinal* of *Varmia*. The next day, having publiſhed the Emperour's Letters, he called a general Congregation of all the Cardinals, though it were Sunday. He treated of many particulars concerning the beginning and progreſs of the Council; and promiſed to aſſiſt the poor Prelates with money, but upon condition they ſhould go thither; and allowed them but eight days to begin their journey. He ſhewed how neceſſary the Council was, in regard Religion was baniſhed, or endangered in ſome place every day. And he ſpake the truth. For in *Scotland*, in an Aſſembly of all the Nobility of the Kingdom, it was conſtituted, that there ſhould be no more exerciſe of the *Roman* Catholick Religion.

The *Italians* deſire to be excuſed from going to the Council, but cannot obtain leave of the *Pope*.

The *Roman* Catholick Religion is baniſhed out of *Scotland*.

In *Auguſt* the Prelates did aſſemble in *Poiſi*, where they treated of the Reformation of the Clergy, without making any concluſion. Afterwards, the Proteſtant Miniſters being come, in number fourteen, who were called, and ſecured by a ſafe-conduct, amongſt whom *Peter Martyr*, a *Florentine*, who came from *Zuric*, and *Theodore Beza*, who came from *Geneva*, were the chief, they gave a Petition to the King, which had four parts. 1. That the Biſhops might not be Judges in that buſineſs. 2. That the King with his Counſellours would preſide. 3. That the Controverſies might be decided by the Word of God. 4. That that which was agreed on, and decreed, might be written by Notaries elected by both parties. The Queen would have one of the four Secretaries of the King to write, and granted that the King ſhould

The *Colloquy* of *Poiſi* in *France*.

preſide

preſide; but ſo, that this ſhould not be committed to Writing, alledging, that it was not fit for them, nor profitable for the King, conſidering the preſent times. The Cardinal of *Lorain* deſired the King's preſence in the publick Aſſembly, that it might be more frequent, and adorned, to make oſtentation of his worth, promiſing himſelf a certain Victory. Many of the Divines perſwaded the Queen not to ſuffer the King to be preſent, that thoſe tender ears might not be envenomed by peſtiferous Doctrine. Before the parties were called to the combat, the Prelates made a proceſſion, and did all communicate, except the Cardinal *Chaſtillon*, and five Biſhops. The others proteſted one to another, that they meant not to handle points of Doctrine, nor matters of Faith.

The ſecond of *September* they began, in preſence of the King, Queen, Princes of the Blood, and the King's Counſellors, together with ſix Cardinals, and forty Biſhops. The King, as he was inſtructed, made an exhortation, that, being aſſembled to remedy the tumults of the Kingdom, and to correct the things that were amiſs, he deſired they ſhould not depart, before all differences were compoſed. The Chancellor ſpake more at large to the ſame purpoſe, in the King's Name, and ſaid particularly, that the diſeaſe being urgent, did require a preſent cure; that the remedy which could be expected from the Council, beſides that it would be ſlow, would proceed from men, who, being ſtrangers, know not the neceſſities of *France*, and are bound to follow the *Pope's* will; that the Prelates preſent, knowing the needs of the Kingdom, and near in Blood, are more fit to execute this good work; that although the Council intimated by the *Pope* were held, yet the like of this hath been done at other times, and is not without example; that, in the time of *Charles* the Great, many Councils were held at once; and that, many times, the errour of a General Council hath been corrected by a National, as *Arianiſm* eſtabliſhed by the General Council of *Arimini*, was condemned in *France*, by a Council called by St. *Hilary*. He exhorted all to aim at the ſame end, and the more learned not to contemn their inferiors, nor theſe to envy thoſe; to avoid curious queſtions; not to be averſe from the Proteſtants, who were their Brethren, regenerate in the ſame Baptiſm, worſhippers of the ſame *Chriſt*. He exhorteth the Biſhops to treat with them courteouſly, ſeeking to reduce them, but without ſeverity, conſidering that much was attributed to them, in that they were ſuffered to be Judges in their own cauſe: ſaying, that this did conſtrain them to proceed with ſincerity, and that, in ſo doing, they ſhould ſtop the mouth of their adverſaries, but, tranſgreſſing the office of juſt Judges, all would be in vain, and to no purpoſe. The Cardinal *Tornon* roſe up, and, having thanked the King, Queen, and Princes, for the aſſiſtance they afforded to that Aſſembly, ſaid, that the Chancellors Propoſitions were of great importance, and not to be handled, or anſwered upon the ſudden, and therefore deſired they might be committed to Writing, the better to deliberate upon them. The Chancellor did refuſe, and the Cardinal of *Lorain* did urge it.

In which the King ſpeaketh briefly.

And the Chancellor at large.

The Queen, perceiving that this was required by the two Cardinals, to draw the buſineſs in length, gave order to *Beza* to ſpeak: Who, having prayed on his knee, and recited the profeſſion of his Faith, complained, that they were accounted turbulent, and ſeditious, perturbers of the Publick Peace, though they had no other end than the glory of God, nor deſired to aſſemble themſelves but to ſerve him, and they the Magiſtrates, appointed by him. Then he declared in what they do agree with the Church of *Rome*, and in what they diſſent, he ſpake of Faith,

The Queen Mother commandeth *Beza* to begin.

good

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good Works, of the authority of Councils, ſins of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, obedience to Magiſtrates, and of the Sacraments; and entring into the matter of the *Euchariſt*, he ſpake with ſuch heat, that he gave but ill ſatisfaction to thoſe of his own party; ſo that he was commanded to conclude. And having preſented the *Confeſſion* of his Churches, and deſired it might be examined, he made an end. The Cardinal *Tornon*, full of diſdain, roſe up, and ſaid, that the Biſhops, even forcing their Conſciences, had conſented to hear theſe new *Evangeliſts*, foreſeeing they would ſpeak many injurious things againſt God, and that but for the reſpect they bare to the King, they would have riſen, and diſturbed the Aſſembly. Therefore he prayed his Majeſty, not to believe what they had ſaid, becauſe the Prelates would diſprove it, ſo that he ſhould ſee the difference between the truth and a lye, and demanded a day's time to anſwer, requiring, that all ſhould be removed from thence, that they might not hear thoſe blaſphemies. Wherewith the Queen, thinking her ſelf to be touched, anſwered, that nothing was done but by the advice of the Princes, of the King's Counſel, and Parliament of *Paris*, not to change or innovate any thing in Religion, but to compoſe the differences, and to reduce thoſe that wandred into the right way; which the Biſhops were bound in wiſdom to procure, by all good means.

Who ſheweth too much heat. Whereat Cardinal *Tornon* diſdaineth.

The Aſſembly being diſſolved, the Biſhops and Divines conſulted amongſt themſelves what do do. Some of them would have had a *Confeſſion* of Faith written, unto which if the Proteſtants would not ſubſcribe, they ſhould be condemned for Hereticks, without any further diſputation. Which opinion ſeeming too hard, after much diſcourſe, they reſolved to anſwer two of the points propoſed by *Beza*; that is, of the *Church*, and of the *Euchariſt*. The Congregation being aſſembled again the ſixteenth of the Month, the Cardinal of *Lorain*, in the preſence of the King, Queen, and Princes, made a long Oration, and ſaid, That the King was a member, not head of the Church; that it belonged to his care to defend it, and that, for matter of Doctrine, he was ſubject to the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters; that the Church did not contain the elect only, and yet could not err; that when any particular Church is in an errour, recourſe muſt be had to the Church of *Rome*, Decrees of the General Councils, conſent of the ancient Fathers, and, above all, to the Scripture expounded in the ſenſe of the Church; that the *hereticks*, failing in this, have run into inextricable errors; as the moderns, for example, in the point of the *Euchariſt*, in which, by an incurable itch of curious queſtions, they have uſed that which was inſtituted by Chriſt for a bond of union, to make an irreconcilable rent in the Church. And then he handled this matter, and concluded, that, if the Proteſtants will not change their opinion herein, there is no means of compoſition.

The Card. of *Lorain* ſpeaketh for the Catholicks.

When he had made an end, all the Biſhops ſtood up, and ſaid, they would live and die in that Faith; they prayed the King to perſevere in it; adding, that if the Proteſtants will ſubſcribe to this Article, they will not refuſe to diſpute the reſt; but if not, they ought not to have any more audience, but to be chaſed out of the whole Kingdom. *Beza* asked leave to anſwer preſently; but it ſeeming not fit to equalize a private Miniſter, to ſo great a Prince Cardinal, the Aſſembly was diſſolved. The Prelates were willing the *Colloquy* ſhould have been thus ended; but the Biſhop of *Valence* told them it was diſhonourable. Therefore the twenty fourth day it was aſſembled again in the preſence of the Queen, and the Princes. *Beza* ſpake of the Church, and of the condi-

To whom *Beza* was willing to anſwer, and was not ſuffered.

But ſpeaketh another day.

at

and authority thereof; of Councils, ſhewing they may err, and the dignity of the Scripture. *Claudeus Eſpenſeus* anſwered, that he had always deſired a *Colloquy* in matter of Religion, and abhorred the puniſhments which the poor unfortunate people endured: but he much marvelled by what authority, and by whom the Proteſtants were called into the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtery, who had laid hands on them to make them ordinary Miniſters; and if they pretended an extraordinary Vocation, where were the Miracles to demonſtrate it. Then he treated of Traditions. He ſhewed, that there being a Controverſie of the ſence of the Scriptures, recourſe muſt be had to the Fathers; and that many things are believed by Tradition only, as the *Conſubſtantiality* of the Son, the Baptizing of Infants, and the Virginity of the Mother of Chriſt after his birth. He added, that no General Council was ever corrected by another in point of Doctrine. Divers Replies and Diſputations paſſed on both ſides, between the Divines, who were preſent. And, there being a great contention, the Cardinal of *Lorain* making a ſilence, propoſed the matter of the *Euchariſt*, and ſaid, that the Biſhops were reſolute not to proceed any further, if that Article were not agreed on; and then demanded of the Miniſters, if they were prepared to ſubſcribe the *Auguſtan Confeſſion* in that Article. *Beza* asked whether he propoſed that in the name of all, and whether himſelf, and the other Prelates would ſubſcribe to the other points of that *Confeſſion*: and receiving no anſwer either of the one or the other, he demanded, that that which was propoſed to be ſubſcribed unto, ſhould be put in Writing, that they might conſult of it; and ſo the *Colloquy* was put off till the next day.

1561. *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. And is anſwered by *Claudius Eſpenſeus:*

In which *Beza*, who began to ſpeak, did much provoke the Biſhops. For having juſtified his Vocation to the Miniſtry, he diſcourſed of the Vocation and Ordination of Biſhops, ſhewing what Simony was committed, and demanding how it could be accounted lawful. The paſſing to the Article of the *Euchariſt*, and the point of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion* propoſed unto him, he ſaid, it ought to be firſt ſubſcribed by thoſe who did propoſe it. The Parties not being able to agree, a *Spaniſh Jeſuit*, one of the Train of the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, who was at the *Colloquy*, having reproached the Proteſtants, did reprehend the Queen for medling in matters which belonged not to her, but to the Pope, Cardinals, and Biſhops. This arrogancy troubled the Queen's patience; but for the Pope's ſake, and the Legates, ſhe diſſembled. Finally, not being able to conclude any thing by this manner of Parley, it was ordered, that two Biſhops and three Divines, of the moſt moderate, ſhould confer with five of the Proteſtant Miniſters, to ſee if they could find out a way to make an agreement. They aſſayed to frame an Article of the *Euchariſt* in general terms, taken out of the Fathers, which might give ſatisfaction to both parties, which becauſe they could not do, they concluded the *Colloquy*. This did miniſter much matter of diſcourſe. Some ſaid it was a bad example to treat of Errours once condemned, and that they ought not ſo much as to hear thoſe who deny the foundations of Religion, which hath continued ſo long, and been ſo much confirmed, eſpecially in the preſence of ignorant people; and that, although nothing was reſolved againſt the true Religion, it hath made the Hereticks bold, and grieved the Catholicks. Others ſaid, it would be generally good to handle theſe Controverſies often, becauſe the Parties would by this means become familiar; malice and other bad affections would ceaſe, and many ways of compoſition

Beza ſpeaketh again, and provoketh the Biſhops.

The ſaucineſs of a *Spaniſh Jeſuit.*

A new courſe is taken.

Which doth as little good as the former.

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ſition might be found, and that there was no other courſe to extirpate the evil that had taken ſuch deep root. For the Court being divided under pretence of Religion, it was impoſſible they ſhould be reconciled, except all obſtinacy laid aſide, they did tolerate one another, and take that Cloak out of the hands of unquiet and turbulent people, with which they cover their bad actions.

Wherewith the Pope is well pleaſed.

The Pope underſtanding that the *Colloquy* was diſſolved without doing any thing, was very glad, and much commended the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and *Tornon* more. The zeal of the Jeſuit pleaſed him, and ſaid, he might be compared to the ancient Saints, having, without reſpect of the King and Princes, maintained God's Cauſe, and upbraided the Queen to her face. On the contrary, he reprehended the Oration of the Chancellor, ſaying, It was heretical in many parts, and threatned to call him into the *Inquiſition*. The Court alſo, when it was divulged to them, was diſtaſted with it, and conjectured that all the Governours of the Kingdom had the ſame diſpoſition towards *Rome*; and the *French* Embaſſadour had much ado to defend himſelf.

The Chancellor of *France* Is blamed in *Rome*, together with the whole Government of that Kingdom.

The Entertainment of the Cardinal of *Ferrara* in *France*.

That which hapned to the Cardinal of *Ferrara* is not to be omitted, as being of affinity to the matter whereof I write. That Prelate was received at the firſt by the King and Queen, with much honour, and having preſented the Popes Letters of Credence, was acknowledged for Legate of the Apoſtolick See, by their Majeſties, by the Princes, and Clergy. But the Parliament having diſcovered, that amongſt his Commiſſions, one was to deſire a revocation, or moderation at the leaſt, of the things accorded in the States of *Orleans*, the laſt of *January*, concerning the diſtribution of Benefices, and particularly, the prohibition of paying *Annates* to *Rome*, and ſending Money out of the Kingdom to obtain Benefices there, or other favours, did immediately publiſh the Decrees, which had not been publiſhed until that time, under the date of the thirteenth of *September*, that the Cardinal might not obtain his purpoſe; and did reſolve not to give the Legate leave to uſe the *Faculties* given him by the Pope. For the cuſtom of that Kingdom is, that a Legate cannot exerciſe his Office, if his *Faculties* be not firſt preſented, and examined in Parliament, and regulated and moderated by a Decree thereof, and confirmed in that form by the Kings Brief; ſo that when the Bull of the *Faculties* of the Legation was preſented to be, as they ſay, approved, it was refuſed by the Chancellor and Parliament, alledging, that it was already determined not to uſe any more Diſpenſations againſt the Rules of the Fathers, nor Collation of Benefices againſt the Canons. But the Cardinal had a greater affront, in that Paſquins were made, and ſpread, both in the Court and City of *Paris*, concerning the loves of *Lucretia Borgia*, his Mother, and Pope *Alexander* the Sixth, his Grandfather by the Mothers ſide, with repetition of the obſcenities, divulged throughout all *Italy* in the time of that Popedom which made the Cardinal ridiculous to the people.

The firſt thing he undertook was to hinder the preaching of the Reformatiſts, who after the *Colloquy*, did practiſe it more freely than before, and uſed perſwaſions, and made ſecret promiſes to the Miniſters. And becauſe he had no credit with them, in regard of his kindred with the Houſe of *Guiſe*, for which reaſon alſo he was held ſuſpected by all the oppoſites of that Family, to gain reputation, he made acquaintance with the Nobles of the *Hugonot* faction, and went to their Feaſts, and ſometimes was preſent at their Sermons in the habit of a Gentleman. By all which he gained nothing, becauſe many thought he did it

His familiarity with the *Hugonots*.

Diſpleaſeth the Court of *Rome*.

as Legate, by conſent of the Pope, and the Court of *Rome* was diſpleaſed with his actions. 1561.

Pius IV.
Ferdinand.
Elizabeth.
Charles IX.

The Queen of *France*, underſtanding that the King of *Spain* took the *Colloquy* in ill part, ſent *Jaques de Montbrun* expreſly to him; who made a large excuſe, that all was done for neceſſity, and not in favour of the Proteſtants, and that the King and Queen, without ſpeaking any more of a National Council, were reſolved to ſend their Biſhops to *Trent*, as ſoon as might be. The King anſwered him in general words, and referred him to the Duke of *Alva*; who having heard his Embaſſage, ſaid, that the King was ſorry that in a Kingdom ſo near, and ſo nearly allied to him in kindred, Religion ſhould be ſo ill handled; that there was need of that ſeverity which *Henry* uſed in a Mercurial Congregation, and *Francis* in *Amboiſe*, not long ſince; he prayed the Queen to make proviſion, in regard the danger of *France* belonging to him alſo, he was reſolved by the advice of his Council, to employ all his Forces, and his life alſo to extinguiſh the common Peſtilence, whereunto he was ſollicited by the Grandees and People of *France*. The wiſe *Spaniards* thought to cure the Maladies of *Flanders*, by the Medicine of *France*; which were not leſs, but onely were leſs apparent, and tumultuous. The King of *Spain* could never make the States aſſemble, to obtain a Contribution or *Donative*; but private Aſſemblies in *Cambray*, *Valentia*, and *Tornay* were diſcovered. The Magiſtrate having forbid them, and impriſoned ſome of them, they put themſelves into Arms, with great danger of Rebellion; and it ſeemed that the Prince of *Orange*, and Count *Egmont* were open favourers of them, eſpecially after that the Prince had married *Anne*, Daughter of *Maurice*, Duke of *Saxony* deceaſed: which did much diſpleaſe the King, foreſeeing what iſſue ſuch a Marriage might have contracted by one of his Subjects, with a Proteſtant of ſo great adherence. Yet the *Spaniards* ſpake as if *Flanders* had been ſound, and that they feared infection in *France* only, which they would have purged with War. And the Embaſſador was anſwered concerning the King of *Navarre*, of whoſe buſineſs he had Commiſſion to treat that he deſerved nothing for the ſmall care he had of Religion; and that if he would have favour, he ſhould firſt move War againſt the *Hugonots* in *France*.

The Q. Mother ſendeth an Embaſſador into *Spain* to excuſe the *Colloquy*.

The *Spaniards* would have cured the maladies of *Flanders* with the Medicine of *France*.

The Prince of *Orange* marrieth the Daughter of the Duke of *Saxony*.

The Queen alſo excuſed the ſame *Colloquy* to his Holineſs, by the King's Embaſſadour in *Rome*, telling him, that to put the *Hugonots* to ſilence who ſaid they were perſecuted before they were heard, and to appeaſe their Commotions, the King was forced to grant them publick audience, in the preſence of the Princes, and Officers of the Kingdom; reſolving, that if they would not be overcome with Reaſon, he would, after he had time to put himſelf in order, overcome them by Force. She cauſed him alſo to treat with the Cardinal *Farneſe*, Legate of *Avignion* to reſign that Legation to the Cardinal of *Burbon*; whereunto *Farneſe* having given conſent, the Embaſſadour ſpake of it to the Pope, in the name of him, and of the King of *Navarre*, ſaying, That his Holineſs would be freed from charge, and the City ſecured from the *Hugonots* who would not attempt ought againſt it, being in the protection of a Prince of the Bloud. Not only thoſe who were skilful in the Affairs of the World, but every one of any mean judgment, knew that this was done to take with eaſe the dominion of that City from *Rome*, and unite it to *France*. Therefore the Pope denyed it abſolutely, and related the propoſition in Conſiſtory, as if ſome great prejudice had been concealed under it, which did not appear at the firſt ſight. And he much complained

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of the Queen and King of *Navarre*, who having often promiſed him, that nothing ſhould be done in *France* againſt his Authority, yet they did favour Hereſies, and were Authors of the Congregations of the Prelates, *Colloquies*, and of other prejudicial things. He ſaid his gentleneſs was ill requited, and therefore, that he would begin the Council ſuddenly, and by means thereof, make known the Reverence which Secular Princes owe to the Church. He uſed the ſame complaint and threats to the Embaſſadour; who having replyed, that the demand of the Legation was to a good end, and that all the actions of the Queen were done with maturity and juſtice, added, that the Council was more deſired by the King than by his Holineſs, hoping it would proceed with the ſame equity and reſpect towards all Princes, not making difference of them. He uſed theſe words, to mock the Pope, who had granted a little before a great Subſidy to the King of *Spain*, to be paid by the Clergy, after he had obtained of him the ſimple *Annates*. But the Pope ſuſpecting the Petition of *Avignion*, and conſidering, that the Vaſſals of that City were all Proteſtants, fearing it might be uſurped by the King of *Navarre*, did preſently diſpatch thither *Fabricius Sorbellone*, with two thouſand Foot, to lie there in Garriſon, and gave the Government thereof to *Lorenzo Lenci*, Biſhop of *Firmo*, as Vice-Legate.

After the *Colloquy* was ended, and the Proteſtants departed, the Prelates remained to treat of the Subſidies to be given to the King; which the Queen thinking would give ſuſpicion to the Pope, in regard of his often complaints, aſſured him, that they remained onely to conſult of the Kings Debts; and that the Congregation being ended, ſhe would immediately give order to the Biſhops to put themſelves in a readineſs to go to the Council. Notwithſtanding they treated of the Communion of the Cup, the Biſhop of *Valence*, with conſent of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, propoſing, that if it were allowed, the proſperous courſe of the increaſe of the Proteſtants, would be interrupted, in regard that many, who do adhere unto them, do begin to believe them from this point, who would not hearken unto them, if this were granted freely by the Church. And thoſe who underſtood the affairs of the World, did conſider, that by this means a Faction would ariſe between the Reformatiſts themſelves. Some few of the Biſhops thought fit it ſhould be conſtituted by the Edict, and immediately executed, ſaying, That the whole Communion was not taken away by Decree of the Church, but by cuſtom only, and that there is no Eccleſiaſtical Decree which forbiddeth the Biſhops to return to the former uſe. But the major part would not conſent it ſhould be done, but by Grant, or at the leaſt, by the favour of the Pope. Some few would not agree to any Innovation, but were forced to yield to the greater number. This was much urged by *Lorain*; who, to obtain the Pope's conſent, thought it neceſſary to gain the favour of the Cardinal of *Ferrara*; and to win him the better, he perſwaded the Queen to hearken to his Propoſitions, and to grant him ſomething. The Cardinal had proceeded ſo ſweetly and courteouſly with every one, even of the contrary Religion, that he had gained the good will of many, who did oppoſe him at the firſt. And his Negotiation being examined, it was granted, by a Brief of the King, adviſed thereunto by the moſt intimate of this Council, that the Capitulations of *Orleans*, concerning matter of Benefices, ſhould be ſuſpended, and that the Legate might exerciſe his *Faculties*; but ſo, as that he ſhould firſt promiſe under his hand-writing, that he would not uſe them, and that he would be a means that the Pope ſhould provide againſt all the

A Treaty in *France* about the Communion of the Cup.

Leave is given to the Legate by the King's Brief to exerciſe his *Facultias*.

the abuſes and diſorders which are committed in the Collation of Benefices, and diſpatches of the Bulls in *Rome*. Notwithſtanding, the Chancellor refuſeth to ſubſcribe and ſeal the Brief, according to the ſtile of the Kingdom; and, it being impoſſible to remove him from his reſolution, it was ſubſcribed by the Queen, the King of *Navarre*, and by the principal Officers of the Kingdom: wherewith the Legate was content, more regarding the preſervation of his own Honour, than the ſervice of him that ſent him. For this favour, he was content to think well of the Communion of the *Cup*, and to write thereof to *Rome*; which he did with ſuch a temper, that neither the Pope, nor Court, were diſtaſted. In the concluſion of the Aſſembly of *Poiſie*, the Prelates granted power to the King to ſell 100000 Crowns of the yearly rents of the Lands of the Church, ſo that the Pope would allow it.

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Which the Chancellor refuſeth to ſubſcribe.

The Aſſembly of *Poiſi* giveth the K. power to ſell Church-Lands to the value of 100000 Crowns.

The King gave order to his Embaſſadour in *Rome* to make requeſt for it, ſhewing the neceſſity and utility of the Grant; which the Embaſſadour did, juſt the day before Letters came to the Pope from the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, which gave him an account of the difficulties overcome, and how he had obtained a ſuſpenſion of the Capitulations of *Orleans* againſt the Eccleſiaſtical liberty, and leave to uſe the *Faculties* of a Legate, which things, he ſaid, were more hardly compaſſed, becauſe the Cardinal of *Lorain*, from whom he expected favour, had oppoſed him from the beginning. And he made a full Narration of the ſtate of Religion in *France*, ſhewing the danger, that it would be quite extinguiſhed, and the remedies to preſerve it; which were only two: One, to give ſatisfaction to the King of *Navarre*, and to intereſt him in the defence of it. The other, to grant the people generally the Communion *Sub utraq; ſpecie*; affirming, that certainly by this means, at the leaſt two hundred thouſand ſouls would be gained. The Embaſſadour, in conformity hereof, beſeeched the Pope, in the name of the King, of the Church of *France*, and of the Prelates, that they might be diſpenſed with to adminiſter to the people the Sacrament of the Euchariſt under both kinds, as a profitable and neceſſary preparation to diſpoſe them to receive the determinations of the Council with readineſs; without which, it is much to be doubted, that this Remedy will find raw humours, which may cauſe a greater Diſeaſe.

The Legate informeth the Pope, that there are but two ways to preſerve Religion in *France*.

The *French* Embaſſadour deſireth the Pope to grant the Communion of the Cup to the *French-men*.

The Pope, according to his natural diſpoſition, ſuddenly anſwered, without any premeditation, That he had ever thought, that the Communion of both kinds, and Marriage of Prieſts, were *de jure poſitivo*, in the diſpoſition of which things, he had as much authority as the whole Univerſal Church: and therefore was thought to be a *Lutheran* in the laſt *Conclave*. That the Emperour had made the ſame Requeſt for his Son, the King of *Bohemia*, whoſe Conſcience did induce him to be of this opinion; and had demanded the like for the people of his Patrimonial Territories, but that the Cardinals would never yield unto it. Notwithſtanding, he ſaid he would not reſolve of any thing, without propoſing it firſt in the Conſiſtory, and promiſed to ſpeak hereof in the next; which being intimated for the tenth of *December*, the Embaſſadour, according to the cuſtom of thoſe at whoſe inſtance any buſineſs is handled, went in the morning, while the Cardinals were aſſembled, expecting the Pope, to mediate with them. The moſt diſcreet amongſt them anſwered, That the demand did deſerve great deliberation, and that they durſt not reſolve, until they had well conſidered of it; others were paſſionate, as at news never heard of before. The Cardinal

Who giveth a favourable anſwer.

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dinal of *Cueva* ſaid, that he would never give his voice in favour of ſuch a demand, and that if it were ſo reſolved by authority of his Holineſs, and the conſent of the Cardinals, he would go to the top of the Stairs of St. *Peter*, and cry (*miſericordia*) with a loud voice; not forbearing to ſay, that the Prelates of *France* were infected with Hereſie. The Cardinal St. *Angelo* anſwered, that he would never give a *Cup* full of ſuch deadly Poyſon to the People of *France*, inſtead of a Medicine, and that it was better to let them die, than cure them with ſuch Remedies. To whom the Embaſſadour reply'd, that the Prelates of *France* were induced to be of this opinion with good grounds, and Theological Reaſons, which deſerved not ſuch a contemptuous cenſure; and, on the other ſide, that it was not fit to give the name of poyſon to the Bloud of *Chriſt*, and to call the holy Apoſtles poyſoners, and the Fathers of the Primitive Church, and of that which followed for many hundreds of years, who, with much ſpiritual profit, have miniſtred the Cup of that Bloud to all the people.

For which afterwards he was ſorry.

The Pope being entred into the Conſiſtory, having diſcourſed with ſome Cardinals, and better thought of the buſineſs, wiſhed he had been able to recal his word. Notwithſtanding, he propoſed the matter, related the Embaſſadours inſtance, cauſed the Legates Letters to be read, and demanded their opinions. The Cardinals who were Dependants on *France*, commended with divers forms of words the Kings intention, but, concerning the requeſt, referred themſelves to his Holineſs. The *Spaniards* did all oppoſe, and uſed great boldneſs of ſpeech, ſome calling the Prelates of *France* Hereticks, ſome Schiſmaticks, and ſome unlearned, alledging no Reaſon, but that all *Chriſt* is in both the kinds. The Cardinal *Pacceco* conſidered that all diverſities of Rites, eſpecially in the moſt principal Ceremonies, do end with ſchiſm and hatred. For now the *Spaniards* in *France* go to the *French* Churches, and the *French-men* in *Spain* to the *Spaniſh*; but when they ſhall communicate ſo diverſly, one not receiving the Communion of the other, they will be forced to make Churches apart, and ſo behold a diviſion.

Fryar *Michael*, Cardinal of *Alexandria*, ſaid, that it could not by any means be granted by the Pope *de plenitudine poteſtatis*; not for want of authority in him over all which is *de jure poſitivo*, in which number this is, but in regard of the incapacity of him that demandeth the favour. For the Pope cannot give power to do evil; but it is an heretical evil to receive the Chalice, thinking it to be neceſſary; therefore the Pope cannot grant it to ſuch perſons. And it cannot be doubted but that thoſe who demand it, do judge it neceſſary, becauſe no man maketh any great matter of indifferent Ceremonies. He ſaid, that theſe men do hold the Chalice either to be neceſſary or not: if not, why do they give ſcandal, by making themſelves differ from others? If otherwiſe, then they are Hereticks, and uncapable of the *Grace*. The Cardinal *Rodolpho Pio di Carpi*, who was one of the laſt that ſpake, becauſe the inferiours do begin, concluded in conformity with the others, that not onely the ſaving of two hundred thouſand Souls, but one onely was a ſufficient cauſe to diſpence with any poſitive Law, with Wiſdom and Maturity; but in that propoſition one ought to take heed, leſt, thinking to gain two hundred thouſand, he loſe two hundred Millions. That it was manifeſt, that this would not be the laſt demand of the *French-men* in matter of Religion, but a ſtep to propoſe another, that afterward they will demand the Marriage of Prieſts, the vulgar Tongue in the Miniſtry of the

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the Sacraments: which will have the ſame ground, becauſe they are *de jure poſitivo*, and muſt be granted for the preſervation of many. Of the marriage of Prieſts this inconvenience will follow, that having Houſe, Wife, and Children, they will not depend on the Pope, but of their Prince, and their love to their Children will make them yield to any prejudice of the Church. They will ſeek alſo to make the Benefices hereditary; and ſo in a ſhort ſpace, the authority of the Apoſtolick See will be confined within *Rome*. Before ſingle life was inſtituted, the See of *Rome* received no profit from other Nations and Cities, and by it, is made Patron of many Benefices, of which marriage would quickly deprive her. Of the vulgar Tongue this Inconvenience would follow, that all would think themſelves Divines, the authority of Prelates would be diſeſteemed, and all would become Hereticks. If the Communion of the Chalice were granted, ſo that Faith were preſerved, it would be of ſmall importance; but it would open a gate to demand an abrogation of all poſitive Conſtitutions, by which only the prerogative given by *Chriſt* to the Church of *Rome*, is preſerved, for by thoſe which are *de jure divino*, no profit doth ariſe, but that which is ſpiritual. For theſe Reaſons it is wiſdom to oppoſe the firſt demand, not to be bound to grant the ſecond and all the reſt.

The inconvenience of the Marriage of Prieſts.

The inconvenience of the vulgar tongue.

The inconvenience of the Communion of the Cup.

The Pope, principally for theſe cauſes, did reſolve negatively; and, to make his reſolution the leſs grievous, he cauſed the Embaſſadour to be perſwaded to deſiſt of his own accord; who not conſenting, he cauſed him to be intreated, that at the leaſt, he would proſecute it gently, in regard it was impoſſible to yield unto him, for fear of aliening all the Catholicks. The Embaſſadour ſtill proceeding, the Pope firſt put him off with delay, and in concluſion, anſwered, that howſoever he could, yet he ought not to yield to his requeſt, becauſe the Council was at hand, unto which he had referred the Emperors petition, ſo he would do that of *France*, and to gratifie the King, would handle that Article firſt of all, and ſo diſpatch it in as little time as would be requiſite to grant the *grace* with maturity. The Embaſſadour repeating this inſtance in every audience, the Pope added, That he was ſure all the Prelates did not make that requeſt, becauſe the major part in the Congregation did reſolve not to ſpeak of it, ſaying, that the name of the Prelates of *France* was uſed, whereas the motion proceeded but from a few, and thoſe incited by others, meaning the Queen; againſt whom he bare a ſecret grudge, for the Letter ſhe wrote unto him the fourth of *Auguſt*.

The Pope reſolveth not to grant the Cup to the *Frenchmen*.

At the ſame time when the Petition of the *French* Prelates was publiſhed in *Rome*, news came out of *Germany*, that the ſame men had ſent to the Proteſtants there, to perſwade them to perſevere in their Doctrine, promiſing to favour them in the Council, and to draw other Prelates to do the like. This was divulged in *Trent* alſo, and cauſed the *Frenchmen* to have but ſmall reputation, both there amongſt the *Italians*, and in the Court of *Rome*, where they were eſteemed to be men of an unquiet ſpirit, and deſirous of Innovation. And it was ſaid (as ſuſpicions do always add ſomething) in regard of the Diſputes which that Nation hath ever had with the Court of *Rome*, in very important Articles, and of the preſent Accidents, that certainly they would go to the Council, with no other aim, but only to cauſe Troubles and Innovations. The Embaſſadour, that the popular rumour againſt his Nation might not make an impreſſion in the Popes mind, was willing to ſecure him; who perſwaded him ironically not to trouble himſelf, becauſe

The *French* Prelates are ſuſpected in *Trent* and *Rome*.

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cauſe it was not likely, nor could he believe that ſo ſmall a number as are the *French-men*, could think of ſo great Enterprizes; and if they did, that they ſhould find many *Italians* who would oppoſe them. But he ſaid, he was diſpleaſed that they had hindred the Council, which was aſſembled for their ſakes onely; which ſhewed but ſmall care in them to cure that Sickneſs, whereof they complain; adding, that he was reſolved to open the Council, either with them, or without them, and to proſecute and diſpatch it; and that his Legates and a great number of Biſhops, had been many months in *Trent* already, to their great trouble and charge, not able to do any thing, while the Prelates of *France* do ſo deliciouſly provide for their eaſe at home.

In conformity hereof, he did recapitulate, in Conſiſtory, the inſtances and cauſes, for which he had, juſt a year ſince, intimated the Council, by advice of them the Cardinals; the difficulties which he encountred, and overcame, in perſwading the Princes, who were of contrary opinions, to accept the Bull; his diligence in ſending preſently the Legates, and thoſe Prelates with whom he was able to prevail, either with perſwaſions, or commands, that all is already prepared by him onely, ſeven months ſince, and is ſo chargeable to him, that amongſt Officers and poor Prelates, the Apoſtolick See doth ſpend above three thouſand Crowns a month, and that experience ſheweth that delay doth bring on more expence; that the *Dutch-men* do invent ſomething every day, to oppoſe againſt this holy and neceſſary work; that Hereſies do increaſe in *France*, and ſome Biſhops are almoſt become rebellious, by making abſurd petition for the Cup; which they do with ſuch violence, that the greater number, who are good Catholicks, are forced to yield; that all Princes have appointed Embaſſadours, that there are ſo many Prelates in *Trent* already, that they are not onely ſufficient to begin the Synod, but are more than were in any of the two former Convocations thereof; and that nothing remained, but to begin, without expecting any longer. The Cardinals having conſented hereunto, and commended his reſolution, he joyned two Legates more to the three former, *Ludovicus Simoneta*, a great Canoniſt, who had paſſed through all the Offices of the Court, and *Marcus di Altemps*, his Siſters Son. He commanded the former to depart preſently, and not to tarry any where in the journey, and ſo ſoon as he came to *Trent*, to cauſe the uſual Ceremonies to be made, and the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt to be ſaid for a beginning of the Council. He ſaid afterwards that the Synod was to continue ſtill, not to terminate in ſuſpenſions, or tranſlations, as formerly it did, with notorious prejudice and danger, but to have an abſolute end. For effecting whereof, there was no need to ſpend many months, in regard the moſt important points were already determined, and the reſidue was ſo ſet in order, by Diſputations and Examinations under *Julius*, that ſcarce any thing remained but publication; ſo that all would be diſpatched in a ſhort time.

Two Preſidents more are appointed for the Council.

Simoneta arrived in *Trent* the ninth of *December*, and, at his entry, ſaw a great Fire riſe out of the Earth, which paſſed over the City like unto a falling Star, but only in bigneſs; whereof idle perſons, of which number there were many, made divers Prognoſticks, ſome preſaging good, and ſome hurt, which would be a vanity to recount. The Cardinal found Letters written after his departure, that he ſhould expect a new Commiſſion to open the Council. The Pope compelled ſome Biſhops who were at Court at the time of his departure, to go with him; ſo that the number of all, beſides the Cardinals, was 9[illegible].

The number of the Prelates in *Trent*.

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The *Nuncio* reſident in *France*, returned to *Rome* in the beginning of *December*; who having related the ſtate of that Kingdom, the Pope wrote to the Legate, that he ſhould repreſent to the King's Council, that the Council was to be celebrated for *France* only, becauſe neither *Italy* nor *Spain* had need of it, and *Germany* did refuſe it; and tell them, that therefore it did concern them to promote it; a thing neglected by them, but performed by him in regard of his fatherly affection; and that the Legates being in *Trent* already, and many of the *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Prelates, and the reſt in their journey, they ſhould immediately ſend an Ambaſſador, and their Biſhops. Beſides, he commanded the Legate to uſe all diligence to hinder the preaching and aſſembling of the Proteſtants, and to encourage the Divines, giving them *Indulgences* and *Spiritual Graces*, and promiſing them *Temporal Aſſiſtance* alſo; but that himſelf ſhould, by no means, be preſent at the Sermons of the Proteſtants, and avoid all Banquets where any of them were in company.

The Pope writeth to his Legate in *France*.

At the ſame time the *Polonian* Prelates came to *Trent*, who, having viſited the Legates, and ſhewed the devotion of their Church to the See of *Rome*, related how the *Lutherans* attempted to bring their Doctrine into that Kingdom, and the foundations which were already laid in ſome parts; to oppoſe whoſe plots the Biſhops were always to be vigilant: that they were all deſirous to aſſiſt in the Council, and to promote the common cauſe; which not being able to do, for the cauſe aforeſaid, ſo important and neceſſary, they had ſent their Proctors to give voice, as if the Prelates were preſent. And they demanded to have as many voices, as they had Commiſſions from the Biſhops, who, for lawful cauſes, could not part out of the Kingdom. The Legates anſwered in general terms, meaning to reſolve with mature deliberation: and the Pope, whom they had adviſed hereof, propoſed it in Conſiſtory; where the Cardinals, without difficulty, concurred in the negative, becauſe it was determined before that the reſolutions ſhould be made as formerly they had been, by plurality of Voices, and not by Nations. Which was the rather thought to be neceſſary, becauſe there was a fame that the *French-men*, though Catholicks, came with *Sorbonical* and *Parliamentary* minds, fully bent to acknowledge the Pope no further than they pleaſed. And it was known before, that the *Spaniards* had ſome humour to ſubject the Pope to the Council; and the Legates had often ſent advice from *Trent*, that ſome bad ambitious humours, to enlarge the Epiſcopal Authority, were diſcovered; and, in particular, the *Spaniards* did propoſe, that it was neceſſary to reſtrain the Authority of the Pope, at the leaſt ſo far as that he might not derogate from the Decrees of this Council, ſaying, that, otherwiſe, the labour and coſt would be all in vain, if, for ſmall cauſes, and ſometimes without any, he might diſpence with them, as he daily doth with all the Canons. The Cardinals ſaw no other means to oppoſe theſe attempts, but by ſending a great number of *Italian* Prelates, who, being united together, will overcome all the *Ultramontans*. And this remedy would be to no purpoſe, if the voices of the abſent were admitted. For the *Spaniards* and *French-men* would cauſe all their Biſhops to ſend Proxies, and it would be as much as to give voices, not by heads, but by Nations.

Two *Polonian* Prelates come to *Trent*.

Who deſire to have as many Voices as they have Commiſſions from the Biſhops.

Their requeſt is ſent to *Rome*, where it was rejected, for fear of dangerous conſequences.

The deſigns of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Prelates are ſuſpected.

For which cauſe the Pope reſolveth to ſend many *Italian* Prelates to *Trent*, to make a major part.

Therefore it was written to *Trent*, that they ſhould make large promiſes to the *Polonians*, but conclude, that the Council was a continuation, and the ſame which was begun under *Paulus* the Third, ſo that the orders then practiſed, and continuately kept, with good fruit, as

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did appear, muſt be ſtill obſerved; amongſt which one was, that the abſent ſhould have no voice; with which, if they did diſpence, all other Nations would pretend the like, with much confuſion; that whatſoever requeſt *Polonia* did make, for any thing that was proper to it ſelf, and would not raiſe any ſtirs in other Countries, ſhould be granted in regard of the merits of that moſt noble Nation. The *Polonians* ſeemed to be ſatisfied with the anſwer, yet pretending buſineſs at *Venice*, they departed; and returned no more.

The *Polonian* Prelates ſeem to be ſatisfied with a courteous negative, but depart, and return no more.

A Letter which the King of *Spain* wrote with his own hand, cauſed much joy in *Rome*; in which he advertiſed the Pope of the Negotiation of *Montbrun*, ſent unto him by the Queen of *France*, and of the Anſwer which he gave him, promiſing to aſſiſt his Holineſs to purge Chriſtendom of Hereſie, with all the Forces of his Kingdoms and States, and to ſend potent and ſpeedy aids to any Prince that would cleanſe his Country of that contagion. But the bad conceit which the Court had of the *French-men* was increaſed, by an Advice ſent from *Paris*, that the Parliament had, with much ſolemnity, condemned to recant one *John Tancherel*, a Batchellor of Divinity, becauſe, with intelligence of ſome Divines, he had propoſed and defended publick queſtions, that the Pope, *Vicar of Chriſt*, is Monarch of the Church, and may depriv⁊ Kings and Princes, who diſobey his commandments, of their Kingdoms, States, and Dignities; who, being accuſed, cited, and having confeſſed the fact, did fly, and the Judges, as in a Comedy, cauſed the Beadle of the Univerſity to repreſent his perſon, and to make a publick ſatisfaction, and recantation, forbidding the Divines to diſpute ſuch queſtions hereafter, making them go to the King to ask pardon for having ſuffered ſo important a matter to be diſputed on, and to promiſe to oppoſe themſelves always againſt that Doctrine. They ſpake of the *French-men* as of loſt ſheep, who denied the Authority given by *Chriſt* to St. *Peter*, to *feed the whole flock, and to looſe and bind*, which doth conſiſt principally in puniſhing the delicts which give ſcandal or offence againſt the Church in common, without difference of Prince or Subject. The Examples of the Emperours, *Henry* the Fourth and Fifth, *Frederic* the Firſt and Second, and *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, of the Kings of *France*, *Philippus*, *Auguſtus*, and *Pulcher*, were alledged; as alſo the famous ſayings of the Canoniſts in this point: they ſaid the Pope ought to cite the whole Parliament to *Rome*; and that the Concluſion of that Divine ought to be ſent to *Rome* alſo, to be examined, before any thing elſe were done, and approved, and the contrary condemned. The Pope did moderately complain hereof, and thought it better to diſſemble, becauſe, as he ſaid, the great ſore of *France* did make this inſenſible,

John Tancherel is condemned by the Parliament of *Paris* for defending in the Schools, that the Pope may depoſe Kings.

For which the *French-men* are much cenſured in *Rome*.

But the Pope diſſembleth his diſtaſte.

The Court was perſwaded, that neither Ambaſſador nor Biſhop would be ſent out of *France* to *Trent*, and diſcourſed what was fit for the Pope to do, to force them to accept the determinations of the Council, which the Pope was, by all means, reſolved to open at the beginning of the new year. He imparted this determination to the Cardinals, exhorting them to conſider, that it did not ſtand with the honour of the Apoſtolick See, nor of that Colledge, to receive rules and reformations from others, and that the condition of the times, when all cry out for reformation, not underſtanding what it is, did require, that in regard of the glorious name thereof, it ſhould not be refuſed; that, in this contrariety of Reaſons, the beſt temper was, to make, by way of prevention, or reformation of his own accord; which would

The Pope promiſeth to make a Reformation in the Court.

not ſerve to that purpoſe only, but win commendations alſo, by making himſelf an example to others; that, for this cauſe, he would reform the *Penitentiary* and *Datary*, principal members of the Court, and afterwards conſider of ſmaller matters: and he deputed Cardinals for one and the other charge. He diſcourſed of the cauſes why the opening of the Council could no longer be deferred. For it being diſcovered that the *Ultramontans* have bad ends and deſigns, to abate the abſolute power which God hath given to the Pope of *Rome*, the more time they have to think on it, the more their Plots will increaſe; and that there is danger, that, by time, ſome of the *Italians* may be gained alſo; that therefore it is the ſafeſt way to uſe expedition, and that, if the great expences which are made in maintaining the Prelates, be not quickly ended, the Apoſtolick See will not be able to bear them. Afterwards he gave the Croſs of the Legation to the Cardinal *Altemps*, with order to put himſelf in readineſs, and to be in *Trent* at the opening of the Council, if it were poſſible. The cauſe why he revoked the order, given at the departure of Cardinal *Simoneta*, to open the Council at his arrival, was the inſtance of the Emperours Embaſſadour in *Rome*, that the Embaſſadours of his Maſter might be preſent at it. But afterward having advertiſed his Holineſs, that they would be in *Trent* before the midſt of *January*, he earneſtly entreated the Marqueſs of *Peſcara*, whom the King of *Spain* had ſent Embaſſadour to the Council, to be in *Trent*, and aſſiſt at the opening of it. He ſollicited the *Venetians* alſo to ſend their Embaſſage, being careful that that ceremony ſhould paſs with reputation. Notwithſtanding, he wrote to the Legates to open the Council ſo ſoon as the Embaſſadours of the Emperour, and of the forenamed Princes, were arrived, and that if they came not by the midſt of the month, they ſhould defer it no longer. And in this conjuncture the year 1561. did end.

1561.

Pius IV.
Ferdinand.
Elizabeth.
Charles IX.

And haſtneth the opening of the Council.

1562.
Pius IV.
Ferdinand.
Elizabeth.
Charles IX.

THE HISTORY OF THE Council of Trent.

BOOK VI.

THE Legates, in conformity of that which the Pope had laſt commanded, the fifteenth of *January* made a general Congregation, in which the Cardinal of *Mantua*, as prime Legate, made a Diſcourſe, to ſhew how neceſſary and fit it was to open the Council, and exhorted the Prelates to promote ſo ſacred and pious a Work, with Faſtings, Alms, and frequent Maſſes. Afterwards the Bull of the Legation was read, dated the tenth of *March*; which was in general terms, with the uſual clauſes: that he ſent them as Angels of Peace, to preſide in the Council, which was to begin at *Eaſter*. After this, three other Briefs were read. The firſt dated the fifth of *March*, and was a faculty to the Legates to give leave to the Prelates and Divines to read, during the time of the Council, Books prohibited. The ſecond dated the three and twentieth of *May*, that the Legates ſhould have faculty to abſolve thoſe who would ſecretly abjure for cauſe of Hereſies. The third was dated the laſt of *December*, in which the Pope, to take away all controverſie which might happen between the Prelates about Precedency, doth command, that the Patriarchs ſhould have the firſt place; the Archbiſhop the ſecond, and the Biſhops the third, regarding only the time of the promotion, not the dignity of the See, or of the Primacy, whether true or pretended.

A general Congregation is held the 15th of *April*; in which two great Controverſies did ariſe.

This being read, Fryar *Bartholomew de Martiri*, Archbiſhop of *Braga* in *Portugal*, exclaimed that the Council ſhould begin with doing injury to the principal Churches of Chriſtendom, ſaying, That his See, which had the Primacy of *Spain*, ſhould, by this ſentence, be made inferiour, not only to three Archbiſhopricks, ſubject unto him, but alſo to the Archbiſhop of *Roſano*, who hath no Suffragan, and to the

One about precedence of the Prelates.

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the Archbiſhops of *Niſſia* and *Antinari* who have not any reſidency, and ſcarce any Chriſtians to govern; that it is not equitable to make one Law for ones ſelf, and another for others, and to pretend the preſervation of ones own right, and to deprive others of theirs. He ſpake ſo earneſtly, that the Legates were troubled, and did hardly pacifie him, though they cauſed a Declaration to be written, that the Popes meaning, and theirs was, that no man ſhould gain or loſe any right by that Decree, neither in property, nor in poſſeſſion; but that every Primate, whether true or pretended, ſhould, after the Council, remain in the ſame ſtate in which he was before. The Archbiſhop being with much ado appeaſed, the other *Spaniards* made requeſt, that the opening of the Council might be declared to be a continuation of that which was begun under *Paul*, and proſecuted by *Julius*, leſt any one might cavil, that it was a new Council. The Biſhop of *Zante*, who had been in *Germany*, and knew how that action would be calumniated, and how diſtaſtful to the Emperour, replyed, that as the things already determined ought not to be queſtioned, but held as decided, ſo to declare ſo much now without neceſſity, would cut off all hope from the Emperour and *French* King to find ſuch a conjuncture, as that the Proteſtants would ſubmit themſelves to the Council, and aſſiſt in it. The Legates, eſpecially *Mantua* and *Varmienſe*, did ſecond the opinion of the Biſhop with many diſcourſes, & much was ſpoken on both ſides very bitterly, and the *Spaniards* ſaid they would proteſt and return: yet, after many conſultations, they finally agreed to deſiſt from their inſtance, not to oppoſe the Emperour, the *French* King, the *Dutch-men* and *French-men*, nor to give matter of complaint to the Proteſtants, ſo that no words were uſed to ſignifie it was a new Council, or to prejudice the continuation. The Cardinals promiſed in the Popes name, that his Holineſs would confirm whatſoever was done in *Trent*, in the two precedent Councils, though this were diſſolved without concluſion. The *Spaniards* were content: and after long diſcourſing, it was concluded, that a form of words ſhould be uſed, to ſignifie, that the Council did begin to be celebrated, all ſuſpenſion being removed; which though they were ambiguous, and might be drawn to contrary ſenſes, yet being ſufficient to compoſe the preſent difference, they were received; and they concluded to open the Council the next *Sunday*, being the eighteenth of the Month. In the end the Cardinal propoſed, that the Council being begun, the Prelates ſhould frequent the publick Chappels in the time of Maſs, and that there ſhould be many Latin Sermons, which being to be made ſometimes by men that know not what doth befit the time, place, and auditory, that it were good to depute a Prelate, who, as Maſter of the holy Palace in *Rome*, ſhould review that which was to be ſpoken, and ſo the Sermon to be repeated, according to his cenſure. The Propoſition pleaſed them all; and *Egidius Foſcararus*, Biſhop of *Modena*, was appointed to peruſe every Sermon, and whatſoever elſe was to be delivered in publick.

Another whether this Convocation of the Council ſhould be a continuation of the old, or a new Council.

A Decree for opening the Council.

The Biſhop of *Modena* is appointed to peruſe whatſoever is to be delivered in publick.

The Congregation being diſſolved, the Legates, by the help of their inward Friends, began to frame the Decree, and did conceive it in the form agreed on; and obſerving divers Treaties amongſt the Prelates, while they were idle in *Trent*, to propoſe ſome one Proviſion, ſome another, all tending to enlarge the Authority of the Biſhops, and diminiſh that of *Rome*, they thought to remedy all in the beginning, before the humour began to ſtir, by decreeing, that none but the Legates, might propoſe any matter to be diſcuſſed. They ſaw

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the propoſition was hard, and foreſaw contradiction; therefore they thought it neceſſary to uſe much Art, that it might be received ſweetly, and at unawares. The Negative, that none ſhould propound, ſeemed hard and ſharp; and the affirmative, that the Legates ſhould propound, which did virtually only, and not plainly contain an excluſion of others, did pleaſe better, covering all with a pretence of keeping order, and giving time of deliberation to the Synod. The Decree was ſo artificially made, that, even at this preſent, one muſt be very attentive, if he will diſcover the ſenſe, and it is impoſſible to underſtand it at the firſt; which I will rehearſe in vulgar, in plain terms; but he that will ſee the Artifice, let him read it in *Latin.*

Why the Legates deſire to make a Decree that none ſhould propoſe any thing in Council, but themſelves.

Therefore in conformity of the reſolution, when the eighteenth day was come, a Proceſſion was made of the whole Clergy of the City, of the Divines and Prelates, who, beſides the Cardinals, were one hundred and twelve, that did wear *Miter,* accompanied by their Families, and by many Country people armed going from Saint *Peters* Church, to the Cathedral; where the Cardinal of *Mantua* ſang the Maſs of the Holy Ghoſt, and *Gaſparo del Foſſo,* Archbiſhop of *Rheggio,* made the Sermon. His Subject was the Authority of the Church, Primacy of the Pope, and the Power of Councils. He ſaid, that the Church had as much Authority as the Word of God; that the Church hath changed the Sabbath, ordained by God, into *Sunday,* and taken away Circumciſion, formerly commanded by his Divine Majeſty, and that theſe Precepts are changed, not by the preaching of *Chriſt,* but by the Authority of the Church. Turning himſelf to the Fathers, he exhorted them to labour conſtantly againſt the Proteſtants, being aſſured that, as the Holy Ghoſt cannot err, ſo they cannot be deceived. And the *Veni Creator Spiritus* being ſung, the Secretary, who was Biſhop of *Tileſi,* read the Bull of the Convocation, before alledged; and the foreſaid Archbiſhop interrogated the Decree for the opening the Council, ſaying, Fathers, doth it pleaſe you that the general Council of *Trent* ſhould be celebrated from this day, all ſuſpenſion whatſoever being removed, to handle, with due order, that which ſhall ſeem fit to the Synod, the Legates and Preſidents propoſing to remove the Controverſies of Religion, correct Manners, and reconcile the Peace of the Church? They anſwered, *Placet.* Only four Prelates contradicted that part, *Proponentibus Legatis:* which words I repeat in *Latin,* becauſe they muſt be often mentioned, in regard of the great Controverſies and Diſputes which followed. The Contradictors were *Peter Guerrero,* Archbiſhop of *Granata, Franciſco Bianco,* Biſhop of *Orenſe, Andreas della Queſta,* Biſhop of *Leon, Antonio Colermero,* Biſhop of *Almeria.* They ſaid they could not conſent, becauſe they were new words, never uſed in any Council, and demanded that their voices might be regiſtred in the Acts of the Council. No anſwer was given them, and the next Seſſion was intimated for the ſix and twentieth of *February.* The Speaker of the Council required all the *Notaries* and *Protonotaries* to make one or more Inſtruments of the things aforeſaid; and ſo the Seſſion ended.

The ſolemnities of the firſt Seſſion, in which the Council was opened.

The words *Proponentibus Legatis,* were much queſtioned.

The Legates adviſed the Pope of what happened in the Congregation, and Seſſion, who imparted it to the Conſiſtory. In which many were of opinion, in regard of theſe firſt difficulties, that the Council would not proceed well, eſpecially conſidering the obſtinate contradiction of the *Spaniſh* Biſhops not fit to compoſe the differences of Religion, although the Legates and Biſhops of *Italy* ſhould uſe Art,

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and unity in temporizing and overcoming them. The Pope commended the wiſdom of the Legates, that they had prevented, as he ſaid, the temerity of the Innovators; and was not diſpleaſed with the oppoſition of four, becauſe he feared a greater number; he exhorted the Cardinals to reform themſelves, ſeeing they had to do with unreſpectful perſons, giving order that the other *Italian* Biſhops ſhould be ſollicited to depart. And he wrote to *Trent*, that they ſhould maintain the Decree firmly, and put it in execution, without relenting one jot.

Which the Pope will have to be maintained by all means.

In *France* the Queen of *Navarre*, Prince of *Conde*, Admiral, and Dutcheſs of *Ferrara*, having many Months made requeſt, that places ſhould be allowed to thoſe of the new Religion, for the Sermons and Ceremonies, and all theſe, and many Grandees' more, even in the Court it ſelf, making profeſſion thereof, the inferiour Reformatiſts, emboldened hereby, did aſſemble themſelves apart, which the Catholicks not being able to ſupport, very dangerous popular tumults were raiſed in many parts of the Kingdom, with ſlaughter on both ſides; which were cheriſhed by the Nobility of the Catholicks, envying that the *Hugonot* Princes, gaining a popular train, ſhould exceed them. Two divers tumults were raiſed by Sermons; one in *Dijon*, and the other in *Paris*; notorious not only for the death of many, but alſo for the rebellion againſt the Magiſtrates; which made the King's Council reſolve to ſeek a remedy; and, that it might be fitted to the whole Kingdom, the Preſidents of all the Parliaments were called, and a number of Counſellors elected to deliberate with maturity what was beſt to be done. The ſeventeenth of *January*, all theſe being aſſembled in Saint *German*, the Chancellor declared in the King's Name, that they were called to conſult how to remedy the ſtirs raiſed in the Kingdom. He made a recapitulation of all the things that happened, adding, that the differences of Religion ſhould be referred to the Prelates, but when the Peace of the Kingdom, and keeping of the Subjects in obedience to the King is in queſtion, that this could not belong to the Eccleſiaſticks, but to thoſe whom the King would appoint to conſult of it. That he had ever commended *Tullie*, who was wont to blame *Cato*, that, living in a moſt corrupt age, was ſo ſevere and rigid in his determinations, as if he had been a Senator in *Plato* his Common-wealth. That Laws were to be fitted to the time and perſons, as the ſhoo to the foot. Then this particular was then to be conſulted of, whether it were good ſervice for the King to permit or prohibit the Congregations of the Proteſtants; wherein they were not to diſpute which Religion was the better, becauſe they took not in hand to frame a Religion, but to put in order a Republick; and that it was not abſurd to ſay, that many might be good *Citizens*, and not good *Chriſtians*, and that thoſe who were of divers Religions might live in peace.

Tumults in *France* about Religion.

In conſulting hereof the opinions were divers: but they prevailed who thought that the Edict of *July* was to be remitted in part, and the Proteſtants to have leave to preach. At the making of the Edict, which contained many points, the Cardinals of *Borbon*, *Tornon*, *Chaſtillon* were preſent, as alſo the Biſhops of *Orleans* and *Valence*. That the Proteſtants ſhould reſtore the Churches Poſſeſſions, and other Eccleſiaſtical Goods uſurped. That they ſhould forbear to beat down Croſſes, Images, and Churches, upon pain of death. That they ſhould not aſſemble themſelves to preach, pray, or adminiſter the Sacraments in publick or in private, by day or by night, within the City. That the Prohibitions and Puniſhments of the Edict of *July*, and all others made

made before ſhould be ſuſpended. That they ſhall not be moleſted in their Sermons made out of the City, or hindred by the Magiſtrates, who ought to protect them from injury, chaſtiſing the Seditions on both ſides. That none ſhall ſcandalize another for Religion, or uſe contumelious words of faction. That the Magiſtrates and Officers may be preſent at the Sermons and Congregations. That they ſhall not make Synods, *Colloquies*, or Conſiſtories, but with leave, and in preſence of the Magiſtrate. That they ſhall obſerve the Laws for Feaſts, and degrees prohibited for Marriage. That the Miniſters ſhall be bound to ſwear to the publick Officers, not to offend againſt this Edict, nor to preach any Doctrine contrary to the *Nicene* Council, and the Books of the New and Old Teſtament. The Parliament could hardly be brought to accept of this Edict. Therefore the King did command again, that it ſhould be publiſhed, adding, that it was to be underſtood to be made by way of proviſion, until the determinations of the General Council were divulged, or the King ordain otherwiſe, not meaning to allow two Religions in his Kingdom, but that only of the holy Mother the Church, in which himſelf and his Predeceſſors have lived. The Parliament being not agreed for all this, the King commanded, that laying aſide all delays and difficulties, the Ordination ſhould be publiſhed. And ſo it was the ſixth of *March*, with this clauſe, that the Parliament did verifie the Kings Letters to obey him, conſidering the ſtate of the times, not to approve the new Religion, but only by way of proviſion, until it be otherwiſe ordained by the King.

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For appeaſing of which, an Edict is made; *March* 6.

But to return to *Trent*; in the Congregation held the ſeven and twentieth of *January*, the Legates made three Propoſitions. The firſt, to examine the Books written by divers Authors, ſince the Hereſies began, together with the cenſures of the Catholicks againſt them, to determine what the Synod ſhould decree concerning them. The ſecond, that all that are intereſted in that matter, ſhould be cited by Decree of the Synod, leſt they complain that they have not been heard. The third, that a ſafe conduct ſhould be given to thoſe who are fallen into hereſie, with a large promiſe of great and ſingular clemency, ſo that they will repent, and acknowledge the power of the Catholick Church. And order was given that the Fathers, having conſidered on the Propoſitions, ſhould deliver their Opinions in the next Congregation, as well how to examine, with eaſe, the Books and Cenſures, as concerning all the reſt. And Prelates were deputed to examine the *Mandates* and Excuſes of thoſe who pretended they could not come to the Council.

Three Propoſitions in the Congregation of the 27th of *January*.

This place doth require a relation of the beginning of prohibiting Books, and with what progreſs it was come to that ſtate in which it then was, and what new order was then taken. In the Church of Martyrs there was no Eccleſiaſtical prohibition, though ſome godly men made Conſcience of reading bad Books, for fear of offending againſt one of the three points of the Law of God, to avoid the contagion of evil; not to expoſe ones ſelf to temptation, without neceſſity or profit; and not to ſpend time vainly. Theſe Laws, being natural, do remain always, and ſhould oblige us to beware of reading bad Books, though there were no Eccleſiaſtical Law for it. But theſe reſpects ceaſing, the example of *Dionyſius*, Biſhop of *Alexandria*, a famous Doctor, did happen, who about the year of our Lord 240. being reprehended by his Prieſts for theſe cauſes, and troubled with theſe reſpects, had a Viſion that he ſhould read all Books, becauſe was he able to judge of

A diſcourſe of the Author concerning the prohibition of Books.

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them. Yet they thought there was greater danger in the Books of the Gentiles, than of the Hereticks, the reading whereof was more abhorred and reprehended, becauſe it was more uſed by Chriſtian Doctors for a vanity of learning Eloquence. For this cauſe St. *Hierom*, either in a viſion, or in a ſleep, was beaten by the Devil; ſo that about the year 400. a Council in *Carthage* did forbid to read the Books of the Gentiles, but allowed them to read the Books of the Hereticks; the Decree whereof is amongſt the Canons collected by *Gratian*. And this was the firſt prohibition by way of Canon: but there are others, by counſel of the Fathers, to be regulated according to the Law of God, before recited. The Books of Hereticks, containing Doctrine condemned by Councils, were often forbid by the Emperours for good government. So *Conſtantine* forbad the Books of *Arrius*; *Arcadius* thoſe of the *Eunomians*, and *Manichees*, *Theodoſius* thoſe of *Neſtorius*; *Martianus* thoſe of the *Eutycheans*; and in *Spain* the King *Ricaredus*, thoſe of the *Arrians*. It ſufficed the Councils and Biſhops to ſhew what Books did contain damned or Apocryphal Doctrine. So did *Gelaſius* in the year 494. and went no further, leaving it to the Conſcience of every one to avoid them, or read them to a good end. After the year 800. the Popes of *Rome*, as they aſſumed a great part of the politick government, ſo they cauſed the Books, whoſe Authors they did condemn, to be burned, and forbad the reading of them. Notwithſtanding, one ſhall find but few Books forbid in that ſort, until this age. A general prohibition of reading Books containing Doctrine of Hereticks, or ſuſpected of Hereſies, upon pain of Excommunication, without any further ſentence, was not uſed. *Martinus* 5. doth in a Bull excommunicate all the Sects of Hereticks, eſpecially *Wigleſiſts*, and *Huſſites*, not mentioning thoſe who read their Books, though many of them went about. *Leo* the tenth condemning *Luther*, did withal forbid all his Books, upon pain of Excommunication. The Popes following, in the Bull called *In Cœna*, having condemned and excommunicated all Hereticks, did excommunicate thoſe alſo who read their Books: and in other Bulls againſt Hereticks in general, did thunder the ſame cenſures, againſt the readers of their Books. This did rather breed a confuſion. For the Hereticks not being condemned by name, one was to judge of the Books more by the quality of the Doctrine, than by the name of the Authors, wherein divers men being of divers opinions, many ſcruples of conſcience did ariſe. The *Inquiſitors* being more diligent, made Catalogues of thoſe whom they knew, which not being conferred, were not ſufficient to remove the difficulty. *Philip* King of *Spain*, was the firſt that gave a more convenient form, in the year 1558. making a Law, that the Catalogue of Books prohibited by *Inquiſition*, ſhould be printed.

According to this example, *Paul* 4. alſo ordained, that an *Index* ſhould be compoſed by that Office, and printed; and ſo it was in the year 1559. in which they did proceed many ſteps further than formerly they had done, and laid foundations to maintain and make great the Authority of the Court of *Rome*, by depriving men of that knowledge which is neceſſary to defend them from uſurpations. Until that time they contained themſelves within the terms of the Books of the Hereticks, neither was there any Book forbidden, if the Author were not condemned. This *Index* was divided into three parts. The firſt containeth the names of thoſe, all whoſe works, of what Argument ſoever, though profane, are forbidden: and in this number are placed not only

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thoſe who have profeſſed Doctrine, contrary to that of *Rome*, but many alſo which lived and dyed in the profeſſion thereof. The ſecond containeth the names of the Books which are particularly condemned, others of the ſame Authors not being condemned. In the third, ſome Books are condemned without a name, but only by a general rule, that all thoſe are forbidden which bear not the names of the Authors, written after the year 1519, and many Authors and Books are condemned which for 300, 200 and 100 years have been commonly read by the learned in the Church of *Rome*, with the knowledge, and without the contradiction of the Popes of thoſe times; and, amongſt the Moderns, ſome of thoſe which were printed in *Italy*, even in *Rome*, with approbation of the *Inquiſition*, and allowed alſo by the Briefs of the Pope himſelf, are forbidden; as the Annotations of *Eraſmus* upon the New Teſtament: which *Leo* the tenth having read, approved by his Brief, dated in *Rome*, *September* 10. 1518. But it is a thing conſiderable above all, that under colour of Faith and Religion, Books are prohibited and condemned, with the ſame ſeverity, in which the authority of Princes and Temporal Magiſtrates is defended from the uſurpations of the Clergy; and of Councils and Biſhops; from the uſurpations of the Court of *Rome*; in which hypocriſies or tyrannies are manifeſted, by which the people, under pretence of Religion, are deceived. In ſum, a better myſtery was never found, than to uſe Religion to make men inſenſible. That *Inquiſition* went ſo far, that it made a Catalogue of 62 Printers, and prohibited all Books printed by them, of what Author, Art, or *Idiome* ſoever; with an addition of more weight; that is, and Books printed by ſuch Printers who have printed Books of Hereticks; ſo that there ſcarce remained a Book to be read. And for the height of rigour, the prohibition of what Book ſoever contained in that Catalogue, was upon pain of Excommunication, *latæ ſententiæ*, reſerved to the Pope, deprivation and incapacity of Offices and Benefices, perpetual Infamy, and other arbitrary puniſhments. Concerning this ſeverity, remonſtrance was made to this Pope *Pius*, who referred the *Index* and all the matter to the Council, as hath been ſaid.

The Annotations of *Eraſmus* upon the New Teſtament, read and approved by *Leo* 10. are forbidden to be read.

Touching the Articles propoſed there were divers opinions. *Ludovicus Becatelli*, Archbiſhop of *Raguſi*, and Fryar *Auguſtin Selvago*, Archbiſhop of *Genua*, thought that no good effect could proceed from handling the matter of Books in Council, yea, that it would rather hinder the concluſion of that for which the Council is principally aſſembled. For *Paul* 4. by the counſel of all the *Inquiſitors*, and of many famous men, who ſent him advice from all parts, made a moſt compleat Catalogue, to which nothing can be added, except ſome Book come forth within theſe two years, which deſerveth not the labour of a Synod. But he that would allow any that are prohibited in that collection, would ſhew that they have unadviſedly proceeded in *Rome*, and ſo would take away all reputation from the *Index* already publiſhed, and from the Decree it ſelf which they would make; it being a common *maxime*, that new Laws do remove eſtimation more from themſelves, than from the old. Beſides (ſaid *Becatelli*) there is no need of Books, the world hath too many already, eſpecially ſince printing was invented: and it is better to forbid a thouſand Books without cauſe, than permit one that deſerveth prohibition. Neither were it fit the Synod ſhould be troubled with rendring the cauſes of the prohibitions, making cenſures, or approving thoſe which are already made in divers places

The opinion of the Archbiſhop of *Raguſi*, and of *Genua*, concerning the *Index*.

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by the Catholicks. For it would be to call for contradiction. It belongeth to a Doctor to give a reason of his saying; a Law-maker if he do it, doth diminish his authority, because the subject doth wrestle with the reason alledged, and when he thinketh he hath resolved it, he thinketh also that he hath taken all vertue from the precept. Neither is it good to correct or purge any Book for the same causes, for fear of making men say that something is omitted that deserved, and something changed that did not deserve correction. Moreover, the Synod would incur the displeasure of all that are affectionate to the Books prohibited, and would induce them not to receive the other necessary Decrees, which shall be made. He concluded, that, the *Index* of *Paul* being sufficient, he thought it not fit to take pains in vain in doing of that anew, which is done already, or undoing that which is done well. Many other reasons were alledged in confirmation of this opinion, by many Bishops, Creatures of *Paul* 4. admirers of his wisdom in managing the Ecclesiastical Discipline, who maintained, that it was necessary to preserve, yea, to augment the rigour instituted by him, if they would preserve the purity of Religion.

The opinion of *John Thomaso S.Felicio.*

John Thomaso S. Felicio, was of a contrary opinion; that the Council should treat again of Books, as if there had been no precedent prohibition; because that, being made by the *Inquisition* of *Rome*, is odious, for the name, to the *Ultramontans*, and besides it is so rigid that it cannot be observed; and nothing doth more easily bring a Law into disuse, than the impossibility or great difficulty in keeping it, and the great rigour in punishing the transgressours; he said that, indeed, it was necessary to preserve the reputation of that Office, but that might be done conveniently enough, by making no mention thereof, and by ordaining only things necessary, and moderate punishments. And therefore his opinion was, that all consisted in setting down the manner, and spake what himself thought to be the best; that is, that the Books not already censured should be divided amongst the Fathers and Divines of the Council, and those that were absent also, to be examined and censured, and that a great Congregation should be deputed, to judge between the Censure and the Book; and that this also should be observed in those which are censured already, and then all should be proposed in the General Congregation, to Decree that which was best for the publick good. For, citing the Authors, he said there were two sorts of them; some separated from the Church, and some incorporated in it; of the former no account is to be made, seeing that, by their separation, they have, as Saint *Paul* saith, condemned themselves, and their own works, so that there is no cause to hear them; of the others, some are dead, and some alive; of which the latter are to be cited and heard, because their good name and honour being in question, one cannot proceed against their works, before the hearing of their reasons. Concerning the dead, whatsoever the publick good doth require may be done, without danger of offending any. Another Bishop added to this opinion, that the same form of justice, used towards the Catholicks alive, should be used also towards those that are dead, because they have kindred and scholars, who do participate of the fame or infamy of the dead, and are therefore interested; and in case there were none such, yet the only memory of the dead cannot be judged, before it be defended.

Some also did think it was not just to condemn the works of Protestants, without hearing them. For howsoever the persons be condemned

demned by themſelves, yet the Laws do not permit the declaratory, without citation, though in a notorious fact; and therefore it cannot be pronounced againſt a Book, though it doth notoriouſly contain Hereſie. Fryar *Gregory*, General of the *Hermites*, ſaid, he did not think it neceſſary to obſerve ſo many ſubtilties. For the prohibition of a Book, is as the prohibition of a meat, which is not a ſentence againſt it, nor againſt him that hath prepared it, but a precept to him that is to uſe it, made by him who hath the charge of his health; therefore the credit of the Victualer is not in queſtion, but the benefit of the ſick, who is forbid to eat of a meat that is hurtful to him, though, in it ſelf, it may be good. So the Synod, as a Phyſician, ought to forbid that which is hurtful or dangerous to the faithful; wherein none will receive wrong. For howſoever the Book may be good in it ſelf, yet peradventure it may not agree to the infirmity of the minds of this age. Many other conſiderations did paſs, which were finally reſolved into one of theſe.

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Concerning the third Article, to invite the Hereticks to repentance with promiſe of clemency, and grant of a ſafe-conduct, there were divers opinions, even amongſt the Legates themſelves. *Mantua* was for a general pardon, ſaying, that many would be gained thereby, and that it was a remedy uſed by all Princes, in ſeditions, or rebellions, to pardon thoſe whom they cannot overcome, becauſe, by that means, thoſe that are leaſt faulty, do retire, and the others remain more weak; and although but few were gained, or but one only, yet it was to be done, that though none at all could be gained, yet it would be great gain to uſe and ſhew clemency. *Simoneta* ſaid, that this would be dangerous for the ruin of others, becauſe many are induced to tranſgreſs, when they ſee it is eaſie to get a pardon, and that rigour, though it be hard to him that feeleth it, doth keep many in their duty; that it is ſufficient to ſhew clemency to him that deſireth it, but to carry it after him that doth not demand, or doth refuſe it, doth make men more careleſs of themſelves; and hereſie will be thought to be but a ſmall fault, when men ſee it is ſo eaſily pardoned. In theſe two opinions the Prelates were divided; and thoſe who did not approve the Safe-conduct, ſaid, it was not given to any in the firſt Convocation of this Council, which would have been done if it had been neceſſary or convenient, becauſe the Pope that ſate then was moſt wiſe, and the Legates the chiefeſt of the Colledge; that it was given in the ſecond Convocation, becauſe *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*, and other Proteſtants did deſire it, and the Emperour alſo in their behalf: but now it being demanded by none, *Germany* ſaying aloud, and proteſting that it doth not hold this Council to be lawful, a Safe-conduct would but give them matter, to make ſome bad expoſition of the Synods meaning. The *Spaniſh* Prelates would by no means conſent to a general Safe-conduct, becauſe it would prejudice the *Inquiſition* of *Spain*, in regard, ſo long as that laſted, every one might profeſs himſelf to be a Proteſtant, and make himſelf ready for the Voyage, and could not be arreſted by that Office. The Legates thought the like might happen to the *Inquiſition* of *Rome* and *Italy*. All being conſidered, concerning the *Index*, it ſeemed ſufficient for that preſent to make Deputies, and to let thoſe that were intereſted underſtand, by ſome little part of the Decree, that they ſhould be heard, and invite all to the Council; and, for the Safe-conduct, to refer themſelves, in regard of the difficulties, to a further conſideration.

The Legates and Prelates are divided concerning the general Safe-conduct.

The reſolution of the general Congregation concerning the *Index*, and Safe-conduct.

While theſe things were handled, the Pope's Nephew, Cardinal *Altemps*,

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Altemps, the fifth Legate, came to *Trent*, and withal the news of the Edict of *France* before rehearſed: which put them all into a confuſion, that Princes ſhould permit, by publick Decree, thoſe Novities which the Council was then aſſembled to condemn. The next day *Antonius Miglicius*, Archbiſhop of *Prague*, Ambaſſadour for the Emperour, was received in a general Congregation, and his *Mandate* read. The Archbiſhop made a long Oration, reſerving the reſidue to Maſter *Sigiſmond Tonn*, his Majeſties ſecond Ambaſſadour, who was to come. The Synod anſwered, that they were very glad to ſee the Emperour's Ambaſſadours, and that they did admit his *Mandate*. The Ambaſſadour would have preceded the Cardinal *Madruccio*, alledging the reaſons and pretenſions of *Don Diego*, in the firſt Council; but by the Legates anſwer, who told him how that buſineſs was ended, he was ſatisfied, and ſate below.

The Emperour's Ambaſſador is received in Congregation.

The *Portugal* Ambaſſador is received, and a Doctor, who came with him, maketh an Oration.

The ninth of this Month *Ferdinandus Martinez Maſcarenius*, Ambaſſadour of *Portugal*, was received, and the King's Letter of Credence and Mandate read. A Doctor that came with him made a long Oration; in which he ſhewed the benefit which the Church reapeth by Councils, and the neceſſity of this preſent, the croſſes which it formerly endured, and how the wiſdom of Pope *Pius* hath now overcome them. He ſaid the authority of Councils was ſo great, that their Decrees were to be received, as Divine Oracles; that the King hoped that the differences of Religion ſhould be decided in that Council, and the manners of the Clergy directed to Evangelical ſincerity; that therefore he promiſed all obedience, whereof the Biſhops arrived already, and thoſe who were to come, could give teſtimony; he ſhewed the Piety and Religion of thoſe Kings, and the pains they have taken to ſubject ſo many Provinces to the government of the Apoſtolick See; of which heroically pious works they might expect an imitation in King *Sebaſtian*. He ſet forth, in few words, the Nobility and Vertue of the Ambaſſadour, and finally prayed the Fathers to hear him, when he ſhould ſpeak in the behalf of the Churches of that Kingdom. The Speaker briefly anſwered, that the Synod was well pleaſed with the King's Mandate, and his Oration, and that the Piety and Religion of his Majeſty and of his Anceſtors was generally known, and their glory conſpicuous, for maintaining the Catholick Religion in that Kingdom in theſe turbulent times, and ſpreading of it in places far remote: for which the Synod did give thanks to God, and receive the King's Mandate with due reſpect.

The Emperour's ſecond Ambaſſador is received in Congregation.

In the Congregation of the eleventh, the other Ambaſſadour of the Emperour preſented himſelf: who was received without much ceremony, becauſe the Mandate had been read before, ſo that there was time to treat of Conciliary matters; whereof ſomething being ſpoken, liberty was given to the Legates to elect Fathers to conſider of the *Index*, and others to frame the Decree, againſt the Seſſion. For the burning of the Books, Cenſures, and *Index*, the Legates named the Ambaſſadour of *Hungary*, the Patriarch of *Venice*, four Archbiſhops, nine Biſhops, one Abbot, and two Generals.

The Emperour's Ambaſſadors make five requeſts to the Legates.

The thirteenth the Emperour's Ambaſſadours came to the Legates, and made five requeſts; which they left in writing, that they might conſider on them. That the word *Continuation* ſhould not be uſed, becauſe it would make the Proteſtants refuſe the Council. That the next Seſſion ſhould be deferred, or at the leaſt, matters of ſmall weight handled. That the Confeſſioniſts ſhould not be exaſperated in the beginning,

beginning, by condemning their Books. That a large ſafe conduct ſhould be given to the Proteſtants. That whatſoever was handled in the Congregations, ſhould be concluded, which hitherto had been divulged, even to the common people. And having offered all favour and aſſiſtance in the Emperour's name, they added, that they had order from his Majeſty, that if they were called by their moſt Reverend Lordſhips, they ſhould give their advice in matters of the Council, and employ his Authority to favour them. 1562. *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX.

To whom the Legates anſwer.

The Legates anſwered the ſeventeenth day, that it being neceſſary to give ſatisfaction to all, as they would not name the *Continuation* at their requeſt, ſo, not to provoke the *Spaniards*, it was neceſſary to abſtain from the contrary; that they would ſpend the next Seſſion in general and light matters, and allow a long time for others; that they would not then condemn the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*; that they would not then ſpeak of the Books of the *Confeſſioniſts*, but would make the *Index* in the end of the Council; that a large ſafe conduct ſhould be given to the *Germans*, when it was decided whether it ſhould be given to them apart, or together with other Nations; that they would take a good courſe for ſecrecy, and impart unto them whatſoever they ſhall handle, being aſſured of the Emperour's good affection, and that the Embaſſadours are correſpondent to the Piety and Religion of their Maſter.

The Biſhop of five Churches, the Emperour's third Embaſſadour, is received in Congregation.

George Droſcovitius, Biſhop of the five Churches, the Emperour's third Embaſſadour, who came to *Trent* the month before, preſented his *Mandate* in the general Congregation, the four and twentieth of *February*, and made an Oration, in which he enlarged himſelf in the praiſes of the Emperour, ſaying, that God had given him to theſe times, to provide againſt ſo many miſeries; he compared him to *Conſtantine*, in favouring the Church; ſhewed what pains he had taken for the Convocation of the Council, and that having obtained it, he had, before all other Princes, ſent Embaſſadours, two for the Empire, Kingdom of *Bohemia* and *Auſtria*, and himſelf for the Kingdom of *Hungary*. He preſented his *Mandate*, and thanked the Synod for giving him place fitting the quality of an Embaſſadour, before they ſaw the purpoſe of his Embaſſage. The Decree was made in general terms, and read, as well to ſatisfie the *Imperialiſts*, as becauſe the matter was not well digeſted.

Which being done, *Mantua* gave a modeſt and grave admonition to the Fathers, to keep ſecret what was handled in the Congregations, as well to avoid oppoſition, as becauſe things are held in greater reputation and reverence when they are not known to all. Beſides, that it would be diſhonourable for that Aſſembly, if any thing were publiſhed (as might happen often) without convenient circumſpection, and fit ſeemlineſs. He added, that there was no Colledge or Council, Secular or Eccleſiaſtical, ſmall or great, which had not its ſecrets, to be obſerved by Oath, or upon Penalties: but that Synod conſiſting of wiſe men, ought not to be tyed, but by the bonds of their own judgment; that, in ſaying thus, he ſpake no more to the Fathers, than to his Colleagues, and to himſelf, every one being obliged to admoniſh himſelf in every thing that is ſeemly. Then he ſpake of the difficulty of the Safe conduct, and exhorted every one to think exactly of it, ſaying, That if it could not be determined before the Seſſion, an addition ſhould be made to the Decree, that it might be granted in Congregation. This was agreed on amongſt the Legates, becauſe having diſcovered the difficulty, eſpecially in regard of the *Inquiſition* of *Rome* and *Spain*, they had written whatſoever had been ſpoken as well concerning this point, as the *Index*, and expected an anſwer from *Rome*.

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Where the Pope was in a rage for the Edict of *France*, and impatient becauſe they did nothing in the Council. He ſaid, it was not good that the Biſhops ſhould be long out of their Reſidency, eſpecially to handle ſuperficially points already decided in other Councils; he had formerly ſuſpected the *Spaniſh* Prelates, and did it then much more, becauſe he thought their ill affection was increaſed, for giving the King leave to ſell four hundred thouſand Crowns of yearly Rent of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues for ten years, and thirty thouſand Crowns of the Revenues of Lands held in Vaſſalage of the Church: which ſeemed to be a great diminution of the greatneſs of the Church of *Spain*.

An Embaſſadour is ſent out of *France* to give the Pope an account of the ſtate of the Kingdom.

Lewis St. *Gelais*, Lord of *Lanſac*, ſent out of *France* expreſly to give the Pope an account of the State of the Kingdom, came to *Rome*, and ſaid, that the King ſeeing the great care of his Holineſs concerning the Council, had elected for his Embaſſadour to that place *Monſieur di Candalle*, and cauſed four and twenty Biſhops to go thither, of whom he gave him a Liſt. He related what had happened in *France* ſince the death of *Francis*, and the neceſſity to proceed with moderation, as well becauſe their Forces were not ſufficient to uſe rigour, as alſo becauſe (if they had been) they ſhould have embrewed themſelves in the bloud of the greateſt of the Nobility, which would have aliened the whole Kingdom, and brought all matters to a worſe eſtate; and that the King had no hope but in the Council, in which all Nations, even the Germans themſelves, would aſſiſt. For Religion being eſtabliſhed in *Germany*, he did not doubt to do the like in *France*, but thought it impoſſible to make thoſe who will not be preſent in the Council, to accept the Decrees thereof; and that the *French* Proteſtants cannot be ſeparated from the *Dutch*. Therefore he entreated his Holineſs, that to give them ſatisfaction, only for the ſecurity of the place, and form of proceeding, he would be pleaſed to yield unto them, in regard of the great benefits which would enſue.

To whom the Pope anſwereth.

The Pope anſwered, firſt concerning the Council, that from the beginning of his Papacy, he was reſolved to call it; that he hath been hindered by the Emperour and King of *Spain*, both which notwithſtanding, have at this preſent Embaſſadours and Prelates there; that none remain but the *French-men*, who have moſt need of the Council; that he hath omitted nothing to invite the *Dutch* Proteſtants, even with the indignity of that See; that he will continue, and will give them what ſecurity they can require; that he thought it not honeſt to ſubject the Council to their diſcretion, and that if they refuſed to come, eſpecially having been invited, they ought to proceed without them. But, for the things done in *France*, he briefly ſaid he could not commend them, and prayed God to pardon the Authors of ſo great inconveniences.

A Treaty in *France* about a concord in Religion.

And the Pope would have paſſed thoſe bounds, if he had known what was in doing in *France* at the ſame time, when *Lanſac* made relation unto him of what had been done. For, the fourteenth of *February*, the Queen gave order in S. *German*, that the Biſhops of *Valence* and of *Seez*, and the Divines, *Butiglier*, *Eſpenſeus*, and *Picorellus*, ſhould conſent what might be done for a beginning of concord; who propoſed the points following. That it ſhould be abſolutely forbidden to make an Image of the holy Trinity, or of any perſon not named in the Martyrologies, accepted by the Church. That the Images ſhould not have any crowns or garments put upon them, or vows or oblations made unto them, nor ſhould be carried in proceſſion, except the ſign of the holy Croſs; wherewith the Proteſtants ſeemed to reſt content, howſoever concerning

concerning the ſign of the *Croſs* they made ſome reſiſtance, ſaying, that *Conſtantine* was the firſt which did propoſe it to be worſhipped, contrary to the uſe of the ancient Church. But *Nicholaus Magliardus*, Dean of the *Sorbon*, together with other Divines, did oppoſe and defend the adoration of Images, though he confeſſed there were many abuſes in it. In the ſame month the King of *Navarre* wrote to the Elector *Palatine*, the Duke of *Wittenberg*, and *Philip* of *Haſſia*, that howſoever they could not agree in the Colloquy of *Poiſi*, nor in this laſt about Images, yet he would ſtill labour to reform Religion, not ſo, as to trouble the publick quiet of the Kingdom, but bringing it in by little and little. 1562. *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. The King of *Navarre* writeth to the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany.*

At the ſame time the Duke of *Guiſe* and Cardinal of *Lorain*, went to *Taverne*, a Caſtle belonging to the Biſhop of *Strasburg*, and there met *Chriſtopher* Duke of *Wittenberg*, with ſome Miniſters of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*. They were together three days; and thoſe of *Guiſe* expounded to the Duke what favour was done to the *Auguſtan Confeſſion* in the *Colloquy* of *Poiſi*, and the difficulty which the Reformatiſts of *France* did make in accepting it, deſiring that *Germany* would joyn with them to hinder the Doctrine of *Zuinglius*: not that the amendment of Religion (which they much deſired) might be delayed, but that a peſtiferous poiſon might not take root, not only in *France*, but in *Germany* alſo. This they did, that, the War now approaching, they might more eaſily have aſſiſtance, or at the leaſt, that it might be denied to their Enemies. This Parly begot great ſuſpicions in *Rome*, *Trent*, and *France*. The Cardinal and his Adherents juſtified themſelves, that it was for the good of *Chriſtendom*, to have the favour of the Proteſtants of *Germany* againſt the *Hugonots* of *France*. And there was a fame, that the *Cardinal* did truly deſire an union in Religion with *Germany*, and that, as he deteſted the *Confeſſion* of *Geneva*, ſo he inclined to that of *Ausburg*, and deſired to ſee it planted in *France*. It is certain, that after the Council of *Trent* was ended, he ſaid, he had formerly believed that *Confeſſion*, but that afterwards he was ſatisfied with the determination of the Council, and thought that all good Chriſtians ought to do the like. Concerning the Sermons publickly made in *France*, though there were ſeditions in many places, which did hinder the increaſe of the Reformatiſts, yet there were then 2150 Aſſemblies, which were called *Churches*. A Parly between the *Guiſards* and the Duke of *Wittenberg*. 2150 Reformed Churches in *France*.

The ſix and twentieth of *February* being come, the Seſſion was held in *Trent*. *Antonius Helius*, Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, ſaid Maſs, and *Antonius Coccus*, Archbiſhop of *Corfu*, made the Oration. When the Maſs was ended, the *Mandates* of Princes being to be read, there grew a queſtion between the Embaſſadours of *Hungary* and *Portugal*, each pretending that his ſhould firſt be read, as of the more eminent King: There was no difficulty in the Precedence of the Embaſſadours themſelves, becauſe that of *Portugal*, as a ſecular, ſate at the right ſide of the Temple, and the other, as an Eccleſiaſtick, at the left. The Legates having conſulted hereof, ſaid, that the *Mandates* ſhould be read in the order as they were preſented, not according to the dignity of the Princes. The Popes Brief, referring the matter of the *Index* to the Council, was read alſo. This *Index* had been made in *Rome* by *Paul* the Fourth, as hath been ſaid, with which if the *Council* had meddled, it might have ſeemed to challenge ſuperiority above the Pope. Therefore they thought fit that the Pope ſhould voluntarily give leave, to prevent that prejudice. The Maſs-Patriarch read the Decree, the ſubſtance whereof was: That the Synod, meaning to reſtore the Catholick Doctrine to its purity, The Seſſion *February* 26. A queſtion between the Embaſſadours of *Portugal* and *Hungary* about the precedency of their Maſters. The Decree concerning the *Index*.

1562. *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX.

and correct manners, in regard the number of pernicious and ſuſpected Books was increaſed, becauſe the cenſures made in divers Provinces, and *Rome*, have done no good, hath determined to depute ſome Father to conſider hereof, and to relate to the Synod, in time convenient, what they think fit to have done more, to ſeparate the Cockle from the good corn, to remove all ſcruples out of mens minds, and to take away all cauſe of complaints; ordaining that this ſhould be publiſhed with that Decree, that if any have intereſt in the buſineſs of the Books and Cenſures, or any other to be handled in Council, he may know and be aſſured that he ſhall be courteouſly heard. And becauſe the Synod doth heartily deſire the peace of the Church, that all may acknowledge their common Mother, it doth invite all who do not communicate with her, to reconciliation and concord, and to come to *Trent*, where they ſhall be embraced with all offices of charity; and further, hath decreed that a ſafe conduct may be granted in a General Congregation, and ſhall be of the ſame force and ſtrength, as if it had been granted in publick Seſſion. The Decree being read, the title whereof was, *Of the holy Oecumenical general Synod, lawfully aſſembled in Chriſt*, the Archbiſhop of *Granata* required that theſe words (*repreſenting the Univerſal Church*) ſhould be added, as hath been obſerved in all the latter Councils. *Antonius Peragues*, Archbiſhop of *Caglieri*, made the ſame requeſt; and theſe two were followed by almoſt all the *Spaniſh* Prelates, deſiring that this requeſt might be noted in the Acts. No anſwer was made, but, for concluſion, the next Seſſion was appointed to be the 14th of *May*.

The Title of the Council is queſtioned.

The Decree is cenſured.

The Decree was printed, not only becauſe it was the cuſtom, but becauſe it was made of purpoſe to be publiſhed to all; and it was cenſured by all ſorts of perſons. It was demanded how the Synod did call thoſe, who were intereſted in the things which were to be handled in the Council, if they were not known; and ſaid, that formerly all things were handled beſides expectation, and who could propheſie what the Legates would propoſe, becauſe they knew not themſelves, ſtill expecting Commiſſions from *Rome*. Thoſe who were intereſted in any Book, how could they know that any thing would be ſpoken againſt it? The generality of the Citation, and incertainty of the Cauſe, might induce every one to go to *Trent*, becauſe every one hath intereſt in ſome particular, which might perhaps be treated on. It was concluded generally, that they were called in ſhew, and excluded in deed. Notwithſtanding, theſe things which they could not praiſe, they commended the ingenuous confeſſion of the Synod, that the former prohibitions had begot ſcruples in mens minds, and given cauſe of complaints. In *Germany* that part was ſuſpected, where the Synod giveth authority to it ſelf, to give a ſafe conduct in a general Congregation. For they underſtood not any difference, in regard the ſame perſons met in both Aſſemblies, but only that they did wear *Miters* in the Seſſions, and *Caps* in the Congregations; nor why, if the ſafe conduct could not then be granted, they could not make a Seſſion expreſly for it. In ſum, they thought that there was ſome great myſtery covered in it, howſoever the moſt underſtanding men did believe that the Synod was aſſured that no Proteſtant would come to *Trent*, with any ſafe conduct whatſoever, except it were by force, as it happened in the year 1552. becauſe of the revolution of *Charles*; a thing which could no more be put in practice.

The Pope wrote back to the Legates, that the Hereticks ſhould not be invited to repentance with promiſe of pardon; becauſe, it having been done by *Julius*, and another time by *Paul* the Fourth, no good iſſue came of

of it. Amongſt the Hereticks, thoſe who are in a place of liberty will not accept it, and thoſe who remain where the *Inquiſition* hath power, if they fear to be diſcovered, will receive the pardon fainedly to ſecure themſelves of that which is paſt, with purpoſe to do worſe more warily. For the Safe-conduct, he was content it ſhould be given to all who are not under the *Inquiſition*; but ſo, as that the exception ſhould not be expreſſed; in regard that when *Julius* granted his pardon, except only to thoſe who were ſubject to the Inquiſitions of *Spain* and *Portugal*, much was ſpoken againſt it, and it paſſed with ſmall reputation, as if the Pope had not the ſame power over that *Inquiſition*, as over others. But for the manner of expreſſing it, he did refer it to the Synod. For the form, he commended that which the Council gave to *Germany* in the year 1552. in regard that was ſeen already, and that ſo many Proteſtants came that year to *Trent*, upon that ſecurity. Concerning the *Index*, he ordained that the Deputies ſhould proceed, until an occaſion were offered to make a publick Decree without the oppoſition of any Prince.

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The Pope's anſwer to the Legates.

The anſwer being come, the ſecond of *March*, and the day following, Congregations were held, to reſolve whether the general pardon ought to be publiſhed, and a ſafe conduct granted, and what form was to be given to the one and the other; and the fourth day, after long diſputations, all was concluded, the Legates having made the determination fall where they aimed, without intereſting the Popes authority. To invite the Hereticks to repentance was omitted, for the reaſons alledged in *Rome*. It was much diſputed, whether a ſafe Conduct was to be given by the name of the *French*, *Engliſh*, and *Scottiſh* men; and ſome ſpake of the *Greeks*, and other Nations of the Eaſt. It was preſently ſeen that theſe poor men, afflicted in ſervitude, could not, without danger and aſſiſtance of money, think of Councils; and ſome ſaid, that there being a diviſion of the Proteſtants, it was good to let them alone, and not to name them, alledging that it was dangerous to move in a body ill humours, which were at quiet. To give a ſafe conduct to *Engliſh men*, which neither they nor any of them do require, would be a great indignity. They were content it ſhould be given to the *Scots*, becauſe the Queen would demand it, but ſo, as that the demand ſhould firſt be made. For *France*, there was a doubt made whether the Kings Counſel would take it well or not, becauſe it would be thought to be a declaration that the King had Rebels. Of *Germany* none could doubt, becauſe it had been formerly granted to them; and if it were granted to that Nation alone, it would ſeem that the others were abandoned. Many thought fit to grant it abſolutely to all Nations; but the *Spaniards* did oppoſe, and were favoured by the Legates, and others who knew the Popes mind, to the great indignation of thoſe who thought that an inference might be made that the Council was not above the *Inquiſition* of *Spain*. In the end all difficulties were reſolved, and the Decree framed with three parts. In the firſt a ſafe conduct was given to the *Germans*, juſt word by word, as it was made in the year 1552. In the ſecond, it was ſaid, that the Synod doth give ſafe conduct in the ſame form and words as it was given to the *Dutch-men*, to every one who hath not communion of faith with her, of every Nation, Province, City and place where any thing is preached, taught, or believed, contrary to that which is believed in the Church of *Rome*. In the third, it was ſaid, that although all Nations do not ſeem to be comprehended in

The Decree of the ſafe conduct.

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in that extention, which hath been done for certain reſpects, yet thoſe who repent, and return to the boſom of the Church, are not excluded, of what Nation ſoever they be; which the Synod deſireth ſhould be publiſhed to all. But becauſe it muſt be maturely conſulted on, in what form the ſafe-conduct muſt be given them, they have thought fit to defer that point until another time, thinking it ſufficient, for the preſent to provide for the ſecurity of thoſe who have publickly abandoned the Doctrine of the Church. The Decree was preſently printed, as was fit, it being made only to be publiſhed. Yet the Synod did not keep promiſe, to conſult of the form of the ſafe conduct, to be given to thoſe of the third kind, and in printing of the body of the Council this third part was left out, leaving it to the ſpeculation of the world, why they did promiſe to provide for thoſe alſo, and publiſh it in print, with a deſire to have all men know it, and afterwards not to do it, and labour to conceal that, which then they did deſire to manifeſt.

The Emperours Embaſſadours ſollicited the Legates to make the Reformation, and to write to the Proteſtants, exhorting them to come to the Council, as was done to the *Bohemians*, in the time of the Council of *Baſil*. The Legates anſwered, that for theſe forty years, all, both Prince and People, have deſired Reformation, yet never any part thereof was handled, but themſelves did croſs and hinder it, ſo that they have been conſtrained to abandon the work; but now they will endeavour to make a general Reformation of all Chriſtendom, but for one particularly for the Clergy of *Germany*, which doth moſt need it, and which the Emperour doth principally expect, they ſaw not how they could make it, ſeeing that the *Dutch* Prelates were not come to the Council: and for writing to the Proteſtants, in regard they have anſwered the Popes *Nuncii* with ſuch exorbitant unſeemlineſs, they could not but expect that they would make a worſe anſwer to the Letters of the Synod.

Twelve Articles to be diſcuſſed.

The eleventh of *March* the Legates propoſed twelve Articles in the general Congregation, to be ſtudied and diſcuſſed in the next Congregations.

1. What proviſion might be made, that Biſhops and other Curates may reſide in their Churches, without being abſent, but for cauſes juſt, honeſt, neceſſary, and profitable for the Catholick Church.

2. Whether it be expedient, that none be ordained but unto a title of ſome Benefice, in regard many Deceits are diſcovered which ariſe from Ordination to a title of the Patrimony.

3. That nothing be received for Ordination, either by the Ordainers, or their Miniſters, or Notaries.

4. Whether it ought to be granted to the Prelates, that in the Churches where there are no daily diſtributions, or ſo ſmall as that they are not eſteemed, they may convert one of the Prebends to that uſe.

5. Whether great Pariſhes, which have need of many Prieſts, ought to have many titles alſo.

6. Whether ſmall Benefices with Cure, which have not a competent Revenue for the Prieſt, ought to be reformed, making one of many.

7. What proviſion is to be made concerning Curates ignorant, and of a bad life, whether it be fit to give them Coadjutors, or able Vicars, aſſigning them part of the Revenues of the Benefice.

8. Whether power ought to be given to the Ordinary to incorporate

rate into the Mother-Churches, ruinated Chappels, which for poverty cannot be rebuilt. 1562.

9. Whether it ought to be granted to the Ordinary, that he may viſit Benefices held in *Commenda*, though they be regular. *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.*

10. Whether ſecret Marriages which ſhall be contracted hereafter, ought to be made void. *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX.

11. What Conditions ought to be aſſigned, that a Marriage may not be eſteemed ſecret, but contracted in the face of the Church.

12. What proviſion ought to be made concerning the great abuſes cauſed by the Pardoners.

After theſe the point following was given to the Divines to be ſtudied, and diſcuſſed in a Congregation appointed for that only. One Article more concerning clandeſtine Marriages.

Whether, as *Evariſtus*, and the *Lateran* Council have declared, that clandeſtine or ſecret Marriages are reputed not good, both before the Judge, and in eſtimation of the Church, ſo the Council may declare that they are abſolutely void, and that ſecrecy ought to be put amongſt the impediments, which do make a *Nullity* in the marriage. In the mean ſpace, it being diſcovered that the Proteſtants of *Germany* did treat a League, and make ſome levies of Souldiers, the Emperour wrote to *Trent*, and to the Pope alſo, that the Council might ſurceaſe, until it did appear whither the motion did tend. For this cauſe, and becauſe of Holy-days the reſidue of this month was ſpent in Ceremonies only. The Proteſtants of *Germany* treat a League and raiſe Souldiers.

The ſixteenth day *Franciſcus Ferdinandus d' Avalos*, Marqueſs of *Peſcara*, Embaſſadour of the Catholick King, was received in a general Congregation; and his *Mandate* being read, an Oration was made on his name, the ſubſtance whereof was, That the Council being the only Remedy for the Evils of the Church, *Pius* the Fourth hath, upon good reaſon, thought it neceſſary in theſe times; in which *Philip*, King of *Spain*, deſired to have been perſonally preſent, to give example to other Princes: but becauſe he cannot, he hath ſent the Marqueſs, to aſſiſt and favour it as much as poſſibly he can, knowing that howſoever the Church is defended by God, yet ſometimes it hath need of the aſſiſtance of man. That the Embaſſadour doth not think it needful to exhort the Synod, knowing their incredible and almoſt divine Wiſdom; that he ſeeth good foundations laid already, and the things now treated on, managed with art, which doth mitigate and exaſperate; ſo that hoping that their future actions will be correſpondent, he will only promiſe all good offices, endeavours and favours from the King. The *Speaker* anſwered, in the Councils name, That the coming of an Embaſſadour from ſo great a King, had given courage and hope of the Synod, that the Remedies which it ſhall uſe for the Evils of Chriſtendom, will be profitable, therefore it doth embrace his Majeſty with all good affection, thanketh him, offereth to requite his Merits, and to do whatſoever it can for his honour, and doth, as it ought, receive the *Mandate*. In the Congregation of the 18. the Embaſſadour of *Coſmo*, Duke of *Florence* and *Siena*, was received; who, after his *Mandate* was read, made an Oration; in which he ſhewed at large the affinity of his Duke with the Pope, exhorted the Fathers to purge the Church, and declare the light of the Truth taught by the Apoſtles, offering all poſſible aſſiſtance from his Duke, as he had done before to the Pope, for preſervation of the Majeſty of the See of *Rome*. The Speaker thanked him in the Synods name, and having made reverent Commemoration of *Leo* the Tenth, and *Clement* the Seventh, The *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour is received, and an Oration is made in his name. The anſwer of the Speaker. The Embaſſadour of *Florence* is received, and maketh an Oration.

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Seventh, added, that they were aſſembled only for this end, and thought of nothing but of compoſing all diſſention, chaſing away the darkneſs of ignorance, and manifeſting the truth.

The Embaſſadours of the Catholick *Suiſſes* are received.

Melchior Luſi, Embaſſadour of the Catholick *Suiſſes*, and *Joachimus Propoſtus*, an Abbot, in the name of the Abbots, and other Eccleſiaſticks of that Nation, were received in the Congregation of the 20. in whoſe name an Oration was made to this purpoſe. That the Conſuls of the ſeven Cantons, in regard of their filial duty towards the Church, have ſent Embaſſadours to aſſiſt in the Council, and to promiſe obedience, and to make known to all, that they do not yield to any in their deſire to aſſiſt the See of *Rome*, as formerly they have, in the times of *Julius* 2. and *Leo* 10. as alſo when they fought with the Neighbour *Cantons*, for the defence of Religion, ſlaying *Zuinglius*, the moſt wicked Enemy the Church had, whoſe body they fought amongſt the dead, and burnt it, to teſtifie that they ought to have irreconcileable War with the other *Cantons*, ſo long as they continue to be out of the Church, in regard they are ſituated at the Confines of *Italy*, as a Caſtle to reſiſt the Northern evil, that it cannot penetrate within the bowels of that Country. The Synod anſwered by the *Speaker*, that the piety and good deeds of the *Helvetians* towards the Apoſtolick See, were many and great, but no obedience or office more opportune than the Embaſſage ſent, and the offer made to the Synod; that they were glad of the coming of the Embaſſadours, and had, beſide the protection of the Emperour, Kings, and Princes, much confidence in that famous Nation.

The Orators of the Clergy of *Hungary* are received.

In the Congregation of the ſixth of *April*, *Andreas Dudicius*, Biſhop of *Tinia*, and *Johannes Colloſarinus*, of *Canadia*, Orators of the Clergy of *Hungary*, were received. The firſt made an Oration, and ſaid, that the Archbiſhop of *Strigonium*, the Biſhops and Clergy, had received great joy for three things; for the aſſumption of *Pius* 4. to the Papacy, for the Convocation of the Council of *Trent*, and for the deputation of the Apoſtolical Legates to reſide in it. He ſhewed the obſervance of the Prelates towards the Catholick Church, and called the Cardinal of *Varmia* for a witneſs thereof, who did know them, and converſed with them; he expounded the Devotion of the *Hungarians*, and the ſervice they do to all Chriſtendom, in maintaining War againſt the *Turks*, and the particular diligence of the Biſhops, in oppoſing the Plots of the Hereticks. He related the common deſire of them all to be preſent in the Council, if their preſence had not been neceſſary at home, to defend their Caſtles againſt the *Turks*, who are at their Confines, and to keep watch againſt the Hereticks; ſo they being forced to perform this duty by them in their Orators, they recommended themſelves to the protection of the Council, offering to receive and obſerve whatſoever ſhould be decreed by it. The Secretary anſwered in the Councils name, that the Synod was aſſured of the joy which the *Hungarians* conceived for the celebration of the General Council; that they ought to pray God for the happy iſſue of it; that they deſired to have ſeen the Prelates in perſon, but ſeeing they are hindred by the cauſes proved by the Cardinal of *Varmia*, it doth accept their excuſe, hoping that Chriſtian Religion will receive profit by their preſence in their own Churches; and the rather, becauſe they have recommended their actions to them the Orators, being honeſt and religious Fathers, and therefore that they do embrace both them and their *Mandates*.

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In the Congregations daily held from the ſeventh day until the 18th the Fathers ſpake of the four firſt Articles, but very confuſedly of the firſt, concerning Reſidence. Of thoſe who aſſiſted in the firſt Council, when this point was handled, which was done with ſome difference, or rather controverſie, there were but five Biſhops in this, and yet, at the firſt propoſing hereof, they preſently divided themſelves into parts, as remembring the ancient contention; which happened in no other queſtion, neither at that time nor in the time of *Julius*, nor at this preſent. Some ſay the cauſe was, for that the other diſcuſſions, being Theological, were not well underſtood, and were handled ſpeculatively by the learned, without any paſſion, but of hatred againſt the Proteſtants, who did trouble them, by ſetting on foot thoſe queſtions. But this touched the Prelates in their own perſons. The Courtiers were moved with ambition, or obliged to follow that opinion, which was moſt commodious for their Patrons. Others were carried away with envy, who not hoping to raiſe themſelves to that height in which the Courtiers were, deſired to pull them lower, and ſo to become equal. In this Article every one laboured according to his paſſion, and kept a ſtrict account of his own voice, delivered in the Congregations, and of all the voices of others, which were any way remarkable. Of this number 34 came into my hands, in that form as they were delivered, and of the others I have underſtood the concluſion only: but here nothing is to be related but that which is of note.

The Article of Reſidence is ſet on foot again, and cauſeth a contention.

The Patriarch of *Jeruſalem* ſaid, That this Article had been handled, and diſcuſſed in the firſt Council, and concluded, that, to cauſe reſidence, there are two proviſions: One, to conſtitute puniſhments for thoſe who do not reſide; another, to remove the impediments which do hinder reſidency. The firſt was fully ordered in the ſixth Seſſion, neither can any thing be added, in regard the loſs of half the Revenues is a very great pecuniary puniſhment, than which a greater cannot be impoſed, without making the Biſhops beggars. If the contumacy be exceſſive, there can be no greater puniſhment, except deprivation; which requiring one to execute it, which muſt needs be the Pope, in regard the ancient uſe of the Church was, to reſerve to that See the hearing and determining of the cauſes of Biſhops, that ſixth Seſſion referred it to his Holineſs to find a remedy, either by means of a new proviſion, or otherwiſe, and bound the Metropolitan to adviſe him of the abſence. For the ſecond they began to make proviſion, and in that and other Seſſions, many decrees were made; to take away many exemptions, which hindred the Biſhops to exerciſe their charge. Therefore it now remaineth only to continue, and to remove the reſidue of the impediments, electing a certain number of Fathers, as then was done, to make collection of them, that they may be propoſed, and provided for.

The Suffrage of the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem* concerning Reſidence.

The Archbiſhop of *Granada* added, that a more potent and effectual remedy was propoſed in that Council; that is, that the obligation of Reſidence was by the Law of God, which was handled and examined ten months together; and that if that Council had not been interrupted, it would have been decided as a neceſſary, yea, as a principal Article of the Doctrine of the Church, and was then not only diſcuſſed, but the reaſons uſed by divers were put in print alſo, ſo that the matter is prepared and digeſted, and nothing now remaineth, but to give it perfection. When it ſhall be determined that Reſidency is *de jure Divino*, all hindrances will ceaſe of themſelves; the Biſhops underſtanding

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ſtanding their duty, will think on their own conſcience; they will not be reputed Hirelings, but Paſtors, who knowing that the Flock is given to them by God, to whom they muſt make an account, without laying the fault on others, and being aſſured that diſpenſations will neither ſave nor help them, they will apply themſelves to perform their duty. And he proceeded to prove, with many authorities of the New and old Teſtament, and Expoſition of the Fathers, that this was the Catholick truth. This opinion was approved by the major part of the Congregation, the maintainers whereof laboured to bring Authorities and Reaſons.

Is approved by the major part.

And rejected by others.

Others did reject it, and ſaid it was new, never defended, neither by Antiquity, nor by this Age before Cardinal *Cajetan*, who ſet the queſtion on foot, and maintained that part, which notwithſtanding he did abandon in his old age, becauſe he took a Biſhoprick, and did never reſide; that the Church hath ever held, that the Pope might diſpenſe; that Non-reſidents have always been puniſhed, and reprehended as tranſgreſſors of the Canons only, and not of the Law of God; that, indeed, it was diſputed in the firſt Council, but the diſputation was held to be ſo dangerous by the Legates, men of great wiſdom, that they did cunningly cauſe it to be buried in ſilence; that this example ought to be followed, and that the Books which have been written ſince, have given great ſcandal to the World, and made known, that the diſputation proceeded from partiality. For the authorities of the Scripture and Fathers, they are only exhortations to perfection, neither is there any ſubſtantial proof but out of the Canons, which are Eccleſiaſtical Laws.

Some held opinion, that there was neither place, nor time, nor opportunity to handle that queſtion, and that no good could come by the determination of it, but danger of many inconveniencies; that the Council was aſſembled to extirpate Hereſies, not to make Schiſm among the Catholicks, which would happen by condemning an opinion, followed, if not by the greater part, yet by one half at the leaſt; that the Authors of that opinion have not invented it for truths ſake, but the more to urge men to reſide, with ſmall ground of Reaſon, in regard that the Laws of God are not more diligently obſerved than the Laws of the Church; that the Precept for keeping of *Lent* is more ſtrictly obſerved, than thoſe of the Decalogue; that if to confeſs and communicate at *Eaſter* were commanded by God, more would not do it than now do; that to ſay Maſs with *Copes* is an Eccleſiaſtical Law, and yet no man doth tranſgreſs it; he that doth not obey the penal commands of the Cannons, will tranſgreſs much more when he feareth only the juſtice of God: neither will any Biſhop be moved with that determination, but it will give occaſion to plot Rebellions againſt the Apoſtolick See, to reſtrain the Popes authority, and (as ſome have been heard to whiſper) to depreſs the Court of *Rome*; that ſhe was the ornament of the Clergy, which is reſpected in other places, only in regard of it; that if it ſhould be depreſſed, the Church would everywhere be leſs eſteemed; and therefore that it was not fit to handle ſuch a buſineſs, without imparting it to his Holineſs and College of Cardinals, to whom it doth principally belong.

The Laws of the Pope are more ſtrictly obſerved than the Laws of God.

The opinion of *Paulus Jovius*, Biſhop of *Nocera*, is not to be omitted; who ſaid in ſubſtance. That certainly the Council was aſſembled to cure a great wound, which is the deformation of the Church, the cauſe whereof, as all are perſwaded, is the abſence of the Prelates from their

The Suffrage of *Paulus Jovius*, Biſhop of *Nocera*.

their Churches; which being affirmed by all, is perhaps not ſufficiently conſidered by any. But it is not the part of a wiſe Phyſician to take away the cauſe before he be well aſſured that the removing of it will not cauſe greater diſeaſes. If the abſence of Prelates hath been the cauſe of the corruptions, there will be leſs deformation in thoſe Churches where they have reſided. The Popes, for theſe hundred years, have continually ſate in *Rome*, and uſed all diligence to inſtruct the people: yet we do not ſee that that City is better governed than others. The great capital Cities of Kingdoms are moſt out of order, where the Prelates have always reſided; on the contrary, ſome poor Cities, which have not ſeen a Biſhop in an hundred years, are leſs corrupted; that amongſt the ancient Prelates here preſent, who have continually reſided in their Churches, of which number there are ſome, not one can ſhew that his Dioceſs is better than the next, which have continued without a Biſhop. If any ſay, they are a Flock without a Shepherd, let him conſider that not Biſhops only, but Pariſh Prieſts alſo have cure of Souls, and that there are mountains which having never ſeen Biſhops, may be a pattern to Epiſcopal Cities. That the zeal and care of the Fathers of the firſt Council is to be commended, and imitated, who, by penalties, have incited the Prelates to remain in their own Churches, and begun to remove the impediments which did hinder them; but they were deceived if they did hope that this reſidency would be a ſufficient Reformation; yea, they ought to fear, that as reſidency is now required, ſo poſterity, ſeeing the inconveniences that ariſe from thence, will deſire their abſence. That they ought not to make ſuch ſtrong bonds as cannot in time of need be looſed, ſuch as *Jus Divinum* would be, which they now begin to alledge, 1400 years after Chriſt. Where there is a pernicious Biſhop, as was that of *Collen*, he will defend himſelf by this Doctrine, in not obeying the Pope, when he ſhall cite him to give an account of his actions, or keep him afar off, that he may not cheriſh the evil. He added, that he ſaw that the Prelates who were of the contrary opinion had a good zeal but did believe alſo that ſome of them would be content to make uſe of it, to withdraw themſelves from the Popes obedience, which the ſtricter it is, the more it doth hold the Church united. He put them in mind alſo, that whatſoever they do herein, will turn to the favour of Pariſh Prieſts alſo, to withdraw themſelves from obedience to their Biſhops. For the Article being thus expounded, they will make uſe of it, and ſay, that the Biſhop cannot remove them from their Churches, nor reſtrain their authority by reſervations, and, being Paſtours immediately ſent by God, they will pretend that the Flock doth more belong to them, than to the Biſhop, and no anſwer can be made againſt it. And as hitherto the Government of the Church hath been preſerved by means of the *Hierarchy*, ſo this will cauſe a *Popularity*, and an *Anarchy*, which will deſtroy it.

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John Baptiſta Bernard, Biſhop of *Aiace*, who though he believed that reſidency was *de jure divino*, yet thought it not fit to ſpeak of that queſtion, delivered a ſingular ſpeech, ſaying; That, not aiming to eſtabliſh one opinion more than another, but only ſo to enforce reſidency, as that it may be really executed, he thought it vain to declare from whence the obligation came, or whatſoever elſe, and that it was ſufficient only to remove the cauſe of abſence; which is, that Biſhops do buſie themſelves in the Courts of Princes; and in the Affairs of the World, being Judges, Chancellours, Secretaries, Counſellours, Treaſurers, and there are but few Offices of State into which ſome Biſhop hath

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not insinuated himself. This is forbidden by S. *Paul*, who thought it necessary that a Souldier of the Church should abstain from secular Employments. Let Gods command be executed, and then forbidden to take any charge, office, or degree, ordinary or extraordinary, in the affairs of the world; and then there being no cause for them to remain at Court, they will go to their residency, of their own accord, without command or penalty, and will not have any occasion to depart from thence. In conclusion, he desired that the Council would constitute, that it should not be lawful for Bishops or others, who have cure of Souls, to exercise any Secular Office or Charge.

Is opposed by the Bishop of five Churches, the Emperors Ambassador.

The Bishop of Five-Churches, the Emperours Ambassador, opposed and said, that if the words of S. *Paul* were to be understood according to the sense which was given them, the whole Church was to be condemned, and all Princes, since the year 800, until now, for that for which they principally deserve to be commended, these in giving, and those in accepting temporal Jurisdictions; which also have been exercised by the Popes, and by Bishops placed in the Catalogue of Saints. The best Emperours, Kings of *France*, *Spain*, *England*, and *Hungary* have ever had their Councils full of Prelates, all which must be condemned, if Gods precept do forbid them to exercise those charges. He that thinketh *Paul* his command doth comprehend Ecclesiastical persons only, is deceived: For it is directed to all faithful Christians, who are the Souldiers of Christ, and inferreth, that as the worldly Souldier doth not busie himself in the Arts by which life is maintained, because they are repugnant to his profession, so the Souldier of Christ, that is, every Christian, ought to abstain from those things which are repugnant to Christian profession, which are sins only; but whatsoever may be done without sin, is lawful for every one. The Prelates that serve in those Affairs, cannot be reprehended, except it be said that they are sins. The greatness of the Church, and the esteem the world maketh thereof, proceedeth most from Ecclesiastical Dignities, placed in persons of Nobility and of great blood, and from Prelates exercised in charges of importance; which if they should be incompatible to the Clergy, no person nobly descended would enter into that Order, no Prelate would be esteemed, and the Church would consist only of people basely born, and living basely. But on the contrary, the good Doctors have ever maintained, that those Statutes are against Ecclesiastical liberty, which exclude from publick administrations Ecclesiastical persons, to whom they belong by right of birth; as also the prohibitions that publick charges cannot be given to Priests. This was heard with applause of all the Prelates, even of those who thought that residence was *de jure Divino*; so potent are the affections of men, that sometimes they suffer them not to discern contradictions.

Who gaineth an applause.

A brief discourse of the Author concerning ordination to the title of the Patrimony.

Of the other Articles a light discussion only was made, yet something was said worth the noting. For the second, for prohibiting Ordinations to the title of the Patrimony, it is certain, that since the Church was constituted and established, and necessary Ministries deputed in it, no man was ordained, in the good times of it, but unto some proper Ministry. But this good use was quickly turned into an abuse. For in regard of the exemptions of divers, and of other worldly respects, and because the Bishops desired to have a great Clergy, they ordained whosoever came unto them for it. Therefore this sort of Ordination was forbidden in the Council of *Chalcedon*, which was then called absolute, or loose, (for so the Greek word doth properly signifie)

commanding

commanding that none ſhould be ordained but unto a particular charge, and that the looſe ordinations ſhould be nullified, and made void. This was afterwards confirmed by the Canons, ſo that this rule remained as a Maxim, eſtabliſhed in the Church, that no Man could be ordained without a title; and in the ancient and good times, by a title was underſtood a charge, or Miniſtry to be exerciſed. But after that corruptions were entertained, a title was taken for a Revenue to live upon, and that which was conſtituted to this end, that amongſt the Clergy no perſon might be idle, was thus transformed, that no perſon might want, and be forced to work for his living. and the true ſenſe of the Canons being covered by this interpretation, *Alexander* the Third did eſtabliſh it in his *Lateran* Council, ſaying, that none ſhould be ordained without a title, by which he may receive proviſion, neceſſary for his life, with this exception, if he had no inheritance of his own, or from his Father; which would be very reaſonable if a title were required only to maintain life. For this cauſe many, ſhewing they had a Patrimony, by falſe proofs, were ordained, others, after they were ordained to a true patrimony, did aliene it; and others, borrowing a ſufficient patrimony until they were ordained, did afterwards reſtore it to him that had lent it; ſo that there were many Poor Prieſts, and many inconveniencies cauſed, which required that proviſion ſhould be made for them.

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This Article being propoſed to the Synod, there were divers opinions. Some ſaid, that it being eſtabliſhed that reſidency is *de jure Divino*, and every one exerciſing his charge, the Churches will be perfectly ſerved, and there will be no need of Clergy-men not beneficed, or of ordinations to the title of patrimony or any other, and all inconveniences will be remedied. For there will be no idle perſon in the Clergy, from whom innumerable miſchiefs and bad examples do come, there will be no beggar, nor any force to uſe baſe Trades. They ſaid that no reformation was good, but that which did reduce things to their beginning; that the primitive Church did continue many years in perfection, and that the integrity thereof could by this means only be reſtored. There was another opinion, that none ſhould be denyed to take holy Orders, who, for honeſty or ſufficiency, did deſerve them, although they were poor, alledging that the poor were not excluded in the Primitive Church, which did not diſlike that Clerks and Prieſts ſhould live by their labour, by the example of S. *Paul* the Apoſtle, and of *Apollo* the Evangeliſt, who lived by making Pavilions. And after that Princes became Chriſtians, *Conſtantius* the Son of *Conſtantine*, gave in his ſixth Conſulſhip, a priviledge to the Clergy, that they ſhould not pay any Subſidy for that which they did traffick in Shops and Workhouſes, becauſe they gave ſome of their gains to the Poor. The inſtruction of S. *Paul* to the Faithful was obſerved, that they ſhould labour in honeſt Works, that they might have whereof to give to the Poor. They ſaid that an idle and wicked life was unſeemly in the Clergy, becauſe it gave ſcandal; but to live of ones labour was honeſt, and tended to edification; and if any were forced to beg becauſe of ſickneſs, it was no ſhame, no more than to the Fryers who hold it for a glory to be accounted Beggars; that it was not a Chriſtian propoſition, that to labour to live by ones hands, to beg in caſe of impotency, was undecent to the Miniſters of *Chriſt*, and that nothing was unſeemly but vice. And if any thought that want was cauſe of theft, or other ſins, he ſhall find, when he thinketh better on it, that theſe be ſins

In which point divers opinions are delivered in Council.

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of the rich rather than of the poor, and that avarice is more impotent, and untamed, than poverty, which, being always buſie, doth take away occaſions of doing ill. An honeſt man and a poor man are compatible, but not an honeſt man and an idle man. The great benefit which the Church militant in this world, and that which is in Purgatory doth receive by Maſſes, celebrated by poor Prieſts, and not by rich, is beſt written and preached; of which number if none were, the faithful living, and the Souls of the dead would be deprived of great ſuffrages; that it were better that a ſtrict order ſhould be made, that perſons of honeſty and ſufficiency ſhould be ordained without a title, ſeeing that now the cauſe doth ceaſe for which Antiquity forbad it, which was, for that thoſe who had titles, labouring in their Eccleſiaſtical functions, did edifie, and the others, being idle, did give ſcandal, whereas now thoſe that have titles do, for the moſt part, diſdain the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtry, and live in pleaſure, and the poor perform the functions, and do edifie.

This opinion was not followed by many. But a middle opinion had great applauſe; which was, that the uſe ſhould be ſtill obſerved, not to ordain without a title to an Eccleſiaſtical benefice, or a ſufficient patrimony, that Prieſts might not diſhonour their order by begging, and that it ſhould be conſtituted, to remove all fraud, that the Biſhop ſhould provide that the patrimony, to which the Clerk is ordained, might not be alienated. *Gabriel de Veneur*, Biſhop of *Viviers*, contradicted this, and ſaid, that the patrimony of Clerks is a ſecular thing, concerning which the Clergy cannot poſſibly make any Law: beſides many occaſions may ariſe, for which the Law or the Magiſtrate may lawfully command it to be alienated. And it is generally true that the patrimonial goods of Clerks, for Preſcriptions, and all ſorts of Contracts, are ſubject to the Civil Laws, and therefore that they ought to conſider well of the buſineſs, before they aſſume authority to break a civil Contract.

Concerning Simony.

The occaſion of propoſing the third Article was, becauſe the precept of Chriſt, that all ſpiritual graces ſhould be freely conferred, as *they are freely received* from him, was many ways tranſgreſſed in the collation of *Orders*: which abuſe was not new, but greater in former times. For in the beginning of Chriſtianity, charity abounding, the people who received ſpiritual things, from the Miniſters of *Chriſt*, did not only, according to the divine precept expounded by S. *Paul*, contribute to them as much as ſerved for their neceſſities, but enough alſo to maintain the poor, never thinking that the temporal was a price of the ſpiritual. But after that the temporal, which was held and enjoyned in common, was divided, and a revenue applyed to the titles, called a Benefice, the ordination being not then diſtinct from the collation of the title, and by conſequence of the Benefice annexed to it, but both being given and received together, it ſeemed to the ordainers, that, beſide the ſpiritual thing, they gave alſo a temporal, for which they might receive another temporal thing in recompence, which he that would obtain, was forced to accommodate himſelf to the will of him that could give it, ſo that open buying and ſelling was eaſily brought in, which in the oriental Church, could never be corrected, though many Canons and Cenſures were made againſt it. Yet it was much diminiſhed, becauſe God took from them by the Rod of the *Saracens*, a great part of their goods. And in the Weſt, though it was much reprehended by good men, yet it continued, in ſome places more,

more, in ſome leſs, until, about the year 1000. the ordination was divided from the collation of the Benefice; for which cauſe that did begin to paſs for nothing, and *Simony* did ſtill continue in this, and that more openly than before. And this abuſe did always increaſe, though under divers names of *Annates*, ſmall ſervices, writing, ſeal, and other pretences, which the Church ſtill uſeth, with ſmall hope that they can ever be taken away, until Chriſt come again, with his whip, overthrow the Tables of the Money-changers, and chaſe them out of the Temple. But the ordination, which, being ſeparated from the Benefice, had the fortune to be conferred freely, did enjoy it but a ſmall time. For the Biſhops eſteeming it unprofitable and baſe, and regarding more the other which yielded fruit, left off, by little and little, to adminiſter the ordinations; ſo that titular Biſhops were inſtituted, who performed the Pontifical Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtries, and the true Biſhops buſied themſelves in the temporal only. Thoſe having no Revenues, were forced to maintain themſelves by the adminiſtration of thoſe functions Whereupon he that received *Order* was compelled to contribute, firſt by the name of Alms or Offering, afterwards, to make it more honourable, by the title of donative or preſent, and, proceeding further, that it might not be omitted as being a duty, it was covered with the name of reward, not of the *Ordainer*, but of his Servants, or of the *Notary*, or of ſome other who ſerved him in the ordination. Therefore in this Article it was propoſed, that the abuſe occurring in the collation of Benefices ſhould not be ſpoken of, as being an infirmity, not curable with any remedy but death. 1562 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX.

Concerning which the Prelates were divided, not by opinions, or affections, but by quality of perſons. The rich Biſhops condemned the receiving of any thing; either for themſelves or their Officers, or Notaries, as Simoniacal, and ſacrilegious, bringing the example of *Jeheſie* Servant of the Prophet *Elizeus*, and of *Simon Magus*, and of the ſevere Commandment of Chriſt, *Give freely as you have received.* They alledged alſo many exaggerations out of the Fathers againſt this ſin, ſaying, that the names of a voluntary Donative, or Alms, are vain colours repugnant to truth, becauſe the gift is beſtowed for the *Order*, without which it would not have been given. And if it be an Alms; why is it given upon that occaſion only: let it be made at another time, and *Orders* conferred without the intervention of any thing. But the miſchief is, that if one ſhould tell the *Ordainer* that he gave him an Alms, he would hold it for an injury, nor would receive it at another time. Therefore they ought not to believe, that they could deceive God and the world. They concluded that an abſolute Decree ought to be made, that nothing ſhould be given, though willingly, or under the name of Alms, nor received, not only by the *Ordainer*, but alſo by any of his, or by the *Notary*, under the name of writing, ſeal, pains, or any other pretence whatſoever.

But the poor Biſhops and the Titular ſaid to the contrary, that as to give order for a price was a wicked ſacrilege, ſo to take away Alms, ſo much commended by Chriſt, did deſtroy charity, and wholly deform the Church. That there was the ſame reaſon abſolutely for *Ordinations*, which is for *Confeſſions*, *Communions*, *Maſſes*, *Burials* and other Eccleſiaſtical Functions; and therefore no cauſe why that ſhould be forbid in *Ordination*, which is allowed in all theſe; and the allegation, that if it be an Alms, let it be given at another time, is of as much force in all the other Functions. The Church hath uſed, from the beginning,

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beginning, to receive Oblations and Alms, upon theſe occaſions, which if they ſhall be taken away, the poor religious perſons, who live of them, will be forced to take ſome other courſe, the rich will not perform the offices, as doth, and, for the ſpace of five hundred years, hath plainly appeared, ſo that the exerciſe of Religion will be loſt, and the people, remaining without it, will fall into impiety, and divers pernicious ſuperſtitions. And if thouſands of Crowns are given without reprehenſion for the Veſtments which the Apoſtolick See giveth to the Metropolitans, how can a ſmall acknowledgment be reprehended, which the Biſhop receiveth from the inferiour Orders? What reaſon is there that things of the ſame kind ſhould be ordered by contrary Laws? That cannot be called an abuſe which was inſtituted in the beginning. And it remaineth ſtill in the *Pontifical*, that Wax Candles are preſented, by thoſe that are ordained, to the Biſhop ordaining, at the offering place, in time of the *Ordinations*, which be temporal things, and, if they be great and well adorned, may coſt much. It is not therefore ſo bad as it is painted out, neither can the oppoſites gain, by the infamy of poor Biſhops, the name of Reformers, imitating the *Phariſees*, in obſerving Moths, and ſtraining at Gnats.

Some ſaid alſo, that it could not be conſtituted, as being contrary to the Decree of *Innocentius* the third, in the general Council, where the uſe of giving and receiving a temporal thing, in the Miniſtry of the Sacraments, is not only approved, but the Biſhops are commanded to compel the people, by cenſures and Eccleſiaſtical puniſhments, to obſerve the Cuſtom, giving the title of laudable to thoſe things, which now ſome go about to condemn as ſacrilegious.

But *Diniſius*, Biſhop of *Milopotamus*, made a long digreſſion, to ſhew how the faithful would be edified, if the Sacraments were adminiſtred by the Clergy for pure Charity, expecting no reward but from God only. He affirmed that neceſſaries were to be allowed them, and greater proviſion alſo; but that this was ſufficiently and ſuperabundantly done, by the aſſignation of Tithes, becauſe they not being the tenth part of the people, do receive ſo great a portion, beſides other poſſeſſions which are double as much. Therefore it is not juſt to demand that which is already received an hundred fold; and if the Biſhops be poor, it is not becauſe the Church is poor, but becauſe the riches are ill divided. With an even diſtribution every one might be fitted; and that might be given without counter change, for which more than the juſt price hath been already received. He added, that, if this multitude of abuſes could not be taken away altogether, it would be good to begin with that of Ordinations, not reſtraining it to the only action of conferring the Sacraments, but extending it alſo to the precedent. For it would be a great abſurdity that one ſhould pay too dear, in the Chanceries of Biſhopricks, for *dimiſory* Letters, by which the Clerk hath leave to find out one that will ordain him, and in *Rome* to be ordained out of the times appointed, and lay the Reformation only upon the Biſhops that do ordain. This opinion was approved by many, in reſpect of the *dimiſories* of Biſhops; but concerning the *Faculty* given at *Rome*, the Cardinal *Simoneta* ſaid, that the Pope would provide for it, and that it was not a thing to be handled in Council.

Concerning the reward of *Notaries* ſomething was ſaid. For ſome eſteeming it an office purely ſecular, thought that their pay ought not to be ſtopped. Others held it for an Eccleſiaſtical Office. *Antonius Auguſtinus*, Biſhop of *Lerida*, an Antiquary, ſaid, that in the ancient Church

Church the Miniſters were ordained in preſence of all the people, ſo that there was no need of Letters-Patents or teſtimonial, and after they had gained a title they did not change Dioceſs; and if, for any cauſe, they did make a journey, they had a Letter from the Biſhop, then called *Formata*. The uſe of Letters teſtimonial began after that the people left to be preſent at the *Ordinations*, and the Clerks began to be vagabonds, and, being introduced in ſupplement of the preſence of the people, is to be eſteemed a temporal Office; but, becauſe it is applyed to a ſpiritual matter, it is to be uſed with moderation. Therefore his opinion was, that ſome reward ſhould be allowed for them, but moderated and limited. 1562 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX.

That which was propoſed in the fourth point belongeth only to the Collegiate Churches; which having by their inſtitution, this function, amongſt others, to aſſemble themſelves in the Church to praiſe God, at the hours appointed by the Canons, which therefore are called Canonical, Rents were annexed to them for the maintenance of the Canons, diſtributed amongſt them in one of theſe four manners. For either they lived at a common table and charge, as the Regulars, or every one had his portion of Rents aſſigned to him, (which therefore was called a Prebend) or, the ſervice being ended, all was diſtributed amongſt them, either in meat, or money. Thoſe that lived in common continued in that diſcipline but a ſmall time, but came to diviſion, either into Prebends, or diſtributions to the Prebendaries, excuſing thoſe from performing thoſe divine Offices, who, by reaſon of infirmity, or ſome ſpiritual buſineſs, could not be preſent. It was an eaſie thing to find a pretence, and begin an uſe of being ſeldom in the Church, and to enjoy the Prebend notwithſtanding. But he, unto whom the meaſure was diſtributed, after the work was done, could not be excuſed, ſo that diſcipline, and frequency in the *Offices* remained longer in this ſecond kind, than in the firſt. For this cauſe the faithful, when they gave or bequeathed any thing to the Churches, ordained it ſhould be put in diſtributions: and experience ſhewed, that the greater the diſtributions were, the better the *Offices* were performed, and that the negligence of thoſe who did not aſſiſt in the Offices might be redreſſed, by taking part of the Prebends, and making diſtributions thereof. This was much commended by many of the Prelates, thinking the worſhip of God would be much inlarged thereby; whereof there could no doubt be made, becauſe it did appear already by experience. And this was all which was ſpoken for a ground of this opinion. Concerning diſtributions.

But *Lucas Biſantius*, Biſhop of *Cataro*, a godly man, but poor, ſpake to the contrary, that rather the Prebendaries ſhould be forced, by cenſures, and deprivations of part, or of all the fruits, and of the Prebends themſelves, but that the firſt form ſhould not be altered. For almoſt all theſe Inſtitutions being made by the laſt Will of the faithful, they ought to be obſerved inviolably, and without alteration, not only upon pretence of better, but not for that which is truly and certainly better, in regard it is not juſt to meddle with that which belongeth to another, becauſe he doth not uſe it well. But, which is of more importance, to exerciſe a ſpiritual function for reward is undoubted Simony, ſo that by driving out one evil, another would enter far worſe, making negligent men to become Simoniacal. The other part anſwered, that the Council had power to change laſt Wills; and, for aſſiſting at divine Offices for gain, one muſt diſtinguiſh, that the gain is not the principal, but the ſecondary cauſe, and therefore there is no ſin

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in it; for the Canons will go to Church principally to ſerve God, and ſecondarily for the diſtributions. The others replyed, that they ſaw not how the Council had greater power over the goods of the dead, than of the living, which no man is ſo impertinent as to pretend; and beſides the Doctrine is not ſo ſecure as it is affirmed, that it is lawful to ſerve God for gain ſecondarily. And if it were, it is not a ſecondary, but a principal cauſe, which firſt moveth, and without which the work would not be done. This opinion was not pleaſing, and raiſed much murmuring in the Congregation. For every one being conſcious to himſelf that he received the title and charge only in regard of the Rents, did think he was condemned. Therefore the Article had great applauſe that the Prebends ſhould be turned into diſtributions, to incite men to ſerve God, in the beſt manner they could.

Fathers are deputed to frame the Decrees.

Theſe Articles having been thus diſcuſſed, Fathers were deputed to make the Decrees; and it was propoſed that, in the next Congregations, they ſhould ſpeak of ſix more, leaving that of ſecret marriage for another Seſſion. The next day the Legates and Deputies met, to collect the ſubſtance of the opinions of the Fathers; and, concerning the firſt Article of Reſidency, they diſſented amongſt themſelves. *Simoneta* favoured the opinion that it was *de jure poſitivo*, and ſaid, that the greater part, even thoſe who held it was *de jure divino*, thought fit that the queſtion ſhould be omitted. *Mantua*, without manifeſting his own opinion, ſaid that the greater number did demand a declaration of it. Of the other Legates, *Altemps* followed *Simoneta*, and the other two, though with ſome caution, adhered to *Mantua*. And this difference did not paſs without ſome bitterneſs, though modeſtly expreſſed. For this cauſe the Legates held a general Congregation, the 20. day; in which the demand following was read out of a paper: that is; becauſe many Fathers have ſaid that Reſidence is *de jure divino*; ſome have ſaid nothing, and others ſpoken againſt the making of the Declaration, to the end, that thoſe who are deputed to make the Decrees, may make them quickly, eaſily, and ſecurely, your Lordſhips may be pleaſed to deliver your opinions, only with the word *placet*, whether you approve or diſprove the Declaration, that Reſidency is *de jure divino*: becauſe, according to the cuſtom of this holy Synod, the Decree ſhall be made as the greater number ſhall give their voices; which becauſe they had been formerly delivered in great variety, they deſired that they would all ſpeak diſtinctly, one after one, that their ſuffrages might be noted.

The Legates diſſent in opinion concerning Reſidence.

And ſo do the Prelates.

All having given their voices, 68 ſaid, *Placet* abſolutely: 33 *Non placet* abſolutely, 13 ſaid *Placet*, *conſulto prius Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro*: and 17 anſwered, *Non placet*, *niſi prius conſulto Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro*. The 13 did differ from the 17 becauſe they did abſolutely approve the declaration, yet were ready to change their opinion, if the Pope thought otherwiſe: the 17 did abſolutely not approve, yet were content to be of the Popes opinion, if he did like it. This was a very ſubtile difference, and uſed only where every one doth think to do his Maſter the beſt ſervice. The Cardinal *Madruccio* would not preciſely anſwer to the interrogation, but ſaid, he referred himſelf to his voice, delivered in Congregation, which was in favour of *Jus divinum*. And the Biſhop of *Budua* ſaid, that he held the affirmative as already concluded, and that he thought fit it ſhould be publiſhed. The voices being collected and divided, and it appearing that the greater part, by one half, did approve the declaration, that a fourth part only did diſlike

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it, and that others, though conditionally, were with the firſt, they came to words of ſome bitterneſs, and the reſidue of the Congregation was ſpent in diſcourſing thereof, not without much confuſion. Which the Cardinal of *Mantua* perceiving, made a ſilence, and, exhorting the Fathers to modeſty, gave them leave to depart. 1562 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX.

The Legates conſulted what was fit to be done; and agreed to give the Pope an exact account of all, and expect his anſwer, and in the mean while to proſecute in the Congregations the Articles remaining. *Mantua* would have ſent his Secretary, *Camillus Olivo* by Poſt, with Letters of credence, and *Simoneta* would have all expreſſed in the Letters. They concluded to temper theſe two opinions: that is, to write a very large Letter, and refer that which remained to the Secretary, who the ſame day departed from *Trent*, in the evening. This, though ſecretly carried, came to the knowledge of the *Spaniards*; who much complained that they ſaw a beginning made of an unſupportable grievance, that every Treaty ſhould not only be ſent, but conſulted of and reſolved alſo at *Rome*; that the Council aſſembled twice before in that City, was diſſolved without fruit, yea with ſcandal alſo, becauſe nothing was reſolved by the Fathers, but all in *Rome*; ſo that a blaſphemous Proverb was generally uſed, that, *the Synod of* Trent *was guided by the Holy Ghoſt, ſent thither, from time to time, in a Cloak bagg, from* Rome. And that thoſe Popes, who abſolutely refuſed the Council, gave leſs ſcandal, than thoſe who have aſſembled it, and hold it in ſervitude. The world was in hope that, if once a Council might be obtained, all inconveniences would be redreſſed; but having obſerved how things were carried, under two Popes before, and how they are governed now, all hope of any good is extinguiſhed, nor any more to be hoped for from the Council, if it muſt ſerve to be a miniſter of the intereſts of the Court of *Rome*, and move or ſtand ſtill at their pleaſure.

Whereof the Legates give the Pope an account.

To the great diſcontentment of the *Spaniſh* Prelates.

A blaſphemous proverb was uſed againſt the proceeding of the Council.

This gave occaſion, beginning in the next Congregation to diſcuſs the Articles propoſed, briefly to ſpeak of the point of Reſidency. The Cardinal of *Varmia* ſaid, that that matter was ſufficiently treated on, that the Decree ſhould be framed to reſolve it; which being propoſed, every one might ſay what he thought fit: but he could not quiet the humours that were moved. Therefore the Archbiſhop of *Prague*, the Emperours Ambaſſadour, made a continuate ſpeech, to exhort the Fathers to proceed peaceably and with leſs paſſion, admoniſhing them to conſider what did become their perſons, and that place: But *Julius Superchius*, Biſhop of *Caurle*, anſwered cholerickly, that nothing doth leſs beſeem the Council, than to lay a Law upon the Prelates, eſpecially when it is done by one who repreſenteth a Secular Authority; and uſed ſome biting terms: ſo that the Congregation was like to be divided into parts. *Varmienſe*, who was preſident in it, ſeeking to moderate them, diverted the ſpeech upon other Articles, appointed for that day, and propoſed that ſome means ſhould be uſed to ſet at liberty the *Engliſh* Biſhops, who were in priſon in *England*, that, coming to the Council, it might be ſaid, that that noble Nation was preſent alſo, and not wholly aliened from the Church. This pleaſed all: but the common opinion was, that it might ſooner be deſired than hoped for. They concluded that the Queen having refuſed to receive a *Nuncio*, expreſly ſent from the Pope, it could not be hoped that ſhe would hearken to the Council. Therefore all they could do was to perſwade Catholick Princes to mediate for them. The 25. being S. *Mark*'s day, the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors were received, in the general Congre-

A conſultation in the Council to ſet at liberty the *Engliſh* Biſhops who were in priſon.

The *Venetian* Ambaſſadors are received in congregation.

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In thoſe few days, the wiſeſt among the Prelates, conſidering what a diſreputation it would be to the Council, and themſelves, if thoſe ſtirs were not pacified, endeavoured to pacifie mens minds by ſhewing that if the Conciliary actions were not proſecuted without tumult, beſides the ſcandal and the ſhame, the diſſolution of the Council, without doing any good, would neceſſarily follow. This remonſtrance took effect, and cauſed them to treat peaceably of the ſix Articles remaining; of which there was not much to be ſpoken. For the fifth, the proviſion was thought neceſſary; but there was a difficulty concerning the manner, becauſe the diviſion of Pariſhes was firſt made by the people, when a certain number of inhabitants, having received the true Faith, built a Temple for exerciſe of their Religion, hired a Prieſt, and did conſtitute a Church, which, by the neighbours, was called a Pariſh; and when the number was increaſed, if one Church and Prieſt were not ſufficient, thoſe who were moſt remote did build another, and fit themſelves better. In progreſs of time, for good order and concord, a Cuſtom began to have the Biſhops conſent alſo. But after that the Court of *Rome* aſſumed by reſervations the collation of Benefices, thoſe who were provided of them from *Rome*, when the diviſion of great Pariſhes, and, by conſequence, a diminution of their gain was in queſtion, oppoſed themſelves by the favour of the Pope, ſo that nothing could be done herein, without going to *Rome*: which when it hapned, eſpecially beyond the Mountains, in regard of the impediments of *Appeals*, and other Suits, it was a thing of great charge. To provide againſt theſe inconveniences in Council, the Prelates thought, that where one Church was ſufficient for a people, but not one Rector, the Titles ſhould not be multiplied, becauſe where many Curates are, there muſt needs be diverſity of opinions; but that the Biſhop ſhould compel the Pariſh Prieſt to take other Prieſts to aſſiſt him, as many as were needful: but where the largeneſs of the habitations did require, he ſhould have power to erect a new Pariſh Church, dividing the people and revenews, and compelling them to make a ſufficient revenew by contribution. Only *Euſtathius Bellai*, Biſhop of *Paris*, who came not long before, told them, that in regard of the laſt part, the Decree would not be received in *France*, where they do not conſent that the Laity may be commanded, in a temporal matter, by Eccleſiaſtical Authority, and that it was not for the reputation of a general Council to make Decrees, which would be rejected in any Province. Fryar *Thomas Caſellus*, Biſhop of *Cava*, replied, that the *Frenchmen* do not know that this power is given to the Council by *Chriſt* and S. *Paul*, who have commanded that maintenance ſhould be allowed by the people, to thoſe that ſerve them in ſpiritual things, and that the *Frenchmen*, if they will be Chriſtians, muſt obey. *Bellay* replied, that until he had underſtood that which *Chriſt* and Saint *Paul* do grant to the Miniſters of the Goſpel, to be a power to receive maintenance from him that doth voluntarily give it, and not to conſtrain any to give; and that *France* would ever be Chriſtian: And he paſſed no further.

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The diviſion of Pariſhes.

The ſixth and eighth Articles would not have needed a Decree, if the Biſhops had kept their Authority, or if it had continued in the Pariſh Prieſts, or in the people, to whom ſuch proviſions did formerly belong, as hath been ſaid, and ſhould do ſtill by all reaſon. But the neceſſity of

of handling theſe matters proceeded from the reſervations made to *Rome*. The Prelates were all of the ſame opinion, that proviſions were requiſite, yet ſome would not conſent they ſhould be made, becauſe they would not meddle with the Popes Authority; by treating of things reſerved to that See, eſpecially in ſo great a number. *Leonard*, Biſhop of *Lanciano*, ſpake of it as of a point of juſtice, that all the Offices of the Apoſtolick *Chancery* being ſold, it was not fit to diminiſh the diſpatches made there, becauſe it would take away part of the profit, without the conſent of the buyer; and therefore that theſe proviſions ought to be made in *Rome*, where the intereſt of all would be conſidered. And this Biſhop would have proceeded further, in regard of the intereſts himſelf and his friends had in thoſe Offices, if the Archbiſhop of *Meſſina*, a *Spaniard*, who ſate next, had not told him that nothing ſhould be reſolved before it were conſulted of, and conſented to in *Rome*. They called to mind that which was done in the firſt Council, when Authority was given to Biſhops, concerning things reſerved to the Pope; that is, to add, that they ſhould do it as delegates of the Apoſtolick See; which counſel was followed in all Decrees, made concerning ſuch matters.

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In the 7. though every one thought fit that the people ſhould be ſerved by perſons ſufficient for the Miniſtry, and of good behaviour, yet they ſaid it was enough, and very much, to provide for the future, becauſe thoſe Laws which look back and diſpoſe of things paſt, are ever accounted odious, and tranſcendent. Therefore they thought it ſufficient to provide fit perſons for hereafter, tolerating thoſe who are in poſſeſſion already. The Archbiſhop of *Granata* ſaid, that the deputation of any unfit perſon to the Miniſtry of *Chriſt*, was not ratified by his Divine Majeſty: and therefore was void, the poſſeſſor having no right: and that they were bound to remove him that was unfit, and to put another ſufficient perſon in his place. But this opinion was not followed, as being too rigid, and impoſſible to be executed, becauſe there was not a juſt meaſure of neceſſary ſufficiency. Therefore the middle way was taken, not to exceed the propoſition of the Article, but making a difference between the ignorant and ſcandalous, to proceed againſt the former with leſs rigour, as being leſs culpable. And as it belongeth to the Biſhop by all reaſon, to make proviſion when the collations came not from the Pope, ſo, in this caſe alſo it ſhould be granted unto him, as *Delegate* of the Apoſtolick See.

To treat of the viſitation of Benefices commended, in the ninth Article, occaſion was given by a good uſe, degenerated into a great abuſe. In the incurſions which the *Barbarians* make upon the Weſtern Empire, it often happned, that the Churches were deprived of their Paſtors, when thoſe unto whom it did canonically belong to make proviſion of ſucceſſors, could not do it, as being hindred by invaſions, ſieges, or impriſonments: whereupon, that the people might not continue long without ſpiritual government, the principal Prelates of the Province, or ſome of the neighbours, did recommend the Church to ſome Clergy man, conſpicuous for piety, and honeſty, and fit for government, until, the impediments being removed, a Paſtor might be canonically elected. The Biſhops and next Pariſh Prieſts did the like, when the like vacancies hapned in the Countries; and always he that did commend another, did ſeek to employ a man of note, and he that was commended, did labour to anſwer the expectation; ſo that great fruit did enſue, to the ſatisfaction of all. But as alwaies ſome corruption will

How Commendaes began.

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in time creep into good things, ſome of the Commendataries began to think not only of doing the Church good, but to draw ſome profit to themſelves alſo, and the Prelates likewiſe to commend Churches without neceſſity. The abuſe increaſing, a Law was made, that the *Commenda* ſhould not laſt above ſix months, nor the Commendatary participate of the fruits of the Benefice commended. Howſoever, the Popes pretended to be above this Law, did not only commend for a longer time, and grant an honeſt portion to the *Commendatary*, but did commend alſo for term of life, granting all the fruits unto the perſon commended, as unto the *titular*. Yea, they made the form alſo quite contrary. For whereas it was formerly ſaid in the Bulls, We do recommend unto thee this Church, that it may be well governed in the *interim*: they began to ſay, We recommend unto thee ſuch a Church, that thou mayeſt maintain thy ſtate, with a greater dignity. And moreover they ordained, that if the *Commendatary* died, the Benefice ſhould remain at their diſpoſition, ſo that they could not be hindred by the Patron. And the *Commendataries* being placed by the Pope, the Biſhops could not meddle in thoſe Churches, and every one in Court was more willing to get Benefices in *Commenda*, than in the Title to exempt themſelves from the ſubjection of the ſuperiour Prelates; ſo that the Biſhop was deprived of Authority over the greater part of the Churches of his Dioceſs, and the *Commendataries*, not ſubject to any Superintendency, ſuffering the buildings to fall, and diminiſhing, or wholly taking away other neceſſary expences, having no other end, than according to the proem of the Bull, to maintain their own ſtate, let all go to deſolation. It ſeemed an indecency that the Biſhop ſhall meddle with that which was recommended by the Pope to another, and therefore they thought fit to make a mannerly proviſion againſt this diſorder, granting the Biſhops Authority to viſit and ſuperintend, but as *Delegates* of his Holineſs.

The abuſes and impieties of Collectors.

The twelfth propoſition was made to remedy the abuſes of the Collectours, becauſe the ancient inſtitution was degenerated alſo. For Hoſpitals, Spittles, places for education of Orphans, and ſuch like, being inſtituted in divers places for neceſſity, without any maintenance but the Alms of the faithful, ſome Godly perſons undertook the charge to go about and ask them at mens Houſes, and for their credit, had Letters teſtimonial from the Biſhop. Others, that they might not be hindred by the Biſhop, obtained faculty from the Pope, with Letters of recommendation; which were eaſily granted, in regard of the profit which came to the Court, for the diſpatch of the Bulls. This inſtitution was immediately turned into exceſſive abuſes, and the leaſt part of the Alms collected was beſtowed in the right courſe. Thoſe alſo who had obtained power to collect, did ſubſtitute alſo baſe and infamous perſons, dividing the Alms with them. The Collectours likewiſe, to gain as much as they could, uſed a thouſand ſacrilegious and wicked artifices, wearing a certain form of habit, carrying Fire, Water, Bells, and other Inſtruments to make a noiſe, that they might amaze the vulgar and breed ſuperſtition in them, telling falſe Miracles, Preaching falſe *Indulgencies*, asking Alms with imprecations and threats of evil and misfortunes, againſt thoſe that would not give, and uſing many other impieties like to theſe, ſo that the World was much ſcandalized; but no proviſion could be made, in regard of the Apoſtolical grants. The Prelates enlarged themſelves in this matter, relating the abuſes and impieties aforeſaid, and many more, ſhewing that remedies had been formerly uſed, but without effect; and ſo would all others

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prove, that ſhould be attempted: only one remained, which was to aboliſh wholly the name and uſe of Collectors; in which opinion all concurred. At this time the Ambaſſadors of the Duke of *Bavaria* came, who refuſed to preſent themſelves in Congregation, except they might have precedence of the Ambaſſadors of *Venice*. Whereunto they denying to yield, the Legates interpoſed a delay, that they might receive anſwer from *Rome*.

The Ambaſſadors of the Duke of *Bavaria* conteſt for precedence with the Ambaſſadors of *Venice*.

The Pope underſtanding how the voices were given in the Congregations concerning reſidency, and that the *Spaniards* did all hold together, made a bad Prognoſtick, and thought that union could not be without the Kings knowledge. He ſaid he had a long time known, by great experience, that the *Ultramontan* Prelates do envy the greatneſs of *Italy*, and of the Apoſtolick See, and, for the ſuſpition which he had of the King, was ill ſatisfied with him, as if he had failed of the promiſe which he made unto him to preſerve his Authority. The Concluſion of all his diſcourſes was, that if the Princes will abandon him, he will have recourſe to Heaven; that he had a Million of Gold, and knew where to get another; and beſides, that God will provide for his Church. The Court alſo did perceive, with great paſſion, in what danger they were, and thought that theſe novities did aim to make many Popes, or none at all, and to hinder all the profits of the Offices of the *Chancery*. Advice came to him alſo, from his *Nuncio* in *Spain*, that the King was ill pleaſed with the (*Proponentibus Legatis*) conſtituted in the firſt Seſſion: and the Pope was ſo much the more pleaſed with it, becauſe by the diſtaſte of others, he perceived they had deſigns to propoſe ſomething to his prejudice. Yet he cauſed it to be excuſed to the King, that it was done without his privity, howſoever he thought it neceſſary to repreſs the petulancy of unquiet ſpirits, ſaying, that the Council would be like the Tower of *Babel*, if every turbulent perſon might move humors as he liſted, that the Legates were diſcreet, and did reverence his Majeſty, and would propoſe whatſoever ſhould pleaſe him, and give ſatisfaction to all wiſe and godly perſons. But with the Kings Ambaſſador reſiding with him, who ſpake thereof, he proceeded ſomewhat roughly. Firſt he complained, that he had done bad offices herein; then, relating how the *Spaniſh* Prelates, as it were ſeditiouſly, proceeded in the Council, he ſhewed that the Decree was holy and neceſſary, and that no prejudice was done to any, in ſaying that the Legates ſhall propoſe. *Vargas* anſwered, that if it had been ſaid only, the Legates ſhall propoſe, no man would have complained, but that ablative (*Proponentibus Legatis*) did deprive the Biſhops of power to propoſe, and therefore that it was fit to change it into another kind of ſpeech. Whereunto the Pope anſwered, with ſome diſdain, that he had ſomething elſe to do, than to think *Cujus generis, & cujus caſus*. The Popes ſuſpicion did not want ground, having diſcovered that the Ambaſſador had ſent many Poſts into *Spain*, and unto *Trent*, exhorting the *Spaniſh* Prelates to maintain their liberty, and deſiring the King that the Council might not be held in ſubjection.

The Pope and his Court are much perplexed with advices, ſent unto them from *Trent* and *Spain*.

But in the Court, many Prelates having written to their Friends from *Trent* diverſly, according to their affections, there was a great tumult, or rather an aſtoniſhment, every one thinking he did already ſee *Rome* empty of Prelates, and deprived of all prerogative and eminency. It did appear plainly, that the Cardinals reſiding in *Rome*, ſhould be excluded from having Biſhopricks; that plurality of benefices was forbid, that no Biſhop or Curate might have any Office in

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Rome, and that the Pope might not be able to diſpenſe in any of the things aforeſaid, which are the moſt principal of all that are in his power, ſo that his authority would be much diminiſhed. And they remembred the ſaying of *Livie*, that *the Majeſty of a Prince is hardly brought from the height to the middle, but is eaſily caſt headlong from the middle to the bottom.* They diſcourſed how much the Authority of Biſhops would be enlarged, who would draw unto them the collation of Benefices, denying the Popes Authority for reſervations, that the Biſhops beyond the Mountains, and ſome *Italians* alſo, have ever ſhewed a bad mind towards the Court, for envy, and becauſe they cannot ſo eaſily have place in it; and that they were to take heed of thoſe who remain in places the moſt remote from *Rome*, for conſcience ſake, becauſe they would do worſe than all the reſt, in caſe they were able; that theſe hypocritical Puritans have a greater ambition than the reſt, though covered, and would fain advance themſelves by the ruins of others, as *Paul* the fourth did very well ſhow by effects. And becauſe the *Spaniards* were united in this, and exhorted by *Vargas* to perſevere, many did whiſper that the King was the firſt mover, who, to gain Subſidies from the Clergy, having two difficulties to overcome, one in having the Popes conſent, the other in taking away the reſiſtance made by the Chapters and Colledges, who being the prime of the Nobility, exempted from Biſhops, and moſt of them having received Benefices by the Popes collation, do oppoſe themſelves without reſpect, did purpoſe to advance the Biſhops who do wholly depend on him, and receive their Biſhoprieks by his preſentation, by freeing of them from ſubjection to the Pope, and ſubjecting the Chapters and Colledges unto them, and ſo, by their means, to gain an eaſie and abſolute dominion over the Clergy.

The Court did generally complain of all the Legates for propoſing the Article, or ſuffering it to be propoſed; ſaying that it was formerly ordained with great Art, that they only ſhould propoſe, only to reſiſt the attempts of thoſe who were ill affected to *Rome*, and that they could not be excluded, becauſe they had an example of a diſorder, which this diſpute cauſed in the firſt Council. Above all, they complained of *Mantua* and *Seripando*, and eſpecially of *Mantua*, becauſe with his reputation and credit, he might eaſily have withſtood all inconveniences. They ſaid it was neceſſary to other Legates, more inclined to the common good, not Princes, nor Fryers, but ſuch as had paſſed through the degrees of the Court. And the general voyce did deſign *John Baptiſta Cigala*, Card. of *S. Clement*, in the firſt place, becauſe he had ſhewed himſelf a ſtout Champion for the Popes Authority, in the Offices of *Referendary* and *Auditor* of the *Chamber*, with much commendation and encreaſe of the affairs of *Rome*; who, being ſuperiour to *Mantua*, ought to hold the firſt place, which would make him retire.

The Pope cauſed many Congregations to be held by the Cardinals, deputed to conſult of the affairs of the Council: who having thought of divers remedies to ſtop the current of this evil, he began to ſpeak of the buſineſſes much more quietly and correctly than before. He did not condemn the opinion of thoſe who ſaid, that reſidency was *de jure Divino*, yea he commended them for ſpeaking according to their conſcience; and ſometimes he added, that perhaps that opinion was the better. But he complained of thoſe who referred themſelves unto him, becauſe the Council was aſſembled, that every one may deliver his own opinion, and not lay the things of difficulty upon the

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back another, that themſelves might avoid hatred and envy. The differences between his Legates did diſpleaſe him, which they ought not to have publiſhed, with ſcandal, but, concealing them, to have compoſed them between themſelves, or referred them to him. And as he was pleaſed that every one ſhould deliver his opinion freely, ſo he blamed the practiſes which many uſed, to ſubvert others; with deceits, and almoſt with violences. And he could not chooſe but be troubled with that which was ſpoken concerning the liberty of the Council and that to conſult of the matters thereof at *Rome* was to violate it; ſaying it was a ſtrange thing, that he, who was Head of the Church, and the Cardinals, who were principal members, and other Prelates in *Rome*, who have voyce in the Council, ſhould be accounted ſtrangers, and may not be informed of what is handled, and ſpeak their opinion, whereas thoſe who have no lawful part in it, hold it lawful to intermeddle, and that in an ill ſort; that it is plain, that the Prelates went to *Trent*, with Commiſſion from their Princes, according to which they proceed; that the Ambaſſadors, by Letters and perſwaſions, do compel them to follow the intereſts of their Maſters, and yet, for all this, no man ſaith, which (ſhould be ſaid) that the Council is not free. This he amplified, in all his diſcourſes, with much vehemency; adding, that to ſay the Council was not free, was a colour uſed by him who was not willing to ſee a good end thereof, hoping to diſſolve it, or to take from it all reputation; all which he held to be ſecret favourers of Hereſie.

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Finally, after he had conferred and often conſulted with all the Ambaſſadours reſiding with him, of this particular, the ninth of *May* aſſembling all the Cardinals, he cauſed Advices ſent from *Trent* to be read, and declared the ſum of the former conſultations, and the neceſſity to walk cunningly and conſtantly in this buſineſs, intimating that many had conſpired againſt the Apoſtolick See. Afterwards he cauſed the anſwer to be read which he purpoſed ſhould be ſent to *Trent*; which in ſubſtance did contain two points. That the Council was free on his part, and ever ſhould. That it was fit he ſhould be acknowledged for Head, and receive that reſpect which is due to the Apoſtolick See. He asked the opinion of all the Cardinals: who did uniformly commend the Anſwer. Some told him that, in regard of the differences between the Legates, it were good to ſend others, ſome of the moſt extraordinary perſons; and others ſaid that the importance of the buſineſs did require that his Holineſs and the whole Colledge ſhould go to *Bolonia*, that they may be near to *Trent*, and to give better aſſiſtance, as occaſion ſhould be offered. Whereunto the Pope anſwered, that he was ready to go, not only to *Bolonia*, but to *Trent* alſo, if there were need, and all the Cardinals offered to follow him. They conſulted of ſending other Legates, and reſolved not to ſpeak any more of it, as yet, becauſe *Mantua* would depart, which would be a great prejudice to the reputation of the Council, in regard of the opinion which the Emperour, King of *Spain*, and almoſt all Princes have of his honeſty, and of the credit he hath with the greater part of the Prelates of *Trent*.

The Popes anſwer ſent to *Trent*.

A Conſultation in *Rome* about ſending other Legates.

The Letters being diſpatched, he dealt with the Ambaſſadors of *Venice* and *Florence*, that their Princes would recommend the cauſe of the Papacy to their Ambaſſadors in *Trent*, and command them to cauſe the Prelates of their States, not to be preſent in the Parlies againſt the Apoſtolick See, and not to be ſo earneſt in the point of Reſidency. Afterwards

The Pope maketh plots to maintain the greatneſs of the Apoſtolick See.

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wards he called all the Biſhops remaining at Court, and ſhewed them what ſervice their preſence might do in *Trent*, and the neceſſity thereof. He loaded them with promiſes, gave money to thoſe who were poor, and diſpatched them to the Council. This he did to encreaſe the number, againſt they ſhould ſpeak of Reſidency, and becauſe 40. *Frenchmen* were expected, from whom he could not prognoſticate any good. And not to have *France* his oppoſite, whoſe Ambaſſadors would be in *Trent* very ſhortly, he reſolved to give the King 100000. Crowns, and to ſend him as much in the Name of Merchants, upon ſufficient aſſurance for the principal and the intereſt, ſo that he would in earneſt, and without diſſimulation, revoke the Edicts, and make War for Religion, that with that money *Suiſſes* and *Germans* might be levied to be under the conduct of his Legate, and the colours of the Church; that no *Hugonot* ſhould be pardoned without his conſent; that the *Chancellor*; the Biſhop of *Valence*, and others, to be named by him, ſhould be impriſoned; that in the Council nothing ſhould be handled againſt his Authority, and that his Ambaſſadors ſhould not make mention of the *Annats*. Yet he promiſed to accord with the King in that matter, and to reform it, to the ſatisfaction of his Majeſty.

He conſulteth on the point of Reſidence.

Afterwards the Pope conſulted on the Point of Reſidence, that, when there was occaſion, he might ſpeak thereof correctly, without prejudice to himſelf, or ſcandal to others. And having well diſcuſſed the reaſons, he ſetled his opinion to approve it, and cauſe it to be executed upon what Law ſoever it were grounded, whether Canonical, or Evangelical. And ſo he anſwered the *French* Ambaſſador, who ſpake to him of it; adding, that he alone is deputed to ſee the execution of all the Evangelical precepts. For *Chriſt* having ſaid to S. *Peter*, *Feed my Lambs*, hath ordained that all the Orders made by his Divine Majeſty, ſhall be executed by means of him only, and that he would make a Bull thereof, with a penalty of deprivation of the Biſhopricks; which ſhould be more feared than a Declaration, which the Council might make, *de jure Divino*. And the Ambaſſador inſiſting upon the liberty of the Council; he ſaid, that, if all liberty were granted unto it, they would extend it to reform not only the Pope, but Secular Princes alſo. And this form of ſpeech much pleaſed his Holineſs, who was wont to ſay, that nothing was worſe than to ſtand upon the defence only, and that, if others did threaten him with the Council, he would play with them at the ſame weapons.

And reformeth the Court in petty matters only.

At this time, to begin to execute that which he had requeſted, and promiſed, that is, to reform the Court, that the Council might not meddle with it, he firſt publiſhed a Reformation of the *Penitentiary*, a very principal member, giving out a report, that he would ſhortly alſo reform the *Chancery*, and the *Chamber*. Every one did expect that the things belonging to the ſalvation of Souls ſhould have been regulated, which are managed in that Office; but in the Bull there was not any the leaſt mention made of repentance, conſcience, or any other ſpiritual thing: only it took away the *Faculties* which the *Penitentiary* doth exerciſe, in divers cauſes beneficial, belonging to the exterior diſcipline of regular Fryers; not expreſſing whether that proviſion was made to give thoſe *Faculties* to ſome other Officers, or whether he eſteemed them abuſes undecent, and would baniſh them from *Rome*. But the event did immediately take away the doubt. For the ſame things were obtained from the *Datary*, and by other ways, only with greater charge. And this was the fruit of the reformation.

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But to return to *Trent*, the Fathers having delivered their opinions, and the Deputies framed nine Decrees (for the Articles of Matrimony, as already decided, and of Residency by consent of the Legates, and of some of the Fathers, perswaded thereunto, were omitted). they proposed them to be established in Congregation, and to be read in the Session at the time appointed. By reason of this omission, the demands of those that favoured residency were stirred up. Whereunto the Legates answering, that that Article was not well discussed, nor was fit to be proposed in that Session, but that it should be done in time convenient, they were more earnest than before, alledging that there would never be a greater opportunity, murmuring that it was a trick never to conclude it. But they were forced to relent, seeing the Legates resolute not to handle it then, and because those of the contrary opinion, encouraged from *Rome*, did labour more effectually to the contrary. Therefore speaking of the other Articles only, with some few alterations, the nine heads were framed.

Another contention about Residence.

The Marques of *Pescara* made earnest suit, in the Kings name, that that Council might be declared to be a Continuation of the Council begun under *Paul* 3. and prosecuted under *Julius*. He was assisted by the *Spanish* Prelates, and others, who followed them, alledging that it was to be done, for necessity of faith; and that otherwise the Determinations already made, would be questioned, which would be a notable impiety. The Emperours Ambassadors used strong perswasions to the contrary, saying they would presently depart and protest. For the Emperour having given his word to *Germany*, that that *Convocation* should be a new Council, he could not indure so great an affront. They said they would not by this means, re-examin the things decided, but that while there was hope to reduce *Germany*, they would not cut it off, especially with so much disgrace of the Emperour. Card. *Seripando* had no other aim but that it should be determined to be a continuation, and formerly, in making the Bull of the Convocation, did labour therein, and did now effectually further the *Spaniards* request. But *Mantua* did constantly resist, that such an injury might not be done to the Emperour, without necessity; and he found a temper to pacifie the *Spaniards*; saying, that having already held two Sessions without making mention of this proposition, it will be no prejudice to defer it also to another. The resolution of the Emperours Ambassadours to depart, and the perswasion of the Cardinal caused *Pescara* to proceed more remisly. And Letters came very fitly from *Lewis de Lansac*, chief of the Ambassadors sent to the Council from the *French* King; who, being in his voyage not far distant, wrote to the Legates and Fathers, to pray them that the Session might be prorogued, until he and his Colleagues were come. *Mantua*, making use of this occasion, proposed the prorogation of the Session, for which though they would not consent, in regard of maintaining the dignity of the Synod, yet they resolved (some for one respect, some for another, and some because the humours of residence were not well quieted) to celebrate it, without proposing any thing.

The *Spanish* Ambassador maketh suit to have the Continuation declared.

And is opposed by the Emperours Ambassadors.

The 14. day being come, they met in the publick Session, with the usual Ceremonies: where the Mass and the Prayers accustomed being ended, the Secretary read the *Mandates* of Princes, according to the Order in which the Ambassadors presented themselves in Congregation: Of the Catholick King, of the Duke of *Florence*, of the *Suisses*, of the Clergy of *Hungary*, and of the *Venetians*. And the *Speaker* did in a few words thank all those Princes, for having offered their assistance for the security

A Session is held.

In which nothing is done.

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and liberty of the Council. Afterwards the Maſs-Biſhop pronounced the Decree, in this ſubſtance: That the Synod, for ſome juſt and honeſt cauſes, hath determined to defer the promulgation of the Decrees appointed for that time, until the fourth of *June*, for which day it doth intimate the next Seſſion. And nothing elſe was done in this meeting.

In which nothing is done.

So ſoon as the Seſſion was celebrated, the Marqueſs of *Peſcara* parted from *Trent*, ſaying he muſt return to his Government of *Milan*, becauſe of ſome new ſtirs, raiſed by the *Hugonots*, in the *Delphinate*. But it being known that thoſe Forces were not able to iſſue out of the Countrey, and that the Duke of *Savoy* was between *Milan* and them, many believed, that he had Commiſſion from his King ſo to do, who, deſirous that the Council ſhould proceed, would not have it interrupted by the controverſie of precedence, which could not have been avoided, if his, and the *French* Ambaſſadors had been in *Trent* together. *Lewis S. Gelais*, Lord of *Lanſac*, chief of the *French* Ambaſſage, arrived two days after the departure of the other, and was met upon the way by many of the Prelates, and particularly by the *Spaniards*. The next day *Arnold de Ferrieres*, Preſident of *Paris*, and *Guido Faber*, Lord of *Pibrac*, gowned men, Colleagues of the Ambaſſage, did arrive alſo.

The Spaniſh Ambaſſador parteth from *Trent* two days before the arrival of the *French* Ambaſſador.

The *French* Ambaſſadors come to *Trent*.

At this time advice came to the Council how the Pope, Cardinals, and Court of *Rome* had cenſured the Fathers for the point of Reſidence; and many received Letters from the Cardinals their Patrons, full of complaints, reprehenſions, and exhortations, which Letters they ſhewed to many. On the other ſide, news came to *Rome* of what happened in *Trent* afterwards. The Pope did renew and augment his diſdain againſt the Cardinal of *Mantua*, for having omitted the occaſion to declare the Continuation, being requeſted to do it by the Ambaſſadour and Prelates of *Spain*. He was ſorry to ſee that Cardinal joined with the *Spaniards* in the point of Reſidence, and oppoſite to them in the Continuation; which was to croſs him in all things. For no man, though of a dull wit, would have forborn to have made that declaration, becauſe if it had ſucceeded well, it had been much in the favour of the Catholick Church, if not, the Council had been diſſolved; a thing of no leſs benefit. They began in *Rome* to conſult again of ſending other Legates, and particularly the Cardinal of Saint *Clement*; deſigning to lay the principal charge, and the inſtruction upon him: and not to take the firſt place from *Mantua*, and ſo to give him occaſion to depart, they thought to ordain him Biſhop, news being come a little before of the death of *Francis Tornon*, Dean, by which one of the ſix Biſhopricks was void.

The Popes indignation againſt the Cardinal of *Mantua* is renewed.

The Emperour, advertiſed of the propoſition to declare the *Continuation*, was moved, and ſent the Pope word, that whenſoever it was done, he would recall his Ambaſſadors from *Trent*, whom he commanded, that, if the reſolution were made, they ſhould preſently depart, not expecting the publication. Therefore his Holineſs was in hope that, by this means the Council might be ended, and was ſo much the more angry with the Cardinal of *Mantua* for ſuffering ſuch an occaſion to paſs, and began to think how it might be revived. The Court, as well to imitate their Prince, as for their own intereſts, continued their complaints, and murmurs againſt the Prelates of the Council, and moſt of all againſt that Cardinal, and againſt *Seripando* and *Varmienſe*; and, on the contrary, the Prelates in *Trent*, and eſpecially the *Spaniards*, complained of the Pope and the Court. Of him, for holding the Council in ſervitude, to which he ought to leave

leave free power, to handle and determine all things, and not to meddle himſelf; and yet, beſides that, nothing is propoſed but what pleaſeth the Legates, who do nothing but that which is commanded from *Rome*, when a propoſition is made in which 70 Biſhops do uniformly agree, they are hindred, even to ſpeak thereof, that the Council ought to be free, and exempt from all prevention, concurrence, and interceſſion of any other power; and yet Laws are given them what to handle, and limitations, and corrections made of the things handled and decreed; which continuing, they cannot truly be called a Council. That there were amongſt them more than forty ſtipendaries of the Pope, ſome receiving thirty, ſome ſixty Crowns a Month; and that others were terrified by the Letters of Cardinals, and other Courtiers. They complained of the Court, that, not induring a Reformation, they held it lawful to calumniate, reprehend, and cenſure that which was done for the ſervice of God. That, having ſeen how they proceeded againſt a neceſſary and ſmall Reformation, they muſt needs expect a great commotion, and contradiction, when they ſhall be more touched at the quick; that the Pope ought to bridle the tongues of the paſſionate, and make ſhew at the leaſt, ſeeing that he would not be tied really, that the Council may proceed with ſincerity and liberty.

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The Prelates of the Council complain of the Pope.

Paulus Emilius Verallus, Biſhop of *Capoccio*, came to bad terms with the Biſhop of *Paris*, in a meeting of many Biſhops. For *Paris* having diſliked the courſe of determining by plurality of voice, and the other anſwering that all Biſhops were equal, *Paris* asked him how many Souls were under his charge; who anſwered that he had five hundred: then *Paris* replied, that, in regard of his perſon, he yielded unto him, but in reſpect of thoſe who were repreſented by the one and the other, he that ſpake of five hundred, ought not to be made equal to him that ſpake of five hundred thouſand.

A paſſage concerning equality of Biſhops.

Things ſtanding in theſe terms, there was no Congregation made until the 20. day: in which the *French* Ambaſſadors (who had imparted their inſtructions to the Imperialiſts, and held correſpondence, according to the command of their Maſter) preſented themſelves. The *Mandate* of their Ambaſſage being exhibited and read, *Guido Faber* made a long Oration, in which, having expounded the continual deſire of the King, that the Council ſhould be aſſembled in a fit place, not ſuſpected, and the requeſt he had made to the Pope and all Chriſtian Princes for it, he told them what fruit might be expected from the opening of it. He added, that as thoſe do much err who would innovate all the Rites of the Church, ſo to maintain all of them obſtinately, not conſidering the ſtate of the preſent times, and the publick good, deſerveth no leſs reprehenſion. He declared very particularly the temptations which the Devil would uſe, to divert the Fathers from the right way, ſaying, that if they gave ear to him, they would make Councils loſe all authority; adding, that many Councils have been held in *Germany* and *Italy*, with no fruit, or very little, of which it was ſaid, that they were neither free nor lawful, becauſe they were governed by the will of another; that they ought to be careful to uſe well the power and liberty given them by God. For if, in private cauſes, they deſerve ſevere puniſhment, who do gratifie any man againſt juſtice, they deſerve it much more, who, being judges in cauſes divine, do follow a popular applauſe, or ſuffer themſelves to be made gowned ſlaves to the Princes, to whom they are obliged; and ſaid that every one

The *French* Ambaſſadors are received in congregation, and one of them maketh an Oration.

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ſhould examine himſelf what paſſion doth poſſeſs him. And becauſe the defects of ſome former Synods have made a prejudice to this, it is fit to ſhew that thoſe things are paſt, that every one may diſpute without being burned, that publick Faith is not broken, that the Holy Ghoſt is to be called for from Heaven only, and that this is not that Council which was begun by *Paul* 3. and proſecuted by *Julius* 3. in turbulent times, and in the midſt of Arms, which was diſſolved without doing any thing that was good, but a new, free, peaceable, and lawful Council, called according to the ancient cuſtom, to which all Kings, Princes, and Republicks, do give conſent, to which *Germany* will run, and bring with it the Authors of the new diſputes, the moſt grave and eloquent men which it hath. He concluded, that they the Ambaſſadors did promiſe, to this end, the aſſiſtance of the King. It ſeemed that ſome of the Fathers, and of the Legates themſelves, did not take thoſe words well; to which the *Speaker* not knowing what to anſwer, nor what complement to make, the Congregation ended with the Oration.

To which the *Speaker* knoweth not what anſwer to make.

The next day, the ſame Ambaſſadors went to the Legates, aſſembled for that purpoſe, where they excuſed the *French* Prelates for not coming, in regard of the tumults, promiſing that when they were ended, as they hoped they would be ſhortly, they ſhould come with ſpeed. Afterwards they declared that the *Hugonots* do ſuſpect the *continuation* of the Council, and do require a new; that the King had treated hereof with the Emperour, who deſired the ſame, at the inſtance of the *Confeſſioniſts*; that he had demanded the ſame alſo of the Pope: who anſwered, that the difference was only between them and the King of *Spain*, and that it concerned not him, but referred it to the Council. Therefore they demanded a Declaration, in plain terms, that the *Indiction* is new, and not in theſe words, *Indicendo continuamus, & continuando indicimus*, which is an ambiguity not befitting Chriſtians, and implieth a contradiction; and ſaid, that the Decrees already made by the Council, are not received by the *French* Church, nor by the Pope himſelf, and that *Henry* 2. did proteſt againſt it: that concerning this point, they were addreſſed to them the Legates, becauſe the Pope hath often ſaid that the queſtion of *Indiction* or *continuation* was not his, and that he referred it to the Council. And having delivered this Petition by word, they left it alſo in writing. The Legates, after they had conſulted together, anſwered in writing alſo, that they admitted the excuſe of the Biſhops abſent, but that they could not defer the diſcuſſion of that which was to be handled in the Council until their coming, becauſe the Fathers who were preſent, would be incommodated too much, that they have not power to declare that the *Indiction* of the Council is new, but to preſide only, according to the tenour of the Popes Bull, and the will of the Synod. The *French-men* were contented with the anſwer for the preſent, having determined, together with the *Imperialiſts*, not to proceed further, ſo long as in the Acts mention was not made of *continuation*, conſidering that the *Spaniards* having made requeſts in the firſt Seſſion, that the *continuation* ſhould be declared, and received much contradiction, there was danger that the Council would have been diſſolved. But the anſwer of the Legates publiſhed by the *Frenchmen*, that their authority was to preſide according to the will of the Synod, made the *Spaniards* ſay, that thoſe words did ſubject the Legates to the Council, whereas indeed they made themſelves Lords over it. And *Granata* ſaid, that it was an abſolute dominion to make uſe of the quality of a Servant, and of a Lord alſo.

The French Ambaſſadors demand of the Legates a declaration that the Council is new.

To whom the Legates anſwer.

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The Legates propoſing nothing for the next Seſſion, the Prelates, who favoured reſidency, began to diſcourſe again of it, and perſwaded the Ambaſſadors of the Emperour, Kings of *France*, *Portugal*, and all the others, to move the Legates, that it might be decided in the next Seſſion; alledging, that it having been propoſed and diſputed, it would be a great ſcandal to leave it undecided, and would ſhew that it was for ſome particular intereſt, ſeeing that the principal Prelates of the Council, and the greater number did deſire the determination of it. The *French-men*, together with the Imperialiſts, made inſtance that the points of Doctrine might not be handled in abſence of the Proteſtants, who do impugn them, until their contumacy be manifeſt, in regard the diſputation is ſuperfluous, where there is none to contradict, eſpecially there being matter enough beſides, in which the world doth agree, that is, a good Reformation of Manners; that the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador in *France* had declared, that his Queen would ſend to the Council; whence it would follow that the other Proteſtants would do the like; ſo that a general re-union of the Church would ſucceed: and that one might aſſure himſelf to ſee this effected, if a good Reformation were made. Cardinal *Simoneta* anſwered this ſecond Propoſition, that the buſineſs ſeemed eaſie, but was not ſo, becauſe all conſiſted in the diſpoſition of Benefices, in which the abuſes proceed from Kings and Princes. This troubled all the Ambaſſadors, becauſe of the nominations, and diſpoſitions which Princes do exerciſe, and eſpecially the *French* King. But the Propoſition of the Reſidence did moleſt the Legates more; nor were the Fathers pacified with the excuſes formerly uſed, that the matter was not ſufficiently digeſted, that there was not time enough before the Seſſion to make it clear, and for other conſiderations. And the heat grew ſo great, that ſome of the *Ultramontans* were agreed to proteſt, and depart. And this was the cauſe of ſtopping the motion. For the Ambaſſadors, fearing that the Council would be interrupted, and knowing that the Pope would cheriſh every occaſion, ceaſed to make any further inſtance, and perſwaded the Biſhops to be contented to expect; and, for the ſame cauſe, they laboured with the Miniſters of *Spain*, that they ſhould not inſiſt any more to have the *continuation* declared: who not only were pacified, but proteſted alſo to the Legates, that they did not then demand it; ſaying, that, if others ſeek to put the Council into the ſtock, there is no reaſon their purpoſe ſhould be covered with the Cloak of the King of *Spain*. The *proteſtation* pleaſed the Legates, who were ingaged by their word to the *Marqueſs*, and knew not how to acquit themſelves. Neither was it leſs grateful to them to defer the point of Reſidence; and, that none might change opinion, they drew a Writing, which they read in Congregation, that it might there be approved, that in the next Seſſion they ſhould do nothing but defer theſe matters until another, and that for good reſpects: and they thought they were diſburthened of two great weights. The Seſſion approaching, many who thought themſelves much pricked with the Oration of the *French* Ambaſſador, deſired the Legates to make a ſound anſwer, when the *Mandate* was read in the Seſſion; and Cardinal *Altemps* did perſwade, that by all means it ſhould be ſo, ſaying that the inſolency of that Palace-man was to be repreſſed, who was accuſtomed to ſpeak to mean people. The charge hereof was given to *Jo. Baptiſta Caſtello*, the Speaker, with order only to defend the dignity of the Synod, without touching any mans perſon.

The *Spaniards* require a determination in the point of Reſidence.

The Miniſters of the *French* King and Emperor demand of the Legates that the points of Doctrine may be deferred until the coming of the Proteſtants.

But they do all ſurceaſe, becauſe the Pope would take occaſion hereby to diſſolve the Council.

The

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The Pope, after long conſultation, reſolved that the Continuation ſhould be declared, let the Emperour do what he could; thinking that it muſt needs ſucceed well: and diſpatched a Currier to *Trent* with this Commiſſion. This, being arrived the ſecond of *June*, troubled the Legates very much, in regard of the confuſions which they ſaw would ariſe, and of the diſorder in which the Council was; and all reſolving uniformly to inform the Pope better, ſignifying unto him the things that have been handled, and the Decree already publiſhed, and ſhewing him the impoſſibility to perform his Order, the Cardinal *Altemps*, who before had leave to go to *Rome* for other cauſes, went away by Poſt the next day, to deliver the Meſſage in perſon. But at night another Currier came with Letters, that his Holineſs did refer all to the wiſdom and judgment of the Legates.

The Pope reſolveth that the *continuation* ſhall be declared; but ſoon after waveth his opinion.

The fourth of *June* being come, the Seſſion was celebrated, with the uſual Ceremonies, and the *Mandates* of the Archbiſhop of *Salzburg*, and of *France*, were read. Which being done, the *Speaker* made an anſwer; and ſaid, that there was hope proviſion would be made againſt all the diſorders of Chriſtendom, by the remedy, which the Pope thought neceſſary, that is, this Council, begun by the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, and conſent of Princes; amongſt whom the *French* King hath ſent men of Conſcience and Religion, to offer not only aſſiſtance, but obedience alſo to this Synod, which doth not leſs deſerve it than other Councils, againſt which ill affected perſons have falſly oppoſed, that they have not been lawful, nor true, though men of piety have ever held them to be Councils, having been called by him that hath authority, howſoever calumnies have been ſpread by others, that they were not free; againſt which, as alſo againſt the preſent Synod, the treacheries of Satan copiouſly and acutely repeated by them, the Ambaſſadors, did not prevail; that the Council will not make a bad interpretation of their diligent and free admonition not to regard popular applauſe, or follow the will of Princes, but as it doth eſteem it not to be neceſſary, or rather to be ſuperfluous, ſo it is willing to believe that it doth proceed from a good mind, that it may not be forced to ſay any thing againſt its mild and pious purpoſe, and uſual cuſtom. But to free them the Ambaſſadors from that vain fear, which they would ſeem to have, and aſſure them of their true purpoſe, he doth foretel them that the effects will ſhew that the Council will poſtpoſe the deſires, will, and power of whoſoever to her own dignity and authority; and promiſeth to King *Charles* what it is able to do, ſaving Faith and Religion, for preſervation of his Dignity, Kingdom, and State. The *French-men* were ill ſatisfied with this anſwer, but knew they had deſerved it. Afterwards the Decree was read by the *Maſs-Biſhop*. That the Synod, in regard of divers difficulties riſen, and to define the points of Doctrine and Reformation both together, doth appoint the next Seſſion to be held the tenth of *July*, to handle what ſhall be thought fit both of the one and the other matter: reſerving power to abridge or prolong the time in a general Congregation. And there were 35 Prelates who deſired that the point of Reſidence ſhould then be handled. Some propoſed alſo that the *continuation* ſhould be declared, which was thought to be done, to raiſe ſome tumults, to make the Council diſſolve. For they were of thoſe who were moſt obliged to *Rome*, and therefore did repent that they had ſpoken their opinion ſo freely in the point of Reſidence, ſo much abhorred by the Court. But all the reſt being ſilent, the Seſſion ended.

Which doth not pleaſe the *French-men.*

The Decree.

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The ſixth day a general Congregation was held, to give order for that which ſhould be handled in the next Seſſion; and the Articles concerning the Communion were propoſed. Whether all the faithful are neceſſarily, and by Gods Commandment, bound to receive both kinds in that Sacrament? Whether the Church doth upon good ground communicate the *Laicks* with the bread only, or hath erred herein? Whether all *Chriſt*, and all his graces, are received as well under one kind, as under both? Whether the reaſons which have moved the Church to give to the Laity the Communion of the Bread only, ought to induce it alſo, not to grant the Cup to any? If it ſhall appear that it may be granted to ſome for honeſt cauſes, upon what conditions it may be done? Whether the Communion be neceſſary for Infants, before the uſe of Reaſon? The Fathers were demanded if they were pleaſed that that matter ſhould be handled, and whether they would add any thing unto it. And although the *French* Ambaſſadours, and many of the Prelates did think fit that the points of doctrine ſhould not be handled, until it did appear whether the Proteſtants would come or not, it being evident, that, in caſe they ſhould be contumacious, the diſcuſſion would be in vain, as not neceſſary for the Catholicks, and not accepted by the others, yet none oppoſed, at the earneſt perſwaſions of the Imperialiſts, who hoped to obtain the Communion of the Cup; which would be a beginning to give *Germany* ſatisfaction. It being reſolved that the ſix Articles ſhould be handled, and the Divines ſpeak firſt, and then the Prelates, it did appear that all the time until the Seſſion would be ſpent in this only, eighty eight Divines being to ſpeak, and many Prelates to give their voices. Therefore ſome ſaid, that there was no need of any great conſideration to be had of theſe points, becauſe they were fully diſcuſſed in the former Aſſembly under *Julius*, but that a brief and ſound examination might ſerve; ſo that they may be determined in a few days, and all the other time may be ſpent in the Reformation. They ſaid that Article of Reſidency had been already propoſed, and examined in part, and that it was meet that it ſhould once be ended. This opinion was openly followed by thirty Fathers, and it appeared that it was ſecretly approved by many more, who would have ſhewed themſelves in the concluſion. But Cardinal *Simoneta*, deſiring to interpoſe a delay, by ſaying that it was not meet to handle that matter until mens minds were pacified, which had been moved by the former difference, which will not ſuffer them to diſcern the truth, opened a Gate to *John Baptiſta Caſtagna*, Archbiſhop of *Roſano*, and to *Pompeius Zambeccarus* Biſhop of *Sulmona*; both which ſpeaking hotly and ſharply, raiſed ſuch a tumult that they feared ſome inconvenience. For remedy whereof the Cardinal of *Mantua* prayed thoſe of the Reſidence to be quiet, promiſing, that in another Seſſion, or when they handled the Sacrament of Order, this ſhould be diſcuſſed. The tumult being thus appeaſed, and it appearing, that the reſuming of the points handled under *Julius*, would ſpend more time, and be more difficult than to examine them again, as happeneth to a judge who is to frame his ſentence upon a proceſs made before another, a reſolution was taken, that the Divines ſhould ſpeak of them, and a Congregation be held twice a day, in which two of the Legates ſhould aſſiſt, (to dividing their charges, that they might make an end the ſooner) and of the Prelates as many as would; and that they ſhould have two days to ſtudy, and begin the third. With this concluſion the Congregation ended. But *Simoneta* was offended with the promiſe which *Mantua* made,

Order given for the matter of the next Seſſion.

The Cardinal of *Mantua* promiſeth that the point of Reſidence ſhall be diſcuſſed.

Wherewith Card. *Simoneta* is much offended.

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made, without consent or participation of his Colleagues, and made an open quarrel. *Mantua* was blamed by the Prelates who favoured the Court, and calumniated to be ill affected; but, by the sincere, was commended for his wisdom, who, in a dangerous necessity, took a course to withstand the divisions and protestations which were prepared, and blamed *Simoneta* for being offended, because *Mantua*, much more eminent than he, trusting upon the consent of *Seripando* and *Varmiense*, whose opinion he knew, might think that a resolution taken by necessity, ought to have been ratified by him also.

The next day the Emperours Ambassadours having obtained, as they desired, the proposition of the Chalice, for which until then they had proceeded with respect, came to the Legates, and presented to them, according to the instruction of their Prince, twenty points of Reformation. 1. That the Pope would be content to make a just Reformation of himself and the Court of *Rome*. 2. That if the number of Cardinals cannot be reduced to twelve, yet that it be brought at the least to the double of it, with two supernumerary, so that they may not exceed six and twenty. 3. That no scandalous dispensations may be granted hereafter. 4. That the executions against the common Laws may be revoked, and all the Monasteries subjected to the Bishops. 5. That *plurality* of Benefices be taken away, and Schools erected in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, and that Ecclesiastical Offices may not be bought and sold. 6. That Bishops may be compelled to reside, and not exercise their Office by *Vicars*, and if they be not sufficient, that the charge may not be committed to one *Vicar*, but to many persons, and that the Visitations, and Diocesan Synods, may be made every year. 7. That every Ecclesiastical Ministry be exercised freely, and that rich Benefices, without cure, may be incorporated to those that have cure, and small revenues. 8. That the Canons against Symony may be revived. 9. That the Ecclesiastical Constitutions be abridged, the superfluity cut off, and not made equal to the obligations of the Law of God. 10. That excommunication be not used but for mortal sin, or notorious irregularity. 11. That Divine Service be so said, as that it may be understood by him that saith it, and by him that heareth. 12. That the *Breviaries* and *Missals* be corrected, and those things taken away which be not found in the Scripture, as also the prolixity. 13. That in celebrating the Divine Offices in Latine, Prayers be intermingled in the Vulgar. 14. That the Clergy and Monastical Order be reformed, according to the ancient Institution, and that so great Riches may not be administred so ill. 15. That it be considered whether it be expedient to remit so great obligations of the positive Law, abating some of the rigour, in the difference of Meats and Fasts, and granting Marriage of Priests to some Nations. 16. That, to take away the diversity of Opinions, the divers *Postils* be forbidden to be read, and one made by publick Authority, and likewise a new *Ritual*, which may be followed by all. 17. That a way be found, not to chase away bad Parish Priests, because that is easie, but to substitute better. 18. That in great Provinces many Bishopricks be erected, converting rich Monasteries to this use. 19. That, for Ecclesiastical goods usurped, perhaps it was better at that time to pass them over with dissimulation. In the end to say something to please the Pope, and to pacifie him if he were angry for these propositions, he added: 20. That the Legates should endeavour, that no unprofitable questions, which breed scandal, as whether Residence be *de jure divino*, and the like, should be

The Emperours Ambassadours propose to the Legates twenty points of Reformation.

be propoſed; and that the Fathers ſhould ſpeak without choler, and not make themſelves a Fable to the Adverſaries. Concerning the 17 they gave ſome particular notes, to reduce thoſe who were leaſt obſtinate amongſt the Sectaries, by ſending them to ſome Univerſity where they may be inſtructed, in a ſhort time, and giving order to the Biſhops, who have no Univerſity, to make a Colledge in the next, for the Youth of their Dioceſſes, to make a Catalogue of the Doctors which are to be read in the Schools, prohibiting that any others be read. 1562. *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX.

The Propoſitions being underſtood, the Legates, retiring firſt, and conſulting together, returned and made anſwer; that it was not poſſible to propoſe them the next Seſſion, having, at their inſtance, that matter of the Chalice upon their hands, of great importance and difficuley; that the things propoſed are divers, and concern divers ſubjects, which cannot be all digeſted together; that therefore they would communicate to the Prelates, as occaſions were offered, thoſe which had affinity with the other Reformations. The Ambaſſadors knew that they ſpake this that they might not publiſh their writing in Congregation, that, by gaining time, they might delude the Emperours expectation. But yet, at that time, they ſaid no more. Afterwards, conſulting together, they held it expedient to inform the Emperour well, as well of this particular, as generally of the manner how they proceeded in the Council. And to do this, the Biſhop of *Prague* rode poſt, that he might return before the Seſſion. The Legates, perceiving that the Council ſtood upon bad terms, in many reſpects, but eſpecially for the diſtaſte and ſuſpicion of the Pope, thought it neceſſary to inform him fully of all that was paſt, and imminent. For this Fryar *Leonardus Marinus*, Archbiſhop of *Lanciano*; was choſen, becauſe he was a man of ſpirit, and acceptable to the Pope, promoted and much favoured by him, and a friend alſo to *Seripando*; whoſe inſtruction was to inform the Pope fully, to excuſe the Legates, and to pacifie his Holineſs. He carried the common Letters of the Legates for his Credence, to which *Simoneta* made much and long difficulty to ſubſcribe, nor would have done it, but that they agreed that every one ſhould write particular Letters of his own. *Simoneta* wrote, that he did think to ſend the Archbiſhop of *Roſano*, for his particular, to give a more exact information, but that, being better adviſed, he afterwards reſolved to expect the event of *Lanciano* his journey.

Who anſwer that they cannot be propoſed in the next Seſſion.

The Biſhop of *Prague* goeth by poſt to inform the Emperour of the ſtate of the Council.

And the Archbiſhop of *Lanciano* to inform the Pope.

The mutual diſtaſtes, and detractions of the *Romans* againſt the *Trentines*, and of theſe againſt thoſe, did increaſe at the arrival of every Currier. In *Trent*, the favourers of Reſidence did bewail the miſeries of the Church, the ſervitude of the Council, and the manifeſt deſperation to ſee the Church reformed in *Rome*. The oppoſites lamented that a Schiſm was plotted in the Council, yea, an Apoſtacy from the Apoſtolick See. They ſaid that the *Ultramontans*, for malice and envy againſt the *Italians*, did aim not ſo much at the depreſſion, as at the abolition of the Papacy; which being the foundation of the Church, becauſe *Chriſt* hath made it ſo, the total deſtruction of the whole Building muſt needs enſue. The Pope, receiving new advices daily, and always worſe, as every day ſome novity did happen in *Trent*, beſides the accidents occurring in *Germany* and *France*, contrary to his Affairs, was ſtill more diſpleaſed. The opinion of the major part for Reſidency, did not ſo much trouble him, as the practices which were made, eſpecially by the Ambaſſadors, perceiving that the Princes were intereſted in it againſt his Authority. He ſaw the Emperour was wholly bent

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to make his Son King of the *Romans*, and ready to give all ſatisfaction to *Germany*; and therefore had cauſed theſe Articles of Reformation to be preſented to the Legates, and called to him the Ambaſſador *Prague*, to find a way how to propoſe them in Council, and eſtabliſh them. He knew the *French* King was exhauſted, compaſſed with infinite difficulties, and in danger to be forced to compound with the *Hugonots*, which if it happen, the *French* Prelates may run to the Council, join with the *Spaniards*, and make themſelves Authors of other Propoſitions againſt the Papal Authority. He thought to calm the tempeſt which he ſaw prepared againſt him, both with deeds and words, by levying four thouſand *Swiſſes*, and three thouſand *Dutch* Horſe-men, he ſent to *Avignon Nicolas Gambara* with five hundred Foot, and an hundred light-horſe men; gave Money to the Duke of *Savoy*, to put himſelf in Arms; and oppoſe, if the *Hugonots* would deſcend into *Italy*. And to engage all Princes, he reſolved to treat a League defenſive of all Catholicks, againſt the plots of the Proteſtants in every place, holding it to be an eaſie thing to make them condeſcend, if for no other cauſe, yet for this, at the leaſt, to free themſelves from ſuſpicion. In *Italy* he thought it not hard to induce all. For the Duke of *Florence* was wholly his. In *Savoy* he had intereſt, for the Succours he ſent him, and for the danger he was in; the *Venetians* deſired to keep the *Ultramontans* out of *Italy*; the King of *Spain* had need of him for *Naples*, and *Milan*, and *France* for the actual neceſſity in which it was. Therefore he made the Propoſition in *Rome* to the Emperours Ambaſſador, and the *Venetians*, and ſent the Abbot of Saint *Saluſto* for this end into *France*, and the Lord *Odeſcalco* into *Spain*; to whom alſo he gave inſtruction, to complain to the King, that the *Spaniſh* Biſhops were united againſt his authority, and to ſhew him that the Propoſitions of the Emperour were fit to make a Schiſm. It was eaſie to foreſee the iſſue of that project, to any that did know, though but ſuperficially, the ends of the Princes. The Emperour would by no means condeſcend to any thing that might give ſuſpicion to the Proteſtants; the *French* King was ſo far from hindring the paſſage to the *Hugonots* in *Italy*, that he would have been content to have ſeen his whole Kingdom rid of them; *Spain* having great Poſſeſſions in thoſe parts, did more fear and abhor an union of *Italian* Princes, than deſire the ruine of the Hereticks; the *Venetians* and Duke of *Florence* could not conſent to any thing, which might trouble the Peace of *Italy*. And ſo it happened that the Propoſition of the League was not embraced by any of the Princes, every one alledging a particular cauſe, and all one common, that it would hinder the progreſs of the Council; which many believed would not have diſpleaſed his Holineſs: and the rather becauſe he again propoſed in Conſiſtory the Declaration of the Continuation, and that himſelf would make a Declaration concerning Reſidency. Which things he did not perform, in regard of the opinion of Cardinal *Carpi*, followed by the greater part of the other Cardinals, that it would not be good ſervice for his Holineſs, nor the Apoſtolick See, to make himſelf Author of odious things, which might aliene the minds of one party, and that it was better to leave them in the liberty of the Council for that time.

The Pope treateth a common League of all Catholick Princes againſt the Proteſtants.

But cannot effect it.

The Pope complaineth of the Ambaſſadors.

Notwithſtanding he did not forbear to complain in Conſiſtory of all the Ambaſſadors. Of the *French* he ſaid, that *Lanſac* ſeemed to be an Ambaſſador of the *Hugonots*, by his Propoſitions, deſiring that the Queen of *England*, the Proteſtants of *Suiſſerland*, *Saxony*, and *Wittemberg*, ſhould be expected at the Council, who are declared

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Enemies and Rebels, and have no other end than to corrupt the Council, and make it *Hugonot*; which he ſaid himſelf would preſerve, and have Forces to do it. That he alſo and his Colleagues defended ſome, who diſputed the authority of the Council to be above the Pope, which opinion is heretical, and the favourers of it are Hereticks, threatning to perſecute and chaſtiſe them. He ſaid they lived like *Hugonots*; that they did no reverence to the Sacrament; that *Lanſac*, at his Table, in the preſence of many Prelates invited, had ſaid, that there would come ſo many Biſhops out of *France* and *Germany*, that they would chaſe the Idol out of *Rome*. He complained of one of the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors, and ſent his Maſters word of him. He ſaid of the Cardinals, *Mantua*, *Serepando*, and *Varmienſe*, that they were unworthy of the *Cap*. Of the Prelates he ſpake as occaſion was offered, and perſwaded the friends of each of them to write unto them. All this was done and ſaid by him, not becauſe he believed it, or for intemperance of his tongue, but by Art, to force every one, ſome for fear, ſome for ſhame, ſome for civility, to make his Apology to him, which he did moſt eaſily receive, and readily believe. And it's incredible how his Affairs were advanced by this means. For he gained ſome, and cauſed the others to proceed more warily, and remiſſly. Whereupon his natural courage reviving in him, which ſtill was full of hope, he ſaid, that all were united againſt him, but that, in the end, he would make them all be re-united in his favour, becauſe they have all need of him, ſome demanding aſſiſtance, and ſome graces.

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And of three of the Legats.
That he might force them to make their Apologies.

Amongſt the Prelates which the Pope ſent laſt to the Council from *Rome*, as hath been ſaid, there was one *Charles Viſconte*, Biſhop of *Vintimiglia*, who had been Senator of *Milan*, and imployed in many Ambaſſages; a man fit for Negotiation, and of an exact judgment. Having loaded this man with promiſes (which he performed alſo, creating him Cardinal in the firſt promotion after the Council) he deſired to have him in *Trent* beſides the Legates, as a ſecret Miniſter. He gave him Commiſſion to ſpeak that to divers which was not fit to be committed to writing, to mark well the differences between the Legates, and the particular cauſes thereof, to obſerve exactly the humours, opinions, and practices of the Biſhops, and to write to him particularly all matters of ſubſtance. He charged him to obſerve the Cardinal of *Mantua* above all the Legates, but to hold intelligence with *Simoneta*, who knew his mind, and to labour that there ſhould be no more any demand made for the Declaration concerning Reſidency; or, if it could not be hindred, that it ſhould be deferred untill the end of the Council; and that, if that alſo could not be obtained, he ſhould delay it as long as it was poſſible, uſing all means which he thought expedient for this end. He gave him alſo a Liſt of the Names of thoſe who favoured the *Roman* part in that matter, with commiſſion to thank them, and incourage them to continue, and to promiſe them recompenſe: referring to his diſcretion, intreating with the oppoſites, to uſe ſome kind of threats, without ſharpneſs of words, but ſtrong in ſubſtance, and to promiſe to thoſe that would relent, oblivion of all that is paſt, and to give particular advice to Cardinal *Boromeo* of whatſoever did happen: which he did. And the Regiſter of the Letters written by him, with much acuteneſs, and judgement, hath been ſhewed me, out of which a great part of thoſe things which follow hath been drawn.

The Biſhop of *Vintimiglia* is the Popes ſecret Miniſter in the Council.

But having received advice of the promiſe made by *Mantua*, he ſaw it was hard to divert the handling of that Article, and thought that

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the diſſention between the Legates would produce greater evils, and eſteemed this to be the moſt principal point, as well in deed, as for reputation. For how could he hope to repreſs the attempts of the Miniſters of other Princes, when he could not govern his own? Therefore he thought it neceſſary to uſe the ſtrongeſt Medicines, for a diſeaſe that had ſeized on the vital parts; and reſolved to ſhew openly how ill he was ſatisfied with *Mantua*; which he thought would either make him alter his courſe, or ask leave to depart, or, by ſome means, to retire from *Trent*: and if the diſſolution of the Council did enſue, it was ſo much the better. He gave order that the diſpatches to *Trent* formerly addreſſed to him, as prime Legate, ſhould hereafter be directed to *Simoneta*; he removed, from the Congregation of Cardinals, who were to conſult of the Affairs of *Trent*, the Cardinal *Gonzaga*, and cauſed *Frederico Boromeo* to tell him that the Cardinal, his Uncle, did think to ruine the Apoſtolick See, but ſhould effect nothing but the ruine of himſelf, and of his Houſe. He related to the Cardinal S. *Angelo*, who was a great Friend to *Mantua*, whatſoever had happened, and ſhewed himſelf moſt cholerick againſt him; and as much againſt *Camillus Olivus*, the Cardinals Secretary, as not having performed the promiſe he made unto him, when he was ſent to *Rome*. Which coſt the poor man very dear. For howſoever the Pope and the Cardinal were reconciled, yet after his death, returning to *Mantua*, with the Corps of his Maſter, he was impriſoned by the *Inquiſition*, upon divers pretences, and troubled a long time; whom, after his perſecutions were ended, I knew my ſelf to be a perſon very virtuous, and that he had not deſerved ſuch misfortunes.

The diſpatches from *Rome* are no more addreſſed to the Cardinal of *Mantua*.

Whoſe Secretary alſo, *Camillus Olivus*, is in diſgrace with the Pope.

The negotiation of the Archbiſhop of *Lanciano* with the Pope.

When the Pope was thus affected, *Lanciano* came to *Rome*; and among other things, preſented to his Holineſs a Letter ſubſcribed by more than thirty Biſhops, in favour of Reſidency. In which they complained of his diſtaſte againſt them, proteſting they did not think their opinion was contrary to his authority, which they would defend againſt all, and maintain it inviolable in all parts. This made a miraculous diſpoſition in the Popes mind to receive kindly the Letters of the Legates, *Mantua*, *Seripando*, and *Varmienſe*, and to give ear to the relation of the Archbiſhop, who gave him a particular account of all occurrences, and made him a great deal leſs ſuſpicious. Then he began to excuſe the Cardinals, that, in the beginning, not being able to foreſee that any inconvenience could happen, they did diſcover the opinion which in their conſcience they did hold, and after that contentions did ariſe, without their fault or defect, their adherence to that part was honourable for his Holineſs and the Court. For now it could not be ſaid, that the Pope and all the Court were oppoſite to an opinion, which the world held to be pious and neceſſary. And this hath ſucceeded well. For hereby they have gained credit and authority with the Prelates, and have been able to moderate the raſhneſs of ſome, who, otherwiſe, would have made a great diviſion, to the great damage of the Church. He related the frequent and effectual perſwaſions, which they made to quiet the Prelates, and the affronts alſo which they received from ſome, who told them they could not be ſilent againſt their conſcience. He ſhewed the dangers and neceſſity, which forced *Mantua* to make the promiſe. He added, that the greater part of the Prelates, to take all ſuſpicion out of the mind of his Holineſs, did offer to declare in the next Seſſion, that he was Head of the Church, and had given him Commiſſion to deliver the Ambaſſage to him, which, for many reſpects, they thought

thought not fit to commit to writing; and named ſo many of them, that he made the Pope marvel, and ſay, that bad tongues, and worſe pens had painted thoſe Fathers in other colours. Then he ſhewed him the union, and reſolution of the Miniſters of Princes to maintain the Council, and the diſpoſition of the Prelates to ſupport any thing, that it might continue; and no occaſion ariſe to diſſolve it; that the point of Reſidence was ſo advanced, and the Fathers ſo intereſted, in regard of their conſcience and honour, and the Ambaſſadors for their Reputation, that it was impoſſible to deny the handling and defining of it. He gave him an account, and a Copy of the Propoſitions of the Emperours Ambaſſadors, ſhewing they did all aim to ſubject the Pope to the Council, and that the Cardinal of *Mantua* did dexterouſly decline the propoſing of them in Congregation. He concluded, that, it being impoſſible to recall that which was paſt, his Holineſs might attribute much unto chance, pardoning, according to his uſual benignity, that which formerly had happened, not by malice, but by negligence of ſome, and might make better proviſion for hereafter, becauſe all were reſolved not to propoſe or handle any thing, before it was conſulted and determined by his Holineſs.

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The Archbiſhop is ſent back to *Trent* with Letters and inſtructions.

The Pope, weighing the Remonſtrance well, ſent preſently back the Archbiſhop, with Letters to the Legates, and to ſome of thoſe who had ſubſcribed the Letters to him, in anſwer of the Letters which he brought, and gave him Commiſſion to tell them all in his name, that his will was the Council ſhould be free; that every one ſhould ſpeak, according to his Conſcience; that they ſhould make Decrees according to truth; that he was not diſpleaſed becauſe the voices were given more after one manner than another, but in regard of the attempts and practiſes to perſwade and violence others, and of the contentions and bitterneſs between them, which things do not become a general Council. Therefore that he doth not oppoſe the determination of Reſidence, but adviſeth them to lay aſide their heat, and that when their minds are quieted, and do aim only at the ſervice of God, and benefit of the Church, they may handle it with profit. He was content it ſhould be told *Mantua* that he was glad to underſtand of his innocency, and affection, and that he will give a demonſtration thereof; praying him to labour that the Council may be quickly ended, becauſe, by the diſcourſe he hath had with *Lanciano*, he hath underſtood that it may be concluded in *September*. And, in conformity hereof, he wrote a Letter to the Legates, that, following the ſteps of the Council under *Julius*, and taking the points already digeſted by it, they ſhould immediately determine them, and make an end.

The communion of the Cup is diſcuſſed.

At that time they were buſied in *Trent*, in hearing the Divines ſpeak in the Congregations, concerning the ſixteen Articles, who began the ninth, and ended the three and twentieth of the Month; and howſoever they were in number 60, yet nothing worthy obſervation was delivered by any, in regard the matter being new, never handled by the Schoolmen, defined in the Council of *Conſtance* at the firſt onſet, and maintained by the *Bohemians* by force of Arms, rather than by Reaſon and Diſputation, they had nothing to ſtudy, but what was written in the laſt forty years, by ſome few, excited by the Diſputations of *Luther*. Therefore they all agreed, that there was no neceſſity or precept of the Cup; and, for proof, they alledged places of the New Teſtament, where Bread only is named; as in Saint *John*, *He that eateth this bread ſhall live for ever*. They ſaid that, until the time

of

1562 of the Apoſtles, Bread only was in uſe; as it is read in Saint *Luke*, that the Diſciples in *Emmaus* knew *CHRIST* in breaking of Bread, where there is no mention of Wine. And Saint *Paul*, ready to ſuffer ſhipwrack at the Sea, doth bleſs the Bread, and ſpeaketh not of Wine. In many of the old Canons mention is made of the Communion of the Laity, as differing from that of the Clergy, which difference could not conſiſt in any thing but in the Cup. To theſe were added the Figures of the Old Teſtament. Manna, which ſignifieth the *Euchariſt*, hath no drink in it. *Jonathan*, who taſted the Hony, did not drink; and ſuch other congruities. And it was a matter of great patience to hear them all repeat the ſame things. I ought not to omit one particular, ſeriouſly delivered by *James Payva*, a *Portugal*, that *Chriſt*, both by Precept and Example, hath declared that the Bread is due to all, and the Cup to the Prieſts only. For having conſecrated the Bread, he gave it to his Diſciples, who then were Laicks, and repreſented the whole people, commanding they ſhould all eat of it; afterwards he ordained them Prieſts, in theſe words, *Do this in remembrance of me*; and, in the end, he conſecrated the Cup, and gave it to them now conſecrated Prieſts. But the wiſer ſort did lightly paſs over this kind of Arguments, and confined themſelves to two. One, that the Church hath power from *CHRIST* to change the things that are accidental in the Sacraments, and that to the *Euchariſt* both kinds are neceſſary, as it is a Sacrifice; but as it is a Sacrament, one only, ſo that the Church hath power to ordain the uſe of one alone. Which they confirmed, becauſe it did once, in the beginning, change in Baptiſm the invocation of the Trinity into the invocation of *Chriſt* only, and returned afterwards to the Divine Inſtitution. The other Reaſon was, that the Church cannot err, but ſhe hath ſuffered the uſe of Bread only to be brought in; and finally hath approved it, in the Council of *Conſtance*, and therefore it muſt be ſaid that there is no Divine Precept or neceſſity to the contrary. But Fryar *Antonius Mandolphus*, a Divine, belonging to the Biſhop of *Prague*, having firſt affirmed that he was of the opinion of others in this, that there was no Divine Precept, obſerved, that it was as contrary to the Catholick Doctrine to give the Cup to the Laicks by Divine Precept, as it was to deny it to them by Divine Precept. Therefore all thoſe Reaſons, which did ſo conclude, were to be laid aſide, and thoſe of the Diſciples in *Emmaus*, and of Saint *Paul* in the Ship, becauſe by them it would be concluded that it was not ſacriledge to conſecrate one kind without the other, which is contrary to all the Doctors, and meaning of the Church, and overthroweth the diſtinction of the *Euchariſt* as it is a Sacrifice, and as it is a Sacrament. That it was plain alſo, that the diſtinction of the Laical and Clerical Communion in the *Roman Ordinary*, was a diverſity of places in the Church, not of the Sacrament received, becauſe otherwiſe this Reaſon would conclude, that, not only thoſe who ſay *Maſs*, but all the Clergy ſhould have the Cup. Of the authority of the Church in changing the accidental things of the Sacraments, no man can doubt; but he ſaid it was not a time to diſpute whether the Cup were accidental or ſubſtantial. He concluded that this Article might be omitted, as already decided in the Council of *Conſtance*, and that the fourth and fifth Articles might be exactly handled, becauſe granting the Cup to all Nations that deſire it, all other diſputations are ſuperfluous, yea hurtful. *John Paul*, a Divine of the Biſhop of Five-Churches, ſpake alſo to the ſame purpoſe, and both of them

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The opinion of *James Payva* a *Portugal.*

Two principal arguments againſt the communion of the Cup.

them did diſpleaſe, becauſe it was thought they ſpake againſt their conſcience, at the inſtance of their Maſters. 1562

Concerning the ſecond Article, the Divines were alſo uniform in the affirmative, and all their Reaſons were reduced to three Heads. The congruities of the Old Teſtament, when the people did participate of the Meat Offerings in the Sacrifices, but never of the Drink Offerings. To take away from the vulgar occaſion to believe that one thing is contained under the Bread, another under the Wine. The third the danger of irreverence. And here the Reaſons recited by *Gerſon* were brought; that the blood might be ſhed, either in the Church, or in bringing of it, eſpecially over the Mountains in Winter; that it would hang in the Beards of the Laicks; that it would be ſower if it were kept; that there would want Veſſels to hold enough for ten thouſand or twenty thouſand perſons; that, in ſome places, it would be too great a charge, in reſpect of the price of Wine; that the Veſſels would not be kept clean; that a Lay-man would be of equal dignity with a Prieſt. Which reaſons it was neceſſary to ſay that they were juſt and good; otherwiſe the Prelates and Doctors, for ſo many Ages, would have taught an untruth, and the Church of *Rome*, and Council of *Conſtance* erred. All theſe Reaſons (except the laſt) were thought ridiculous, becauſe thoſe dangers might be more eaſily withſtood in theſe times, than they could in thoſe 12 firſt Ages, when the Church was in greater poverty. And the laſt ſeemed to be of no force to ſhew that the change was reaſonably made, but was good to maintain it after it was made. The two Divines afore named did adviſe that this Article alſo might be omitted.

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In the third Article, that all *Chriſt* is received under one kind, the Doctrine of *Concomitancy*, delivered by the Divines, was taken for an Argument. For the Body of *Chriſt* being under the Bread, by virtue of the *conſecration*, *Chriſt* having ſaid by words omnipotent and effective, *This is my Body*, and the Body being alive, it muſt needs have blood, ſoul, and divinity: ſo that all *Chriſt* was undoubtedly received under the Bread. But ſome inferred hereby, that therefore all graces are received in it, ſeeing that he who hath all *Chriſt* wanteth nothing, becauſe he is abundantly ſufficient. Others ſaid to the contrary, that the illation was neither neceſſary, nor probable. For thoſe who are baptized, are filled with *Chriſt*, as S. *Paul* ſaith, and yet other Sacraments are given unto them. And becauſe ſome avoided the force of the Reaſon by ſaying, that the other Sacraments are neceſſary in reſpect of ſins committed after Baptiſm, it was replied that the ancient Church did immediately communicate the baptized, ſo that, as from being filled with all *Chriſt* in Baptiſm, it cannot be inferred that the Euchariſt doth not confer other *graces*, ſo from having received all *Chriſt* under the Bread, it cannot be inferred that no other grace is to be conferred by the Blood; neither can it be ſaid, without great abſurdity, that the Prieſt in the *Maſs*, having received the Body of our Lord, and, by conſequence, all *Chriſt*, doth not receive any *grace* in drinking of the Cup: for otherwiſe to drink of it, would be a work indifferent and vain. Moreover it is decided, by the common Doctrine of the Schools, and of the Church, that by every ſacramental action, by vertue of the work it ſelf, which they call, *Ex opere operato*, a degree of *grace* is conferred. But it cannot be denied that to drink the Blood of *Chriſt* is a ſacramental action, therefore it cannot be denied, that it hath a ſpecial *grace* annexed. In this controverſie the greater part of the Divines held, that, not ſpeaking of the quantity of *grace*, anſwerable to

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the diſpoſition of the Receiver, but of that which the Schoolmen call ſacramental, it was equal in him that received one kind only, and in him that received both. The other opinion was defended, though with the ſmaller number, yet more earneſtly. Fryar *Amante* Servita, a *Breſcian*, a Divine of the Biſhop of *Sebenico*, a favourer of this ſecond opinion, paſſed very far, I know not with what aim or end: who, alledging the Doctrine of *Thomas Cajetan*, that blood is not part of the humane nature, but the firſt aliment, and adding that it could not be ſaid that the body doth neceſſarily draw in *concomitance* its aliment, did infer that the thing contained under both kinds is not abſolutely the ſame: and he added, that the blood of the *Euchariſt*, according to the words of *Chriſt*, was blood ſpilt, and, by conſequence, out of the veins, in which if it remained, it could not be drink, ſo that it could not be drawn in *concomitancy* with the vein, and that the *Euchariſt* was inſtituted in memory of the death of *Chriſt*, which was by ſeparation, and effuſion of blood. Whereat there was a noiſe raiſed amongſt the Divines, and a cracking of the Benches. Therefore, recalling himſelf, he retracted, and ſaid that the heat of diſputation had carried him to alledge the reaſons of the adverſaries, as if they had been his own, which notwithſtanding he purpoſed to reſolve in the end; and he ſpent the reſidue of his diſcourſe in reſolving them; and, in concluſion, asked pardon of the ſcandal given, becauſe he had not ſpoke with ſuch caution, as to ſhew plainly that thoſe reaſons were captious, and contrary to his own opinion. And he made an end without ſpeaking of the other three Articles.

Fryer *Amante* concurreth in opinion with the *Lutherans*.

But preſently recanteth and asketh pardon.

The 4. Article that the Cup is not to be allowed to the people, is ſtrongly maintained by the *Spaniſh* Prelates.

But, concerning the fourth Article, the *Spaniſh* Divines, and dependants on *Spain*, were marvellouſly united, in giving counſel that, by no means, the uſe of the Cup ſhould be permitted to *Germany*, or others. The ſubſtance of that which they ſaid was; That none of the cauſes which formerly moved the Church to take it from the people being ceaſed, yea being now more urgent, and others more ſtrong and eſſential annexed, it was fit to perſevere in the determination of the Council of *Conſtance*, and of the Church before and after. And diſcourſing of the dangers of irreverence, which was the firſt kind of the cauſes, they ſaid they were now more to be feared, than in former times. For then there was none who did not conſtantly believe the real and natural preſence of *Chriſt* in the Sacrament, after the conſecration, ſo long as the kinds did laſt, and yet the Cup was taken away, becauſe men had not ſuch regard to the blood of *Chriſt*, as was neceſſary; and therefore what reverence can be hoped for now, when ſome do deny the real preſence, and ſome will have it only in the uſe? Beſides there is not ſo much devotion amongſt good Catholicks, diligence in humane Affairs, and negligence in divine being much increaſed; ſo that it may be feared, that a greater neglect may produce a greater irreverence. To make a difference between Prieſts and others, is now more neceſſary than ever, becauſe the Proteſtants have expoſed them to the hatred of the people, and ſpread a Doctrine which taketh from them their exemptions, ſubjecteth them to Lay Magiſtrates, detracteth from their power of abſolving from ſins, and ſaith alſo that they ſhould be called to the Miniſtry by the people, and be obnoxious to be depoſed by them; which ſhould force the Church to preſerve exactly all thoſe Rites, which may give them reputation. The danger that the vulgar may receive an impreſſion of falſe belief, and be perſwaded that ſomething is in the Cup which is not under

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the Bread is now more urgent, in regard of the new opinions ſpread abroad. Many ſaid, that the Church did prohibit the Chalice, to oppoſe the error of *Neſtorius*, who did believe that all *Chriſt* was not under one kind; which being the opinion of ſome of the Hereticks now, the prohibition is to be maintained ſtill. What they would infer by this I cannot expreſs better, having never read that *Neſtorius* did ſpeak in this ſubject, nor that the Moderns do handle it with thoſe terms. But the third danger that the authority of the Church would be debaſed, and a concluſion made that it hath erred in taking away the Cup, may be called not a danger, but a thing that would certainly happen; neither was the requeſt made by the Proteſtants, but to conclude, that the Synod having confeſſed the error paſt, hath corrected it, by this grant; ſo they will publiſh the victory, and demand a change alſo in other conſtitutions of the Church. They ſaid they were deceived, who thought the *Dutchmen* would be ſatisfied with this, and ſubmit themſelves to the Decrees of the Council; yea, they will take away Faſts, difference of meats, demand marriage of Prieſts; and an abolition of Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction in the exterior Court, which is the mark at which they all do aim; that it is not credible they are Catholicks who deſire the Cup, becauſe the Catholicks do all believe that the Church cannot err, and that no devotion is acceptable to God if it be not approved by it, and that obedience to the Church is the height of Chriſtian perfection; that it is certainly to be believed, that he that doth demand the Cup thinks it neceſſary, and he that thinketh ſo, cannot be a Catholick; that none doth demand it believing that he may not lawfully uſe it without the grant of the Council, but that they may not be hindred by their Princes, who, if they were alone, would uſurp it, without any allowance; that of this every one may be aſſured, obſerving, that, not the people, but the Princes do entreat, who will not ſuffer a novity without a lawful Decree, not becauſe the people would not bring it in of themſelves, more willingly, than ſeek it of the Council.

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And this argument was ſo preſſed, that Fryar *Francis Forier*, a *Portugal*, uſed a conceit, which the Auditors thought to be not only bold, but petulant alſo; that the Princes would make themſelves *Lutherans*, by permiſſion of the Council. The *Spaniards* exhorted them to conſider, that, if this were granted to *Germany*, *Italy* and *Spain* would demand the like, to whom it could not be denied; from whence alſo theſe Nations would learn not to obey, and to deſire a change of other Eccleſiaſtical Laws; and that to make a moſt Catholick Country *Lutheran*, there was no better mean, than to give it the Cup. *Franciſcus Della Torre*, a *Jeſuite*, repeated a ſaying of the Cardinal Saint *Angelo*, the chief *Penitentiary*, that Satan, who was wont to transform himſelf into an *Angel* of Heaven, and his Miniſters into Miniſters of light, doth now under the cover of the Chalice, with the blood of *Chriſt*, exhort to give the people a Cup of Poyſon.

A petulant ſaying of a Fryer againſt the Princes, who demanded the Cup.

Some added, that the providence of God, guiding the Church, inſpired the Council of *Conſtance*, in the former age, to eſtabliſh the taking away of the Cup, by a Decree, not only for the reaſons which were then of force, but becauſe if it were now in uſe, there would be no external ſign, to diſtinguiſh the *Catholicks* from the *Hereticks*, and this diſtinction being taken away, the *Proteſtants* would be mingled in the Church with the faithful, and that would follow which Saint *Paul* ſaith, that *A little leaven doth quickly make ſowre a great lump*; ſo

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that to grant the Cup would be nothing elſe but to give the Hereticks greater opportunity to hurt the Church. Some alſo, who knew not the petition had been preſented to the Pope, and by him, (to unburthen himſelf, and draw the matter in length) referred to the Council, did expound it ill, that the requeſt was then made to the Synod, and not to the Pope, ſuſpecting it was to this end, that they might enlarge every grant with unfit interpretations, and ſo cauſe a neceſſity of another Council.

But thoſe who thought they might condeſcend to the requeſts of the Emperour, and of ſo many other Princes and People, gave counſel to proceed with leſs rigour, and not to make ſuch bad interpretations of the Godly Prayers of the weak Brethren, but to follow the precept of Saint *Paul*, to transform themſelves into the defects of the imperfect, to win them, and not to have worldly aims of reputation, but to govern themſelves by the rules of charity, which treading under foot all others, even thoſe of humane prudence, and wiſdom, hath compaſſion, and yieldeth to every one. They ſaid they ſaw no conſiderable reaſon adduced by the others, but only that the *Lutherans* would ſay that they had proved that the Church hath erred, and would make other demands. But he is deceived who believeth that a Negative will make them hold their peace. They have ſaid already that an error hath been committed, they will ſay hereafter, that obſtinacy is added to it; and where humane ordinations only are in queſtion, an alteration will not ſeem ſtrange, nor misbeſeem the Church. Who knoweth not that the ſame thing cannot agree to all times, that there are innumerable Eccleſiaſtical Rites eſtabliſhed and aboliſhed; and that it is not againſt the honour of the Council to have believed that a Rite hath been good, which experience hath ſhewed to be unprofitable? To perſwade ones ſelf that this demand will beget others, argueth too much ſuſpicion, and deſire of advantage; but S. *Paul* ſaith, *that ſimplicity and Chriſtian charity doth not think evil, believeth every thing, ſupporteth all, hopeth well.*

It belonged to thoſe only to ſpeak of the firſt Article, becauſe thoſe of the abſolute Negative had nothing to ſay of it. But theſe were divided into two opinions. One, which was the more common, that it ſhould be granted, upon ſuch conditions as *Paul* the third did grant it, of which we have ſpoken in their place. The other of ſome few, that if they would grant the Cup, to make them ſtand faſt in the Church, who now do ſtumble, it is meet ſo to temper it, as that it may produce the effect deſired; which thoſe conditions cannot do, yea would undoubtedly make them fall headlong into *Lutheraniſm*. It is certain, that the penitent man ought rather to chooſe any temporal evil than to ſin; yet *Cajetan* gave counſel, not to come to any ſpecifical compariſon, and ſay, that it is better to be put to death with Pincers, or upon the Wheel, *&c.* becauſe by this means one ſhould tempt himſelf without neceſſity, and fall from a good diſpoſition, preſenting horrours to himſelf to no purpoſe. So, in the preſent occaſion, theſe ambiguous men, when the Councils favour ſhall be brought unto them will reſt ſatisfied, and thank *God*, and the Church, and will think no more of it, ſtrengthening themſelves by little and little. It is the preciſe commandment of S. *Paul*, to receive the weak in faith, not with diſputations, or preſcribing them opinions and rules, but ſimply, expecting opportunity to give a more ample inſtruction. He that ſhould now propoſe a condition in *Germany*, to believe this, or that, would trouble

trouble them much; while their minds do waver, ſo that, thinking whether they ought to believe it or not, they will fall into ſome errour, on which they would not otherwiſe have thought. To this reaſon they added, that howſoever it is maintained, that the Church hath, for juſt cauſes, taken away the Cup, if afterwards it doth grant it upon other conditions, without providing againſt thoſe inconveniences, for which it was firſt removed, it is confeſſed, that it was taken away without cauſe. Therefore they concluded, that it was fit to conſtitute for conditions, all the remedies to the inconveniences, which firſt cauſed the prohibition, that is, that the Cup ſhould never be carried out of the Church, and that the Bread only ſhould be ſufficient for the ſick, that it ſhould not be kept, to take away the danger of ſowneſs, that they ſhould uſe little pipes, to avoid effuſion, as formerly was done in the *Roman* Church. This being done, it will appear that the proviſion was firſt made upon good reaſon, reverence will be ſtirred up, people and Princes will be ſatisfied, and the weak will be tempted no more. A *Spaniard* ſaid, that it was not ſo eaſily to be believed, that the Catholicks did, with ſuch heat of devotion, deſire the Cup, and therefore that it were good to ſend into *Germany*, to be informed who they be that demand it, what their faith is, and what be their motives, that the Synod, receiving the relation, may have a foundation to proceed on, and not ground it ſelf upon the words of others. 1562. *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX.

In the ſixth Article they all expreſſed themſelves in few words, becauſe there was not much to be ſaid. For the Euchariſt not being a Sacrament neceſſarily, and Saint *Paul* commanding that he who is to receive it, ſhould examin himſelf whether he be worthy, it doth plainly appear, that it cannot be adminiſtred to any that hath not the uſe of Reaſon; and if the contrary hath been practiſed in ancient times, it hath been where and when the truth was not ſo well declared as now it is. Therefore the Synod ought to determine that the preſent uſe ſhould be maintained. Some well obſerved that they ought to ſpeak of Antiquity with more reverence, and not ſay that they wanted the knowledge of the Truth. *Deſiderius* a *Carmelite* Fryer of *Palermo*, had an opinion by himſelf, that the Article ought to be omitted; ſaying, that the difficulty being not moved by the Proteſtants of theſe times, it was not good, by handling of it, to ſet a novity on foot, that the matter was probable on both ſides, and that when it ſhould be known that it was handled in the Council, it would excite the curioſity of many to think on it, and give them occaſion to ſtumble. For ſome might be perſwaded to believe that the Euchariſt is a Sacrament of neceſſity, as well as Baptiſm, becauſe the ground of that are the words of *Chriſt*, *He that ſhall not be born again of water and the Spirit, ſhall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*; and of this, *If ye eat not my fleſh and drink my blood, ye ſhall not have life*. And the exception of Children cannot plainly be grounded upon the precept of S. *Paul*, to examine our ſelves, which Children cannot do, becauſe the Scripture doth likewiſe command, that an inſtruction in the Doctrine of Faith ought to precede *Baptiſm*: which if it be applied to men of age, without excluding Children of *Baptiſm*, who cannot learn, the examination preceding the *Euchariſt* may alſo be applied to men of diſcretion, without excluding Children from it. His concluſion was, that he did approve the uſe not to give them the Communion, but would not have the Council to handle that which no man oppoſeth.

The Legates do incline to grant the Cup to *Germany*.

The Congregations of the Divines being ended, the Legates did incline to

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to grant the Cup to *Germany*, with the conditions of *Paul* the third, and ſome more; and conſulting with their inward Friends, framed Decrees concerning the firſt, fourth and fifth points, deferring the others until they had better conſidered how to avoid the difficulties concerning them, related by the Divines. And calling a Congregation of the Prelates, they demanded whether the three Decrees ſhould be propoſed, that they might ſpeak their opinions of them in the firſt congregation. *Granata*, who had found the Legates intention, and was moſt oppoſite to the grant of the Cup, contradicted, and ſaid, that the order of the Articles was to be followed; which was eſſential, it being impoſſible to decide the fourth and fifth, until the ſecond and third were decided. *Thomas Stella*, Biſhop of *Capo di Iſtria*, oppoſed, and ſaid, that in the Council they ought not to uſe *Logick*, and Artifices, to hinder good determinations. *Granata* replied, that himſelf deſired the ſame; that is, that propoſitions might be made to the Synod in order, that they might not ſtumble, by walking in confuſion. *Granata* was aſſiſted by *Matthias Callinus*, Archbiſhop of *Zara*, and the other by *John Thomas* of S. *Felix*, Biſhop of *Cava*, but uſing ridiculous jeſts, rather than any ſerious diſcourſe; which gave ſome diſtaſte to the *Spaniards*, and made a great whiſpering amongſt the Prelates. This cauſed the Congregation to be diſmiſſed; and the Cardinal of *Mantua* exhorted the Archbiſhops to read and conſider of the draughts made, that the order of proceeding might be reſolved on in the next Congregation.

And are oppoſed by the *Spaniards.*

This place requireth, that, becauſe the Congregations were often ended by reaſon of ſome diſtaſtes given to ſome great Prelate, the ordinary cauſe thereof ſhould be related. It hath been ſhewed before that there were many Biſhops in the Council, Penſioners of the Pope, who did all depend upon *Simoneta*, becauſe he was moſt intereſted for his Holineſs, and had the moſt ſecret inſtructions. He being a man of an acute judgment, made uſe of them, according to the capacity of every one. Amongſt theſe, he had ſome that were bold and witty, whom he employed in the Congregations, to croſs thoſe who entred into matters contrary to his ends. Theſe were exerciſed in the Art of jeſting ſoberly, to provoke others, and make them ridiculous, themſelves retaining their gravity, and not being moved at all. The ſervice they did to the Pope, and the Cardinal, doth deſerve particular mention. Theſe were the forenamed Biſhops, *Cava*, and *Capo di Iſtria*, *Pompeius Zambeccarus* of *Bolonia*, Biſhop of *Sulmona*, and *Bartholomæus Sirigus*, of *Candia*, Biſhop of *Caſtellanetta*; each of which, to the common qualities of their Country, had joined the perfections which are gained in the Court of *Rome*. Theſe did exaſperate alſo the diſtaſts between *Mantua* and *Simoneta*, before mentioned, by ſpeaking ill, and detracting from *Mantua*, as well in *Trent* by words as by Letters to *Rome*; which was attributed to *Simoneta*, becauſe every one ſaw he made much eſteem of them. Whereof purging himſelf to the Secretary of *Mantua*, and to the Biſhop of *Nola*, he ſaid, that for the ſmall reſpect they bare to ſuch a Cardinal, he would not have had any more friendſhip with them, but that he had need of them in the Congregation, to oppoſe the impertinences of the Prelates.

Card. *Simoneta* the Legate, maketh uſe of 4. jeſting Biſhops in the Council.

The Ambaſſador of *Bavaria* is received in Congregation, and maketh a proteſtation about precedence.

Auguſtinus Panugarner, Ambaſſador of *Bavaria*, having been in *Trent* two Months, as a private man, by reaſon of his pretenſion to precede the *Venetians*, had finally Commiſſion from his Prince, to appear in Publick, and was received in the Congregation of the 27. of *June*, ſate

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ſate after the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors, and firſt made a proteſtation, ſaying, that as the right of his Prince was moſt ſtrong, ſo he was ready to defend it in any other place; but that in the Council, where Religion is handled, he would not ſtand upon thoſe points of Honour; and therefore was contented to yield, but ſo, that it might be no prejudice to his Maſter, or other *German* Princes of the Electoral blood of the Empire. The *Venetian* Ambaſſadors anſwered the Proteſtation, that their Republick had right of Precedence, and that as the Duke of *Bavaria* did then yield, ſo he ought to do in all places. The Ambaſſador made a very free and long Oration; in which he ſhewed the ſtate of Religion in *Bavaria*, ſaying it was compaſſed with Hereticks, who were alſo entred into it; that there were whole Pariſhes of *Lutherans*, *Zuinglians*, *Flacians*, *Anabaptiſts*, and of other Sects, which cockle the Prelates have not been able to weed out, becauſe the contagion is not only in the vulgar, but in the Nobility alſo. The cauſe hereof hath been the bad life of the Clergy, whoſe great wickedneſs he could not relate, without offending the chaſt ears of the Auditory. But it ſufficeth that his Prince doth tell them, that the amendment of Doctrine would be in vain and unprofitable, if firſt an amendment were not made of manners. He added, that the Clergy is infamous for luſt; that the politick Magiſtrate doth not ſuffer a Concubinary Citizen: which fault is ſo common in the Clergy, that there are not above three or four in an hundred, who are not Concubinaries, or ſecretly married, or openly; that the Catholicks alſo in *Germany*, do prefer a chaſte marriage before an unchaſte ſingle life; that many have abandoned the Church for the Prohibition of the Cup, ſaying, that the word of God, and practice of the Primitive Church doth force them to uſe it; which until this preſent is obſerved in the Oriental Churches, and formerly hath been uſed in the Church of *Rome*. That *Paul* 3. did grant it to *Germany*, and the *Bavarians* do complain of their Prince, that he doth envy it to his Subjects, proteſting that if the Synod do not make proviſion, his Highneſs will not be able to govern his people, and will be forced to give them that which he cannot withhold. For a remedy of the ſcandals of the Clergy, he propoſed a good reformation, and that in every Biſhoprick Schools and Academies ſhould be erected, to bring up good Miniſters; he demanded the marriage of Prieſts, without which it was impoſſible, in that age to reform the Clergy; alledging that ſingle life was not commanded by *God*. He demanded alſo the Communion under both kinds, ſaying, that if it had been permitted, many Provinces of *Germany* had remained in the obedience of the Apoſtolick See, whereas thoſe who have continued in it until now, do run away from it like a torrent, together with other nations; that the Duke doth not deſire the three remedies mentioned, hoping to reduce to the Church the Sectaries, and thoſe that are ſtrayed, but only to retain thoſe who are not divided as yet. He ſaid it was neceſſary to begin with Reformation, or elſe all the pains taken in the Council would be in vain; that, the Clergy being reformed, his Prince, if his opinion be asked in point of Doctrine, will be able to ſay ſomething worthy of conſideration; which is not fit to be ſpoken now, becauſe it is not convenient to treat of making War againſt the enemy, before one hath muſtered his own Forces at home. In the courſe of his Oration he often interpoſed, that his Prince ſpake this, not to give a Law to the Council, but to intimate it with reverence; and with this conceit alſo he made an end. The Synod anſwered, by the *Speaker*, that having long

To which the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors make anſwer.

The *Bavarian* maketh a long and free oration.

The anſwer to it.

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long expected ſome Prince or Ambaſſage of *Germany*, but above all the Duke of *Bavaria*, a *Baracide* of the Apoſtolick See in that Country, they were glad to ſee his Ambaſſador, whom they do receive, and will labour as they have done, to conſtitute whatſoever ſhall be for the ſervice of God, and ſouls health of the Faithful. The *Frenchmen*, hearing this Oration, were well pleaſed, becauſe they were not the only men that did freely admoniſh the Prelates of that which was fit to be told them; but hearing the anſwer, they grew jealous, becauſe this was courteous, and theirs ſharp. The difference was, becauſe, howſoever the *Bavarian* did acutely bite the Clergy in general, yet he ſpake of the Fathers with much reverence, whereas the *French* Oration was eſpecially directed to reprehend thoſe that heard them; beſides the anſwer made to them was premeditated, and that to the *Bavarian extempore*. But they were both uſed alike, being heard with the ears only.

The Emperours Ambaſſadors do preſent a writing in Congregation, concerning the grant of the Cup.

The Emperours Ambaſſadors, conſidering, that, in the laſt Congregations of the Divines, the *Spaniards*, and moſt of the *Italians* had ſpoken againſt the grant of the Cup, and that many of them had called them Hereticks who do demand it, to anſwer to this and other objections, to promote the propoſition of the *Bavarian*, and to prevent the Prelates that they fall not into the impertinencies uſed by the Divines, compoſed a Writing, which they preſented in the ſame congregation, after the Ambaſſador had ended his Oration. The ſubſtance whereof was: That, in regard of the place they hold, they have thought fit to admoniſh the Fathers of ſome things, before they deliver their ſuffrages. That the Divines have theſe laſt days ſpoken well, as far as concerneth their own Countries, but not for other Princes and Kingdoms. They prayed the Fathers ſo to frame their opinions, that they might give a medicine not to the ſound parts, which have no need of it, but to the members ill affected; which they will fitly do, when they ſhall know which be the weak parts, and what help they deſire. And beginning with the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, they ſaid there was no need to go far, nor to mention the things handled in *Conſtance*, but only to add, that, after the Council, no practice, force, or War, hath been able to take the Cup out of that Kingdom. That the Church did lovingly grant it unto them, upon certain conditions, which *Pius* 2. did revoke, becauſe they were not obſerved. But *Paul* and *Julius* the third, to regain that Kingdom, ſent *Nuncii*, to permit it unto them, though the buſineſs, by reaſon of ſome impediments, was not brought to perfection. Now the Emperour, having at his charge, inſtituted the Archbiſhoprick of *Prague*, and obtained in the Parliament of *Bohemia*, that the *Caliſtine* Prieſts ſhould not be ordained but by the Archbiſhop, and ſhould not acknowledge him for a lawful Prelate, did beſeech the Pope that ſuch an occaſion, to regain them, might not be loſt; which his Holineſs having referred to the judgment of the Council, it will remain in the power thereof to preſerve that Kingdom, by granting the Cup unto them. That thoſe people differ but little from the Church of *Rome*; that they never would admit of married Prieſts, nor ordained by any Biſhop out of the Communion of the Apoſtolick See; that, in their prayers they make mention of the Pope, Cardinals, and Biſhops; that, if they have any ſmall difference in Doctrine, it may eaſily be rectified, ſo that the Cup be granted to them; that it is no marvel if an ignorant multitude have conceived that opinion, ſeeing that men Learned, Godly, and Catholick do defend that more grace is conferred in the Communion of both kinds, than of one only. They exhorted

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the Fathers to take heed, that their too great ſeverity do not make them deſperate, and caſt themſelves into the arms of the Proteſtants. They added, that there were Catholicks in *Hungary*, *Auſtria*, *Moravia*, *Sileſia*, *Carinthia*, *Carniola*, *Stiria*, *Bavaria*, *Suevia*, and other parts of *Germany*, who deſire the Cup with great zeal; which being made known to *Paul* the third, he gave the Biſhops leave to communicate them with it, which, for many impediments, was not effected. Of theſe there is danger that, if the Cup be taken from them, they will turn to the *Lutherans*. The Divines have, in their publick diſputations, made a doubt, that thoſe who deſire the Cup are Hereticks; but his Majeſty doth demand it for Catholicks only. That there is hope to reduce, by this grant, many Proteſtants alſo, as ſome of them have already proteſted they would return and be converted, being ſatiated with novities; otherwiſe the contrary is to be feared. And to anſwer to him that asked a few days ſince, who he is that doth demand it, he may know that the Emperour doth deſire, that the Archbiſhop of *Prague* may ordain *Caleſtine* Prieſts, and the Ambaſſadors for the Clergy of *Bohemia* deſire the ſame, for that Kingdom; and if there were no hope to obtain it, there would not be left ſo much as any little remainder of Catholicks. In *Hungary* they force the Prieſts to give them the Cup, by taking away their goods, and threatning to kill them; and the Archbiſhop of *Strigonium* having puniſhed ſome Prieſts for doing it, the people remaineth without Catholick Curates, hath no Baptiſm, and is abſolutely ignorant of Chriſtian Doctrine, ready to fall into Paganiſm. In concluſion, they prayed the Fathers to have compaſſion, and to find a means to preſerve thoſe people in the Faith, and call back thoſe that are ſtrayed.

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In the end of the Congregation the Legates gave the draughts compoſed, concerning the three firſt Articles, for fear of the oppoſition made in the former Congregation. The days following the Fathers handled them, and on the 3. they diſcourſed very amply, ſpeaking of the Sacramental grace, whether more be received in both kinds than in one: and ſome defended one part and ſome another. Cardinal *Seripando* ſaid, that the ſame difficulty having been diſcuſſed in the Council under *Julius*, it was reſolved that it ſhould not be diſcuſſed again. Yet ſome Prelates deſired a declaration of it; but were not hearkened unto, in regard of the contrariety of opinions, and becauſe the greater part did hold that both opinions were probable. But to avoid all difficulty, it was concluded, that all *Chriſt* the Fountain of all graces, is received.

Some of the Biſhops prepared for their departure from *Trent*, who, having ſpoken with much paſſion and heat concerning Reſidence, ſaw they were hated, and feared ſome grievous incounter, in caſe they ſhould perſevere. Amongſt theſe was the Biſhop of *Modena* before mentioned, a man very learned, and of a ſincere Conſcience, *Julius Paveſi* Archbiſhop of *Surrento*, the Biſhop of *Viviers*, *Peter Paul Coſtazzarus*, Biſhop of *Aqui*, and others, who had obtained leave from the Legates: which *Mantua* gave them, that (in regard they were his friends) he might ſet them at liberty; and the others, to take away occaſion of diſtaſtes. But the Ambaſſador of *Portugal* did remonſtrate to the Legates that this would be a diſreputation to the Council, the cauſe being known why they ſuffered, and that it would be ſaid there was no liberty, which would alſo be diſhonourable to the Pope. Thereupon they reſolved to ſtop them, and the rather, becauſe they underſtood, that ſo ſoon as they were departed, others would ask leave alſo.

Some of the Prelates are about to depart from *Trent*, fearing they had ſpoken too freely concerning Reſidence.

But are ſtopped.

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The Legates deferring to propoſe the other Articles; in regard of the difficulties, which they foreſaw, the third of *July* the Emperours Ambaſſadors and the *Bavarian* deſired that they would deliver their opinions concerning them; and a Congregation being called the next day to this effect, the *French* Ambaſſadors preſented a Writing, exhorting the Fathers to grant the Communion of the Cup, making this their ground, that in matters of Poſitive Law, as this was, they ought to yield, and not to be ſo obſtinate, but to conſider the neceſſity of the time, and not give ſcandal to the World, by ſhewing themſelves ſo conſtant in obſerving mens precepts, and neglecting *Gods*, by rejecting Reformations. And in the end they required, that what determination ſoever they would make, it might not prejudice the uſe of the Kings of *France*, who received the Cup in their Conſecration, nor the Cuſtom of ſome Monaſteries of the Kingdom, which do, at certain times, adminiſter it. Yet nothing elſe was done in that Congregation, but only ſixteen points of Doctrine given forth, to be diſcuſſed in the Congregations following.

The Ambaſſadors of *France* and *Bavaria* preſent a writing to perſwade the grant of the Cup.

The Legates were aſtoniſhed at the propoſition of the *Frenchmen*, underſtanding they were joyned with the *Imperialiſts*; for which cauſe themſelves were to walk more warily. And weighing well the motives of the *Frenchmen* to derogate from the poſitive precepts, they obſerved that the grant of the Cup, beſides the difficulties propoſed, did draw with it many more, in divers matters. They remembred the requeſt for marriage of Prieſts, made by the *Bavarian*, and that *Lanſac*, in a feaſt two days before, in the preſence of many Prelates invited, exhorting them to gratifie the Emperour in the petition for the Cup, ſaid, that *France* did deſire *Prayers*, divine *Offices* and *Maſſes* in the vulgar tongue, that the images of the Saints ſhould be taken away, and marriage granted to Prieſts; and knowing that the beginning is more eaſily reſiſted than the Progreſs, and that one may, with leſs pains, be hindered from entering into an houſe, than driven forth, they reſolved that it was not a fit time to treat of the Cup. They perſwaded *Pagnavo*, Agent of the Marquis of *Peſcara*, to deſire that the determination might not be made, before his King was adviſed thereof. The Congregations of the ſix and ſeven days were intermitted, to treat with the *Imperialiſts*, that they would be contented to defer the matter, alledging divers reaſons: the moſt concluding whereof was, becauſe the time was too ſhort, to make the Fathers underſtand, that the grant was neceſſary. Finally, after long parley, they were content, that all that part which concerneth Doctrine ſhould be deferred; wherewith the Legates not being ſatisfied, at the laſt the Ambaſſadors conſented, that that point only ſhould be deferred, ſo that the dilation were mentioned in the Decree, and a promiſe made to determine it another time. The *Frenchmen* remained to be treated with; where they found more facility than they expected; who ſaid, they had neither propoſed nor required it, but only aſſiſted the Emperours Ambaſſadors. This difficulty being overcome, they began to compoſe the Decrees; which to diſpatch quickly, they let the Fathers know, that if any of them would adviſe any thing, they ſhould commit it to writing, that the compoſition might not be foreſlowed.

The Legates are troubled with the conjunction of the *Frenchmen* and *Imperialiſts*, in this point of the Chalice.

And therefore do cauſe all treaty thereof to be deferred.

In the Congregation of the eighth day, *Daniel Barbaro*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, ſaid, in delivering his ſuffrage, that news being come of the accord in *France*, and therefore it being probable that many Prelates would

would come, it were fit to defer the points of Doctrine until their arrival: but the inſtance being ſeconded by none, not ſo much as by the *French* Ambaſſadors themſelves, it did fall of it ſelf. In the next Congregation *Antonius Auguſtinus*, Biſhop of *Lerida*, put them in mind, that it would be good to make mention of the Cuſtoms of *France*, according to the inſtance of the Ambaſſadors, by putting in words which might preſerve the priviledges of that Kingdom, adding, that, after the determination of the Council of *Conſtance*, the *Grecians* were not forbid to communicate with the Cup, becauſe they had a priviledge, which he had ſeen; but being ſeconded by none but *Barnardo dal Bene*, a *Florentine*, Biſhop of *Nimes*, his Propoſition was laid aſide alſo. After the Congregation, the Ambaſſador *Ferrier* did curiouſly demand of *Auguſtinus* the tenour, Author, and time of that priviledge: who having referred it to Pope *Damaſus*, the Ambaſſador laughed, becauſe it was certain, that, an hundred years after that Pope, to abſtain from the Cup was accounted ſacriledge in the Church of *Rome*, and that the *Roman Ordinary* doth deſcribe the Communion of the Laity always with the Cup, and that in the year 1200 *Innocentius* the Third maketh mention that the Women did receive the blood of *Chriſt* in the Communion.

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The tenth day *Leonard Allen*, a *Dutch-man*, titular Biſhop of *Philadelphia*, who came the week before, delivering his opinion concerning the Decrees, made a digreſſion in manner of a ſet ſpeech, deſiring the Legates and the Synod, that the *German* Prelates might be expected, uſing divers Reaſons, but principally three; which were ill taken by the Congregation: that is, That it could not be called a general Council in which a whole principal Nation of Chriſtendom was wanting. That to proceed without expecting them, would be accounted a precipitation. That the Pope ought to write to them, and call them particularly. The good Father knew not that the Pope had dealt with them two years before by *Delphinus* and *Commendone*, his *Nuncii* in *Germany*, nor what anſwers were made by the Proteſtants and Catholicks, the former of which ſaid they would not, and the latter that they could not come to the Council. Some thought he was moved by the Emperours Ambaſſadors, who, ſeeing that the Propoſition of the Cup was deferred, were willing to prolong the reſidue alſo.

Nine points of Reformation are read.

In the next Congregation, nine points of Reformation, formerly eſtabliſhed, were read, and, to the firſt, that nothing ſhould be paid for *Ordinations*, *Albertus Duimius*, Biſhop of *Veglia*, who came the week before, and was not preſent at the diſcuſſion of the matter, ſaid, that he held that point to be very imperfect, if they did not conſtitute withal, that likewiſe nothing ſhould be exacted at *Rome* for diſpenſations to receive Orders out of due times, before the juſt age, without licence and examination of the *Ordinary*, and for irregularities, and other Canonical impediments. For in thoſe things great expences were made, whereas to the poor Biſhops, who have not whereon to live, a ſmall Alms is given; which he would by all means have taken away, yet ſo, as that they give not a ſcandal to the world to tithe Rue, and ſteal Gold and Silver. Upon this occaſion he enlarged himſelf, and taxed the payments made in *Rome* for all ſorts of diſpenſations, and added, that, whenſoever any diſpenſations have been preſented to him, either for *Ordinations* or ought elſe, he hath uſed to ask whether they have paid for them, and, underſtanding that they have, he hath never executed nor admitted them; which he ſpake publickly, becauſe it was the

The Biſhop of *Veglia* maketh a reſolute Speech concerning ſome corruptions in *Rome*.

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duty of every Biſhop ſo to do. And being anſwered, that they had formerly treated of this in Congregation, and reſolved to refer the reſolution thereof to the Pope, who might with more honour, reform the Offices of *Rome*, he replyed, that, the laſt *Lent*, he had ſpoken of it in *Rome*, but particularly in the Houſe of the Cardinal *di Perugia*, in preſence of many Cardinals, and Prelates of the Court, and ſaid the ſame things, who anſwered they were matters to be propoſed in the Council; but now, underſtanding the contrary, he will ſpeak of it no more, but leave it to God.

To the ſecond of the *Ordinations* to title, the Biſhop of *Five-Churches* ſaid it was more neceſſary to provide, according to the ancient Conſtitutions, that none ſhould be ordained without a title and Office, than without a Revenue, becauſe it is an exceſſive ſcandal, that many are ſeen to be made Prieſts, not to ſerve God and the Church, but to enjoy their eaſe, joined with much luxury, and with a good Revenue, that the Synod ought to think ſeriouſly hereof, and to find a means that there may not be an Eccleſiaſtical perſon, who ſhall not be dedicated to ſome Miniſtry, becauſe he hath obſerved, that, in *Rome*, in theſe later times, Biſhopricks have been given to ſome, only to promote them, who, within a ſhort time, have reſigned them, remaining titular Biſhops, only for ambition of dignity; which invention Antiquity would have deteſted, as peſtiferous. To the fourth point, for diviſion of great and frequent Pariſhes, after he had commended the Decree, he added, that it was more neceſſary to divide great Biſhopricks, that they might be better governed; alledging that, in *Hungary*, there are ſome which contain 200 Miles in length, which cannot be viſited and directed by one Man. Theſe things were not well expounded by the Adherents of *Rome*, who thought that all were bent to revive the treaty of Reſidence.

The Biſhop of *Sidonia* propoſeth metaphorically a reformation of the Pope.

The Biſhop of *Sidonia*, a Man of the ſame Country, gave worſe ſatisfaction; propoſing, under *Metaphors*, the reformation of the Pope himſelf; ſaying, that darkneſs could not be taken from the Stars, except it were removed from the Sun, nor the ſick body healed, ſo long as bad diſpoſitions did remain in the head, which doth diſperſe them to all the members. And for the laſt point, concerning *Receivers*, he ſaid, that it was not honourable for the Council, nor profitable for the Church to begin with the reformation of the ſmalleſt matters; that the matters of importance are firſt to be handled, the ſuperiour Orders to be reformed firſt, and the inferiour afterwards. Which ſayings ſeemed to pleaſe many of the *Spaniſh* Prelates, and ſome of the *Italians* alſo. But partly by ſaying that thoſe Decrees were already compoſed, and that there were but three days to the Seſſion, which ſhort time did not comport the digeſtion of new matters, partly by making ſuch oppoſitions againſt the things ſpoken as they were able, and by giving aſſurance, that the Pope would make a moſt ſtrict Reformation in the Court, the remedies of the abuſes whereof could be better diſcerned and applyed at *Rome*, where the infirmity is better known, than in the Council, and by ſuch like reaſons, the proviſions thought on by theſe and other Prelates, were deluded, and all were made content for that preſent with the nine Articles.

The Legates and other Papalins, do conſult how they may repreſs the licenſe of the Prelates.

But, the Congregation being ended, the Legates and other *Papalins*, remaining in the place together, to conſider of what they heard, diſcourſed that the boldneſs of the Prelates, in broaching new ſeditious matters, without reſpect, did increaſe daily, which could not be called liberty, but too much licenſe; and that the Divines, with ted

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diſcourſes, took up too much time, contending amongſt themſelves about nothing, and often paſſing to impertinencies, which courſe if it did continue, the Council would never be concluded. Beſides there is danger that the diſorder will encreaſe, and produce ſome ſiniſter effect. *John Baptiſta Caſtello*, the Speaker, who had exerciſed the ſame Office in the former reduction under *Julius*, told them, that Cardinal *Creſcentius*, when they digreſſed from the matters propoſed, without reſpect was wont to interrupt them, and to cut off alſo the file of their diſcourſe, to abbreviate thoſe who were too prolix, and ſometimes to impoſe them ſilence; which being now done once or twice, the Affairs of the Council would be ſhortned, and occaſions of impertinent diſcourſes would be taken away. *Varmienſe* was not pleaſed with this; who ſaid, that, if *Creſcentius* did govern ſo, it was no marvel that the Majeſty of God had not given a good progreſs to that Council; that nothing is more neceſſary to a Chriſtian Synod than liberty, and that, reading the Councils of the better times, one ſhall find contentions and diſcords in the Beginnings of them, even in the preſence of the Emperours, moſt potent in thoſe times, which notwithſtanding did, in the end, turn, by the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, into a marvellous concord: and that was the miracle which did pacifie the world. He ſaid there were infinite contentions in the *Nicene* Council; and moſt exorbitant in the *Epheſine*, and therefore no wonder if now there were ſome diverſity of opinions civilly carried, which he that would reſiſt by humane and violent means, will let the world know that the Council is not free, and take from it all reputation: that it is good to refer the cauſe unto God, who will govern Councils, and moderate thoſe who are aſſembled in his name. The Cardinal of *Mantua* approved the opinion of *Varmienſe*, and diſliked the proceeding of *Creſcentius*, but ſaid it was not contrary to the liberty of the Council to moderate abuſes with Decrees, preſcribing the order and time of ſpeaking, and diſtributing to every one his own part. This was commended by *Varmienſe*, and they agreed to give order for it, when the Seſſions ſhould be held.

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In which conſultation *Creſcentius* is reprehended by the Cardinal of *Varmia*.

The Imperialiſts were now out of hope to obtain the Chalice, and their intereſts were ceaſed. But the *French-men*, with ſome Prelates, laboured much that nothing might be done in the Seſſion of the ſixteenth day, but all deferred until the next, as had been done twice before. The Legates, to avoid the ſhame, did labour with all their force to eſtabliſh the points, that thoſe four that concern communion, and the nine of Reformation, might be publiſhed. Theſe therefore did ſeek to remove, and thoſe to interpoſe difficulties. There remaining but two days to the Seſſion, a Congregation was held in the morning of the 14. day; in the beginning whereof *Granata* deſired the Legates, that, in regard of the importance of the matter to be handled, they would prorogue the Seſſion; and made, as it were, an Oration, to ſhew how many difficulties were ſtill on foot, neceſſary to be decided: The Legates, reſolute to the contrary, admitted no reaſon, and cauſed the examination of the Doctrine to begin: In reading of the firſt point, when they came to the place, where it is ſaid; that it cannot be inferred by the words of our Lord in S. *John*. *If you ſhall not eat the fleſh of the Son of man, and drink my blood*, &c. *Granata* began, and ſaid, that that paſſage did not ſpeak of the Sacrament; but of Faith, under the *Metaphor* of nutriment; alledging the Text, and many Expoſitions of the Fathers, and of S. *Auſtin* in particular. Cardinal *Seripando* expounded

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that place, as if he had read in the Chair; and it ſeemed that every one was ſatisfied. But *Granata* replyed more earneſtly, and in the end deſired that an addition might be joined to it; ſaying, that, by thoſe words, howſoever they were underſtood according to divers Expoſitions of the Fathers, the Communion of the Cup could not be inferred. This addition did not pleaſe ſome of the Fathers, and others did not regard it; but it ſeemed ſtrange, that after things were concluded, one ſhould come with unneceſſary additions, to diſturb the points eſtabliſhed; and there were 57 who ſaid *Non placet*. But, to come to an end, the Legates were content, that the clauſe ſhould be added; and indeed it ſeemeth to be inſerted by force, and doth begin in the *Latin*, *Utcunque juxta Varias*.

In the ſecond point, of the Authority of the Church over the Sacraments, when they came to this place, that they might change the uſe of the Cup, by the example of the form of Baptiſm, *Jacobus Gibertus* Biſhop of *Aliſe*, ſtood up, and ſaid it was a Blaſphemy; that the form of Baptiſm was immutable; that it was never changed; that over the Eſſence of the Sacraments, which conſiſteth in the form and matter, there is no authority; and much being ſaid *Pro & contra*, in the end they reſolved to take away that particle. It would be tedious to relate all that was ſpoken by ſome to hinder the proceeding, and by ſome not to be ſilent, when others ſpake. It is natural, when a multitude is in motion, for every one to ſtrive to move moſt, neither was there ever any Colledge of Noblemen ſo abſolute, but that it might be divided into perſons of honour, and of the common ſort. The patience and reſolution of the Legates overcame the difficulties; ſo that, in the Congregation of the afternoon, the points of Doctrine, and the *Anathematiſms* were eſtabliſhed, howſoever the Cardinal *Varmienſe* did very zealouſly interpoſe a doubt, at the inſtance of ſome Divines, who told him, that whereas it is ſaid in the third point of Doctrine, The faithful are not defrauded of any grace neceſſary to ſalvation, by receiving one kind only, much cauſe of diſputation was given, becauſe the *Euchariſt* being not a neceſſary Sacrament, it might be inferred, by the ſame reaſon, that the Church might take it away wholly. Many of the Prelates adhered hereunto, demanding that it might be reformed, in regard the reaſon alledged againſt it was evident, and unanſwerable. Cardinal *Simoneta* did pacifie them with very much ado, ſaying, that a draught ſhould be made in writing how it ſhould be reformed, and ſhewed in the next Congregation.

In that the Biſhop of *Five-Churches* gave new occaſion of diſtaſtes. Who having been told out of Congregation, that, in *Rome* Biſhopricks were given only to promote Men, returned to that matter, and ſpake of it at large. He ſeemed to declare his mind by way of excuſe, but indeed he confirmed the things ſpoken, and the end of his diſcourſe was an exhortation to the Fathers, to deliver their opinions freely, without reſpect. *Simoneta* was much angry at the occurrences of that Congregation, and, when it was ended, did remonſtrate to *Varmienſe*, how contrary it was to the ſervice of the Apoſtolick See, to give ear to the impertinencies of the Divines, Men accuſtomed to Books of ſpeculation only, and, for the moſt part, vain ſubtilties, of which themſelves make great eſteem, though indeed they are but *Chimeræ*; whereof one proof is, becauſe they agree not among themſelves: that, before many of them did approve that point, without contradiction, and now ſome broach new matters, which, in concluſion

cluſion, will be oppoſed by others; that it is a plain caſe that what word ſoever is ſpoken, will be defended by thoſe that favour the Speaker, and oppugned by his Adverſaries. Neither will they much care though it be ſomewhat dangerous to do it. But, having intimated two Seſſions, and done nothing, if the like ſhould happen in this, the reputation of the Council would irrecoverably be loſt, and therefore that they muſt be careful to do ſomething. *Varmienſe* was overcome; and anſwered that he had done nothing but to a good end, and that thoſe Divines were addreſſed to him by the Emperours Ambaſſadors. *Simoneta* perceived that the honeſty of that Prelate was abuſed, by the ſubtilty of others, and told the other Legates, that he doubted that the Imperialiſts might draw ſome ſecret from him, and agreed with them to admoniſh him of it upon ſome good occaſion. 1562. *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX.

The laſt day had ſome encounters alſo. For the Biſhop of *Nimes*, at the perſwaſion of the *French* Ambaſſadors, deſired, that, in the firſt point of Reformation, where ſome fee is allowed to the Notary, for the Letters Patents of *Orders*, the cuſtom of *France* might not be prejudiced, where nothing is given. He was followed by ſome *Spaniards*; and they were ſatisfied, by an addition in the Decree, that the cuſtom ſhould be ſaved. Other mutations were deſired and granted, and all was in order for the Seſſion, the next morning. The Legates riſing up to depart, *Arias Gallego*, Biſhop of *Girone*, came and ſtopped them, and deſired they would ſit down again, and hear him. They looked one upon another; but their deſire to hold the Seſſion taught them patience. They ſat down again, with the diſtaſte of many Prelates, eſpecially the Courtiers. The Biſhop cauſing the point of the diſtributions to be read, ſaid, that it ſeemed to him a hard thing that power ſhould be given to the Biſhop to take the third part of the Prebends and convert them into diſtributions; that formerly all was diſtributions, and that Prebends crept in by abuſe; that Biſhops had authority to infringe bad cuſtooms; that it was not juſt that the Council, by giving the Biſhop a third part of the authority which he hath, ſhould take two thirds from him. Therefore he deſired it ſhould be declared that the Biſhops have ample power to convert into diſtributions as much as they think convenient. The Archbiſhop of *Prague* confirmed this opinion with other Reaſons, and the *Spaniards* ſeemed by their countenance to give conſent. The Cardinal of *Mantua* having much commended the piety of thoſe Biſhops, affirmed, that it was a point worthy to be conſulted on by the Synod, and promiſed, in the name of the Legates, whoſe conſent he firſt had, that it ſhould be ſpoken of in the next Seſſion.

The Legates about to part out of the Congregation, are ſtopped by the Biſhop of *Girone*.

Who maketh a Speech unto them concerning diſtributions.

The ſixteenth day being come, the Legates, Ambaſſadors, and Prelates went to the Church with the uſual Ceremonies. The Sermon was made by the Biſhop of *Tiniana*: who, howſoever he was reſolved not to ſpeak then of granting the Chalice, did not forbear to take that matter only for his ſubject, and to diſcourſe that the uſe of the Chalice was common ſo long as the heat of charity did endure; but, that decreaſing, and inconveniencies ſucceeding, by the negligence of ſome, the uſe thereof was not interdicted, but only it was taught, that thoſe who could hardly avoid irreverence, ſhould leſs offend, if they did abſtain from it: whoſe example in progreſs of time, others did follow, that they might not tye themſelves to diligence. In the firſt he commended the memorable example of piety, and blamed the impiety of the modern innovators, who to have it, have kindled ſo great a fire.

A Seſſion is held. The Biſh. of *Tiniana* preacheth, the matter of whole Sermon was the Communion of the Cup, and Reſidence.

He

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He exhorted the Fathers to charity, and to extinguiſh the flame, and not to ſuffer all the world to burn by their default, to condeſcend to the imbecillity of their Children, who demand nothing but the blood of *Chriſt*. He admoniſhed them, not to caſt away ſo many Provinces and Kingdoms, to ſpare ſo ſmall a matter; that ſeeing that bleſſed blood is ſought with ſo earneſt a deſire, they would not fear the former negligence, for which it was omitted, but grant it; that *Chriſt* would not have them ſo obſtinate in their own opinion, as to maintain ſo pernicious a diſcord amongſt Chriſtians, for that blood which himſelf ſhed to unite them in a moſt ſtrict bond of charity. He paſſed dexterouſly from that matter to an exhortation to Reſidence, and concluded with the diſtaſte of the others, who deſired to have thoſe matters buried in ſilence.

The Doctrine is read, contained in four heads.

When the Ceremonies were ended, the Maſs-Biſhop read the Doctrine, expreſſed in four heads; containing in ſubſtance. That the Synod, in regard of many errors which go about, concerning the Sacrament of the *Euchariſt*, hath determined to expound that which belongeth to the Communion *Sub utraque*, and of Children, prohibiting all the faithful to believe, teach, or preach otherwiſe. Therefore, according to the judgment and cuſtom of the Church, it doth declare, that the Laicks and Clerks, who do not ſay Maſs, are not bound by any Divine Precept to communicate *Sub utraque*, and that it cannot be doubted, without prejudice of Faith, that the Communion under one kind is ſufficient; that howſoever *Chriſt* hath inſtituted, and given the Sacrament under two kinds, it cannot be inferred from hence, that all are obliged to receive it ſo; nor from the ſpeech of our Lord, related in the ſixth Chapter of Saint *John*, where although there be words which name both kinds, yet there be alſo which name that only of Bread. Beſides, it doth declare, that the Church hath ever had power to make a mutation in the diſpenſation of the Sacraments, ſo long as the ſubſtance remaineth: Which may be drawn in general from the words of Saint *Paul*, that *the Miniſters of Chriſt are diſpenſers of the Myſteries of God*; and particularly in the *Euchariſt*, concerning which power is reſerved to it, to give order by word of mouth. That the Church knowing this her authority, howſoever the uſe of both kinds was frequent from the beginning, yet the cuſtom being changed for juſt cauſes, hath approved that other, to communicate with one only, which no Man can change without the authority of the ſame Church; it doth declare beſides, that All *Chriſt* is received under either of the kinds, and the true Sacrament, and that he who receiveth one only is not defrauded of any Grace, neceſſary to ſalvation, as concerning the fruit thereof. Finally it doth teach, that Children, before the uſe of reaſon, are not bound to Sacramental *Communion*, becauſe Grace cannot be loſt in that age, not condemning Antiquity for the contrary cuſtom, obſerved in ſome places, becauſe it is to be undoubtedly believed that they have done it, not for neceſſity of ſalvation, but for other probable cauſes. In conformity of this Doctrine four *Anathematiſms* were read. 1. Againſt him that ſhall ſay, that all the faithful are bound, by Divine Precept, or neceſſity of ſalvation, to receive both the kinds in the *Euchariſt*. 2. That the Church hath not had juſt cauſes to communicate the Laicks and the Clerks, who do not celebrate the Maſs, with the kind of Bread only, or that it hath erred herein. 3. Againſt him that ſhall deny that All *Chriſt*, the Fountain and Author of all *graces*, is received under the Bread only. 4. Againſt him that ſhall ſay that the Comm

Four *Anathematiſms* are read.

of the *Euchariſt* is neceſſary for Children before the uſe of reaſon. After this another Decree was read alſo, ſaying, that the Synod will examine, with the firſt occaſion, and define two other Articles, not diſcuſſed as yet: that is, Whether the reaſons for which the Church hath communicated under one kind, are good ſtill, ſo that the Cup ought not to be granted to any; and in caſe it doth appear that it may be granted for honeſt cauſes, with what conditions the grant is to be made.

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A Decree is read concerning two points to be handled hereafter.

During the time of the Maſs, *Alfonſus Salmeron*, and *Franciſcus della Torre*, Jeſuits, diſcourſed, the one with *Varmienſe*, and the other with *Madruccio*, as they ſtood behind their Seats; that in the firſt point of Doctrine, the matter of the inſtitution of the Sacrament under both kinds is obſcurely expreſſed, and that it is neceſſary to ſpeak plainly, and ſay, that *Chriſt* did inſtitute it for his Apoſtles, and thoſe that ſay Maſs only, and not for all the faithful; that it was neceſſary to inſert this clauſe, to remove all doubt from the Catholicks, and all occaſion of oppoſing and calumniating from the Hereticks; that they, as Divines ſent from the Pope, could not forbear to give their advice in a matter of ſo great importance; and were both ſo earneſt, eſpecially *Salmeron*, who talked with *Varmienſe*, that the reading of the Decree being ended, *Varmienſe* firſt, and then *Madruccio*, made the Propoſition; which pleaſed many, but was rejected by the greater part, not for its own ſake, but for the manner of propoſing it on the ſudden, without allowing time to conſider on it. It did not pleaſe the other Legates, for the ſame cauſe alſo; yet in regard of the honour of the place, they ſaid, without any ado, that it ſhould be reſerved to the next Seſſion, in the handling of the two next Articles.

Afterwards the nine points of Reformation were read. That for collation of *Orders*, *Dimiſſories*, *Teſtimonials*, *Seal*, or any thing elſe, neither the Biſhop nor any of his Miniſters ſhall receive any thing, though voluntarily offered. That the *Notaries*, where there is cuſtom not to receive, and where they have no *ſalary*, may receive the tenth part of a Crown. That no ſecular Clerk, though ſufficient, may be promoted to holy *Orders*, if he have not a Benefice, Patrimony, or Penſion, able to maintain him; and that the Benefice may not be renounced, nor the Penſion extinct, nor the Patrimony aliened without licenſe of the Biſhop. That in the Cathedral or Collegiate Churches, in which there are no diſtributions, or very ſmall, the Biſhop may convert, to that uſe, the third part of the profits of the Prebends. That in Pariſh Churches, where much people is, the Biſhops may compel the Rectors to take the aſſiſtance of other Prieſts, and thoſe that are large in compaſs may be divided, and furniſhed with new Rectors, if there ſhall be need, and the people may be compelled to contribute. That the Biſhops may make a perpetual *Union* of Benefices, with Cure, or without, becauſe of poverty, or other juridical cauſes. That the Biſhops may give *Coadjutors* to Pariſh Prieſts that are unlearned, and puniſh thoſe that are ſcandalous. That the Biſhops may join the Benefices of old ruinous Churches to others, and cauſe the Churches to be built, compelling the people to contribute to the Fabrick. That they may viſit all Benefices held in *Commenda*. That the name, office, and uſe of Receiver be taken away in all places. In the end, the Seſſion was ordained for the ſeventeenth of *September*, and a declaration made, that the Synod might abbreviate or prorogue, at pleaſure, as well that term, as any other, which ſhall be limited for the future Seſſions.

Nine points of Reformation are read.

The actions of this Council were not in ſo great expectation in

former

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former times, as at this preſent; in regard all Princes had agreed in demanding it, and ſent Ambaſſadors, and that a great number of Prelates were aſſembled, four times ſo many as before: and had been begun now ſix Months, and thoſe ſpent in daily and continual treaties and diſcuſſions, with diſpatches of many Curriers and Prelates from *Rome* to *Rome*, and from *Trent* to *Rome*. But when the Seſſion came out in print, the uſual *Latin* Proverb, of *The birth of the Mountains*, was generally uſed by all. And particularly the delaying of two Articles was noted; it ſeeming ſtrange, that, having made four Articles of Faith, with four *Anathematiſms*, they were not able to declare that of granting the Cup, which is *de jure Eccleſiaſtico*. Some were of opinion, that it ought to have been handled firſt, becauſe if it had been granted, all the diſputations had ceaſed. The third point of Doctrine was much conſidered on in the concluſion. For it being ſaid that the faithful who receiveth the body of *Chriſt* only, is not defrauded of any neceſſary Grace, it ſeemed a confeſſion that ſome grace, not neceſſary, is loſt. And here a doubt was made whether there be any authority of Man which can hinder the ſuperabundant, and not neceſſary grace of God; and if it can, whether theſe impediments be charitably uſed. Two things were much ſpoken of amongſt the reſt; one, the obligation impoſed to believe that antiquity did not hold the Communion of Children to be neceſſary; becauſe where the truth of a ſtory is in queſtion, it is a matter of fact, and paſt, in which there is no authority that can alter the things done. Yet he that readeth *Auſtin* will know that, in nine places, not in a word, but with a diſcourſe, he doth affirm the neceſſity of the *Euchariſt* for Children, and two of them do make it equal to the neceſſity of Baptiſm; yea he ſaith; more than once, that the Church of *Rome* hath held and defined it to be neceſſary for the ſalvation of Children; and doth alledge for it Pope *Innocentius*, whoſe Epiſtle doth yet remain, in which he ſaith it plainly. And they marvelled why the Council would, without neceſſity, trouble it ſelf herein, to no end, when it might be ſaid that either it, or *Innocentius* had erred. The other was the ſecond *Anathematiſm*, with the declaration, that he is an Heretick, who ſaith, the Church was not induced upon juſt cauſes to communicate without the Cup: which was to ground an Article of Faith, upon a fact of Man. And they held it a miraculous thing, that they would ſay, that one is bound to obſerve the Decree only *jure humano*, but is bound *jure Divino* to believe it is juſt, and to make Articles of Faith in things which may be changed daily. Others added alſo, that if the cauſes were ſo juſt, they ſhould ſay what they were, and not force Men to believe by terrour, but induce them by perſwaſion; becauſe that was to domineer over the Faith, which S. *Paul* doth ſo much deteſt. Concerning the points of Reformation, it was generally ſaid, that more light points could not be handled, nor more lightly, and that they did imitate the Phyſician, who, in an *Hectical* body, laboured to kill the *Itch*. And, to put their hands into Mens purſes, to maintain Curates, or repair Churches, ſeemed a ſtrange thing, both for the matter, and for the manner. For the matter, becauſe the Clergy was ſuperfluouſly rich, and rather indebted to the Laity for divers evident reſpects; for the manner, becauſe neither *Chriſt*, nor his Apoſtles, did ever compel Men to make Contributions, but only gave power to receive thoſe that were voluntary. And he that readeth Saint *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, and to the *Galatians*, ſhall ſ[illegible] Maſters treatment of the Oxe that treadeth the Corn, and the d[illegible]

The actions of the Council are cenſured.

Firſt in matter of Doctrine.

Secondly in point of Reformation.

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of the catechiſed, towards him that doth teach; yet ſo, as that thoſe labourers have no action or right by rigour of Law, nor any *Chancery* to relieve them. 1562 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.*

The Seſſion being ended, the Legates began to put in order thoſe things which were to be handled in the next, purpoſing to anticipate the time, if it were poſſible. Letters came to *Trent* from *Alexander Simoneta*, to the Cardinal his Brother, and from Cardinal *Gonzaga*, to his Uncle, with moſt effectual Exhortations, in the Popes name; to accommodate the differences, and to hold good intelligence together; for which cauſe the *Sunday* after the Seſſion, *Simoneta* dined with the Cardinal of *Mantua*, and made a perfect reconciliation with him. *Mantua* began to diſcourſe of ſome Prelates, who came much to his Houſe, whom he ſuſpected to have done ill offices againſt him. But *Simoneta* did ſtop him modeſtly, and ſaid, that hereafter they ſhould not ſpeak ſo. They conſulted earneſtly how they might give full ſatisfaction to the Pope, and the Court, in matter of Reſidence, and what Prelates were fit to be employed to perſwade others. Thoſe who had declared themſelves to favour the intereſts of the Pope and Court, howſoever they were otherwiſe able, they thought not fit, becauſe they wanted credit. They made choice of two men of ſincerity, and dextrous in Negotiations, the Biſhops of *Modena* and of *Breſſia*. The ſame day the Archbiſhop of *Lanciano*, having called together the Prelates who had written to the Pope in their own behalf, preſented to them the Popes *Brief*, full of kindneſs, humanity, and offers: which pleaſed them all, and did much mitigate their heat for Reſidence. Another accident alſo hapned the ſame day, much in the Popes favour. For the *Marqueſs* of *Peſcara* ſent unto his Secretary a Copy of a Letter, written to him from the King; in which he told him, that, having underſtood that the declaration of the *Continuation* would diſpleaſe the Emperour, and *France*, and might perhaps cauſe a diſſolution of the Council, he gave him Commiſſion to make no further inſtance for it, ſo that no Declaration were made for a new *Indiction*, and that the Council did proceed as it hath begun. Afterwards he gave him order to let his Prelates know, that he had underſtood the controverſie and diſpute concerning Reſidence, and the inſtance they had made, that it might be declared to be *de jure Divino*, ſaying, that he commended their zeal and good intention, yet thought that the Declaration did not befit the preſent time, and therefore wiſhed them to deſiſt. The Secretary ſhewed the Letter to the *Spaniſh* Prelates; and *Granata*, having exactly conſidered of it, ſaid, that it was well, ſeeing that the Pope did diſlike it; that the King did not know the importance of it; that he was counſelled by the Archbiſhop of *Sevil*, who never had reſided, and by the Biſhop of *Conca*, who remained in Court; that he knew very well to what end he did command it; that he would obey him in not proteſting, but would never forbear to demand it, as often as there was occaſion, knowing well that he ſhould not offend the King herein. That point concerning the continuation was ſhewed alſo to the Imperialiſts, and *French men*: who anſwered, there was no need of that Declaration to be made expreſly in words, ſeeing that it was executed in deeds.

Elizabeth. *Charles* IX. *Philip* II.

A reconciliation is made between the Cardinal of *Mantua*, and *Simoneta*.

The Archbiſhop of *Lanciano* preſenteth the Popes Brief to the Biſhops, who had written unto him.

The King of *Spain* will not have the *continuation* of the Council, or the point of *Reſidence* ſpoken of.

In the next Congregation, held the twentieth day, the Sacrament of the Maſs, and the abuſes conſequent, were propoſed to be handled. The Cardinal of *Mantua* did admoniſh the Prelates to deliver their opinions, quietly and briefly, in the Congregations, and without noiſe,

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and related the rules which they had made for the Congregations of the Divines, to take away contentions, confuſion, and prolixity; which, being read, were approved by the Congregation. Afterwards Cardinal *Seripando* diſcourſed of the manner of examining the points of Doctrine, and the *Anathematiſms*, in the Congregations, and put them in mind that they had been examined and diſcuſſed before in the ſame Council, and eſtabliſhed alſo, although not publiſhed; ſo that the Fathers might very much abbreviate their Meditations, in regard there was need of nothing more than of expedition. *Granata* added, that, the *Maſs* having been handled before, and there remaining much time until the Seſſion, the matter of order might be handled alſo. And the ſame was confirmed by the Biſhop of *Five Churches*; which ſome underſtood to be ſpoken ironically, and others, to this end, that they might handle Reſidence, according to the promiſe of *Mantua*. In the end, the Articles, to be handled in the Congregations of the Divines, were given forth. The ſubſtance of the orders before mentioned was comprehended in ſeven Rules. That, in every matter propoſed, only four of the Divines ſent by the Pope, choſen by the Legates, ſhould ſpeak, two Seculars, and two Regulars. That by the Ambaſſadors of Princes, three of the Secular Divines, ſent by them, ſhould be choſen. That every Legate ſhould chuſe a Secular Divine of his own Family. That of all the other Secular Divines of the Families of the Prelates, only four ſhould be choſen to ſpeak, beginning with thoſe who were created Doctors firſt. That amongſt the Regulars every General ſhould chuſe three of his own Order. That none of the Divines ſhall ſpeak above half an hour, or, if they do, ſhall be interrupted by the Maſter of the Ceremonies, and he that will be more brief, ſhall be more commended. That thoſe Divines who are not to ſpeak, may deliver their opinions in writing to the Deputies, concerning the things propoſed. By theſe Rules they made account that four and thirty Divines were to ſpeak, and that they might all be heard in ten Congregations at the moſt. In eſtabliſhing and publiſhing this Order, the difficulty was what Inſcription to give it. Some thought that to call it a mean to be obſerved by the Divines, was to run into the inconvenience objected by that *Spartane* to the *Athenians*, *that wiſe men did conſult, and the ignorant give ſentence.* For avoiding whereof the Inſcription was conceived thus; A mean to be obſerved hereafter in the points which ſhall be examined by the inferiour Divines, inferring that the Prelates were ſuperiour Divines.

Seven Rules are ſet down, concerning the order of examining the points of doctrine.

13. Articles concerning the *Maſs* are propoſed to be examined.

The Articles were thirteen. 1. Whether the *Maſs* be only a commemoration of the Sacrifice of the *Croſs*, and not a true Sacrifice. 2. Whether the Sacrifice of the *Maſs* derogateth from that of the *Croſs*. 3. Whether *Chriſt* did ordain that the Apoſtles ſhould offer his Body and Blood in the *Maſs*, in theſe words, *Do this in remembrance of me.* 4. Whether the Sacrifice of the *Maſs* doth only help him who doth receive it, and may not be offered for others, as well living as dead, nor for their ſins, ſatisfactions and other neceſſities. 5. Whether the private *Maſſes*, in which the Prieſt alone doth receive the Communion without other Communicants, be unlawful, and ought to be taken away. 6. Whether the mingling of Water with Wine in the *Maſs* be contrary to the inſtitution of our Lord. 7. Whether the Canon of the *Maſs* doth contain errors, and ought to be abrogated. 8. Whether the cuſtom of the Church of *Rome*, to pronounce ſoftly, and in ſecret, the words of the conſecration, be damnable.

9. Whether

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9. Whether the *Maſs* ought to be celebrated only in the vulgar tongue, underſtood by all. 10. Whether to attribute certain *Maſſes* to certain Saints be an abuſe. 11. Whether the Ceremonies, Veſtments and other external ſigns which the Church uſeth, ought to be taken away. 12. Whether to ſay that our Lord is myſtically ſacrificed by us, be the ſame as to ſay, that he is given us to eat. 13. Whether the *Maſs* be a Sacrifice of praiſe and thankſgiving only, or propitiatory for the living and the dead. It was added, that the Divines ſhould ſpeak whether theſe Articles were erroneous, or falſe, or heretical, and whether they deſerved to be condemned by the Synod; and that they ſhould divide them, ſo that the ſeventeen firſt, ſhould ſpeak of the ſeven firſt Articles, and the others, concerning the ſix following.

The *French* Ambaſſadors thought ſtill they had ſmall reputation in the Council, in reſpect of others; and after that the Decree aforeſaid came forth were more jealous than before, becauſe mention was to be made of the Divines, to what King each did belong (which was not done concerning the Prelates) and none would be preſent for *France*. They doubted alſo, that, by this means, ſome prejudice might ariſe to the prerogatives of the Kingdom. Therefore they did preſently, and afterwards, upon other occaſions, ſend advice into *France*, that the diſputation would paſs only between the *Italian*, *Spaniards*, and *Portugals*; that *France* would have no part, if his Majeſty did not preſently diſpatch away ſome Prelate, or Doctor, eſpecially becauſe matters of great importance, contained in the Articles propoſed, were to be handled; which alſo would be a means to obtain or hinder other things, according to his Majeſties deſire, and the contents of their inſtructions; that until then they had propoſed none of the Articles of Reformation, becauſe, not having ſuffrages to maintain them, no account would have been made of their Remonſtrances; that the Council would not hearken to any thing that is prejudicial to the profit or authority of the Court; becauſe the Pope is Lord of the Propoſitions, it having been determined in the beginning, and ever ſince obſerved, that nothing may be propoſed but by the Legates; as alſo of the reſolutions, becauſe ſo many Prelates are his Penſioners, and ſtand at his devotion; that it is reſolved that the Council ſhall not meddle with reforming the Court, but reſerve that whole buſineſs to his Holineſs; that the *Spaniards* who were very zealous for the Reformation, are cooled and put in fear, by the reprehenſion of their King; that there is no hope, ſo long as the caſe ſtandeth thus, to obtain any thing but what pleaſeth the Pope, becauſe no inſtance made by all the Ambaſſadors and Princes which are in *Trent*, hath been able to perſwade a good Reformation of the Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, howſoever Articles, conformable not only to the uſe of the primitive Church, but even to the Decrees of the Popes themſelves have been preſented to the Legates; that, inſtead of thoſe, they propoſe points of the preſent Controverſies of Doctrine, though they have been told it is ſuperfluous, in abſence of the Proteſtants, and that, if they propoſe any thing concerning manners, it is of ſmall importance, and of no fruit.

The *French* Ambaſſadors write to their King for Prelates or Doctors to be ſent out of *France*.

And complain of the proceeding in Council.

The Pope, daily adviſed of the divers occurrences in *Trent*, did fear that no Decree would be publiſhed in the Seſſion at the day appointed: but underſtanding how happily it paſſed, was exceeding glad; and the more, in regard of the reconciliation of the Legates, and of the Letter of the King of *Spain*. He could not conceal his joy, but

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imparted it in Conſiſtory, and ſpake of it to the Ambaſſadors, and thanked the Cardinal of *Arragon*, Brother of *Peſcara*, to whom] he did attribute this ſervice. And being wholly bent to conclude the Council quickly, and finding that nothing could prolong it, but the points of Reſidence, and of the Communion of the Cup, he wrote to the Legates, that he was wholly intent to the reformation of the Court; that they ſhould aſſure thereof the Ambaſſadors and Prelates who ſpake of it; and that themſelves ſhould diſpatch the other matters: which they might do in three Seſſions more. He commended them for having reſerved power to abbreviate the time prefixed, exhorting them to make uſe thereof. He added, that, knowing it was hard to make a good reſolution in the Council, in matter of Reſidence, becauſe many Prelates, having delivered their opinion to a good end, were intereſted in their honour, they ſhould procure that it might be referred unto him, and likewiſe ſhould free themſelves from inſtances made by Princes for the Communion of the Cup, by making the ſame reference. And if any difficulty, hard to be reſolved, ſhall happen, in any of the points, which remain to be handled, they ſhould propoſe the remitting of it to him alſo; becauſe he can more eaſily decide any thing in Conſiſtory, calling ſome Doctors, if there be occaſion, than in *Trent*, where mens divers intereſts make the reſolutions impoſſible, or very long.

The *Jeſuites* will not obſerve the Rules.

The firſt Congregation of the Divines was held the next day in the afternoon, in which the order of ſpeaking but half an hour was ſo well obſerved, that *Salmeron* the *Jeſuite* ſpent the whole time himſelf, with much faucineſs; ſaying he was ſent by the Pope, and that being to ſpeak of important and neceſſary matters, no time was to be preſcribed unto him; and diſcourſing of the ſeven Articles, ſpake only common things, which deſerve not particular mention. The next morning he was imitated by his fellow *Torre*, who ſpent that whole Congregation alſo, and rather repeated the things ſpoken before, than added any thing of his own. But, which was worſt of all, coming, in the end, to the place of Saint *John*, *If you eat not*, *&c.* he ſaid, it muſt needs be underſtood of the Sacramental *Communion*, and added, that, in the firſt point of Doctrine, publiſhed in the laſt Seſſion, it ſeemed that doubt was made of it, and therefore that it was neceſſary to declare in the next, that nothing is ſpoken of in that paſſage but the Sacrament; and that if any were of another opinion, he appealed to the Synod. The Legates were much offended at his ſpeech, as well becauſe it croſſed the determination of the Council, as becauſe it ſhewed a neceſſity of the *Communion* of the Cup; but much more, becauſe thoſe *Jeſuites*, howſoever they were the firſt, would be excepted both from the general orders: with ſo much petulancy. They called to mind the ſtirs raiſed by them in the Seſſion, and *Torre* was particularly noted by *Simoneta*, for having written againſt *Cathrinus* in favour of Reſidence, that it is *de jure Divino*, with inſolent terms, as the Cardinal ſaid. Therefore the Congregation being ended, he told his Colleagues, that it was fit to repreſs this boldneſs, and give example to others; and they agreed ſo to do upon the firſt occaſion.

With whom the Legates are diſpleaſed.

The diſcuſſion of the Articles.

In the diſcuſſions of the Divines all were uniform in condemning the Proteſtant opinions of Hereſie, in the Articles propoſed, and did quickly diſpatch the others. The diſcourſe of every one was long in proving the *Maſs* to be a Sacrifice, in which Chriſt is offered under the Sacramental Elements. Their principal Reaſons were; That *Chriſt is a Prieſt according to the order of Melchiſedec*: but *Melchiſedec* offered Bread

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Bread and Wine, therefore the Prieſthood of *Chriſt* doth require the Sacrifice of Bread and Wine. Moreover, the *Paſchal Lamb* was a true Sacrifice, and that is a Figure of the *Euchariſt*, therefore the *Euchariſt* alſo muſt be a Sacrifice. Afterwards the Prophecy of *Malachy* was alledged, by whoſe mouth God rejected the Sacrifice of the *Jews*, ſaying his Name was holy, great amongſt the *Gentiles*, and that in every place, a pure oblation is offered to him; which cannot be underſtood of any thing elſe which is offered in every place, and by all Nations. Divers other Congruities, and Figures of the Old Teſtament were produced, ſome grounding themſelves upon one, and ſome upon another. In the New Teſtament the place of S. *John* was brought, where *Chriſt* ſaith to the Woman of *Samaria*, that *the hour is come in which the Father ſhall be worſhipped in Spirit and in truth:* and to worſhip in the holy Scripture doth ſignifie to ſacrifice, as appeareth by many places. And the Woman of *Samaria* asked him of the Sacrifice, which could not be offered by the *Jews* but in *Jeruſalem*, and by the *Samaritans* was offered in *Garizim*, where *Chriſt* then was. Therefore they ſaid the place was neceſſarily to be underſtood of an external, publick, and ſolemn adoration, which could be no other but the *Euchariſt*. It was proved alſo by the words of *Chriſt*, *This is my body which is given for you, which is broken for you. This is my blood which is ſhed for you.* Therefore there is a breaking of the body, and an effuſion of blood in the *Euchariſt*, which are actions of a Sacrifice. Above all, they grounded themſelves upon the words of S. *Paul*, who putteth the *Euchariſt* in the ſame kind with the Sacrifices of the *Jews*, and of the *Gentiles*, ſaying, that, by it, the body and blood of *Chriſt* are participated; as in the *Hebraiſm*, he that eateth of the Hoſt, is partaker of the Altar; and one cannot drink the Cup of the Lord, and eat of his Table, and drink of the cup of Devils, and be partaker of their table. But that the Apoſtles were ordained Prieſts by *Chriſt*, they proved plainly, by the words ſpoken to them by *Chriſt* our *Lord*, *Do this in remembrance of me.* For better proof, many authorities of the Fathers were adduced, who do all name the *Euchariſt* a Sacrifice, or, in more general terms, do teſtifie that a Sacrifice is offered in the Church. Some added afterwards, that the *Maſs* was a Sacrifice, becauſe *Chriſt* offered himſelf in the Supper. And they brought this reaſon for the moſt principal, and proved the ground thereof, becauſe the Scripture ſaying plainly that *Melchiſedec offered Bread and Wine*; *Chriſt* could not have been a Prieſt after that order, if he had not done the like, and becauſe *Chriſt* ſaid, that his blood was a confirmation of the New Teſtament; but the blood which doth confirm the Old, was offered in this inſtitution: therefore it followeth, by a neceſſary conſequence, that *Chriſt* himſelf alſo did offer it. They argued alſo, that *Chriſt* having ſaid, *Do this in remembrance of me*, if he had not offered, we could not do it. And they ſaid the *Lutherans* have no other argument to prove the *Maſs* to be no Sacrifice, but becauſe *Chriſt* hath not offered; and therefore that opinion was dangerous, as favouring the Heretical Doctrine. It was alſo more effectually proved, becauſe the Church ſingeth, in the office of the body of our *Lord*, *Chriſt*, *a Prieſt for ever after the order of Melchiſedec, hath offered Bread and Wine.* And in the Canon of the *Ambroſian Miſſal* it is ſaid, that inſtituting a form of perpetual Sacrifice, he hath firſt offered himſelf as an Hoſt, and hath firſt taught how to offer it. Afterwards many authorities of the Fathers were produced, to prove the ſame.

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On the other part, it was ſaid with no leſs aſſeveration, that *Chriſt* in the Supper, hath commanded the oblation to be made for ever, in the Church, after his death; but that he hath not offered himſelf, becauſe the nature of that Sacrifice did not comport it. And, for proof hereof, they ſaid that the oblation of the *Croſs* would have been ſuperfluous, becauſe mankind would have been redeemed by that of the Supper, which went before. That the Sacrifice of the Altar was inſtituted by *Chriſt*, for a memorial of that which he offered on the *Croſs*; but there cannot be any memorial, but of a thing paſt; therefore the *Euchariſt* could not be a Sacrifice before the oblation of *Chriſt* on the *Croſs*. They alledged alſo that neither the Scripture, nor the Canon of the *Maſs*, nor any Council ever ſaid that *Chriſt* offered himſelf in the Supper, and added, that the places of the Fathers before alledged, ought to be underſtood of his oblation on the *Croſs*. They concluded, that, having to define the *Maſs* to be a Sacrifice, as indeed it was, it might moſt effectually be done by proofs out of the Scriptures and Fathers, without adding ſuch weak reaſons. This difference was not between many and few, but divided as well the Divines as the Fathers, into almoſt equal parts, and occaſioned ſome contention. The former went ſo far as to ſay that the other opinion was an errour, and required that it ſhould be ſilenced by an *Anathematiſm*, condemning of Hereſie, thoſe that ſay, that *Chriſt* hath not offered himſelf in the Supper, under the Sacramental Elements. The others ſaid it was not a time to ground ones ſelf upon things uncertain, and upon the new opinions, neither heard nor thought of by Antiquity, but that one ought to inſiſt upon that which is plain, and certain, both by the Scripture and by the Fathers, that is, that *Chriſt* hath commanded the oblation.

In which the Divines are much divided.

All the Month of *July* was ſpent by the ſeventeen who ſpake upon the firſt Articles; the latter they diſpatched in a few days, rather with injurious terms againſt the Proteſtants, than with Reaſons. It is not fit to relate the particulars, but only ſome few that are moſt notable.

The diſcourſe of *Georgius di Ataide.*

In the Congregation of the 24. of *July*, in the afternoon, *Georgius di Ataide*, a Divine of the King of *Portugal*, ſought to overthrow all the grounds of the other Divines, laid to prove the Sacrifice of the *Maſs* by the Holy Scripture; and ſaid firſt, that it could not be doubted that the *Maſs* was a Sacrifice, becauſe all the Fathers have ſaid it in plain words, and replyed it upon every occaſion: and he began with the *Latines* and *Greeks* of the ancient Church, and with the *Martyrs*, and came, from time to time, until the preſent age, affirming that there is no Chriſtian Writer who hath not called it a Sacrifice. Therefore it muſt certainly be concluded that it hath been ſo taught by an Apoſtolical Tradition, the force whereof is more than ſufficient to make Articles of Faith, as this Council hath maintained from the beginning. But this true and ſolid foundation is weakened, by thoſe who would build in the air, ſeeking to find in the Scriptures that which is not there, gving occaſion to the adverſaries to calumniate the truth, while they ſee it grounded upon ſuch an unſtable ſand. And having thus ſpoken, he proceeded to examine, one after another, the places of the Old and New Teſtament, alledged by the Divines, ſhewing that no expreſs ſignification of the Sacrifice could be drawn from them. To the fact of *Melchiſedec*, he anſwered, that *Chriſt* was a Prieſt of that Order, as he was the only begotten, eternal, without Predeceſſor, Father, Mother,

ther, or Genealogy. And this is proved too plainly by the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*, where Saint *Paul* diſcourſing at large of this place, doth handle the eternity and ſingularity of the Prieſthood, and maketh no mention of the Bread and Wine. He repeated the Doctrine of Saint *Auſtine*, that when there is a fit place for any thing to be ſpoken and it is not ſpoken, an argument may be drawn from the authority negatively. Of the *Paſchal Lamb* he ſaid, that it could not be preſuppoſed for a thing ſo evident that it was a Sacrifice, and perhaps to him that would take upon him to prove the contrary, the victory would neceſſarily be yielded; and alſo that it was too hard a *Metaphor*, to make it a *Type* of the *Euchariſt*, and not rather of the *Croſs*. He commended thoſe Theologues, who, having brought the place of *Malachy*, added that of Saint *John*, *To worſhip in Spirit and truth*, becauſe indeed, the one and the other did formally ſpeak of the ſame thing, and were to be expounded alike, that no difficulty might be made concerning the word, *Adorare*: which certainly doth ſignifie alſo a Sacrifice; and the Woman of *Samaria* took it in the general ſignification. But when *Chriſt* added, *That God is a Spirit, and will be worſhipped in Spirit*, no man that is not willing to expound all things in an unproper ſenſe, will ſay that a Sacrament, which conſiſteth of a thing viſible and inviſible, is purely ſpiritual, but compoſed of this, and the Elementary Sign. Therefore he that will expound both thoſe places of internal adoration, cannot be convinced, and ſhall have probability on his ſide; the application being plain, that this is offered in all places, and by all Nations, and is purely ſpiritual, as God is a pure Spirit. And he proceeded, and ſaid that the words, *This is my Body which is given for you, and the Blood which is ſhed for you*, have a more plain meaning, if they be referred to the body and blood in their natural eſſence, than in the Sacramental; as when it is ſaid, *Chriſt is the true Vine, which bringeth forth the Wine*, it is not meant that the ſignificative Vine doth bring forth Wine, but the real. So, this is my blood which is ſhed, doth not ſignifie that the Sacramental and ſignificative blood was ſhed, but the blood natural and ſignified. And that which Saint *Paul* ſaith of taking part of the Sacrifice of the *Jews*, and of the Table of Devils, is underſtood of the *Rites* which God did inſtitute by *Moſes*, and of thoſe which the *Gentiles* did uſe in ſacrificing; ſo that it cannot hence be proved that the *Euchariſt* is a Sacrifice; that it is plain in *Moſes*, that, in the votive Sacrifices, the oblation was all preſented to God, and a part burnt, which was called the *Sacrifice*; and that which remained belonged partly to the Prieſt, and partly to him that offered, which they did eat with whom they pleaſed; neither was this called, to Sacrifice, but to participate of the thing ſacrificed. The *Gentiles* did imitate the ſame; yea, that part which was not conſumed upon the Altar, was ſent by ſome to be ſold; and this is the table which is not the Altar. The plain meaning of Saint *Paul* is, that as the *Jews*, eating the part belonging to him that offereth, which is a remainder of the Sacrifice, do partake of the *Altar*, and the *Gentiles* likewiſe, ſo we, eating the *Euchariſt*, are partakers of the Sacrifice of the *Croſs*. And this is it which *Chriſt* ſaid; *Do this in remembrance of me*; and which Saint *Paul* ſaid; *As often as ye ſhall eat of this bread and drink of this Cup, you ſhall profeſs that the Lord died for you.* But whereas it is ſaid that the Apoſtles were, by the words of the Lord, ordained Prieſts, to offer Sacrifice, when he ſaith, *Do this*, without doubt it is underſtood of that which they had ſeen him to do. Therefore it muſt be manifeſt firſt that he hath offered; which cannot be, becauſe the opinions of the Di-

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vines are various, and every one confeſſeth, that both the one and the other is Catholick; and thoſe who deny that *Chriſt* hath offered, cannot conclude by thoſe words, that he hath commanded the Oblation. Then he brought the arguments of the Proteſtants, by which they prove, that the *Euchariſt* is not inſtituted for a Sacrifice but for a Sacrament; and concluded that it could not be ſaid that the *Maſs* was a Sacrifice, but by the ground of Tradition; exhorting them to reſt upon this, and not to make the truth uncertain, by deſiring to prove too much. Then he came to reſolve the Proteſtant arguments, and gave his Auditors ill ſatisfaction therein; for he recited them with force and good appearance, and anſwered weakly, ſo that he did rather confirm them. This was aſcribed by ſome to the ſhortneſs of time which remained until night, and others thought he was not able to expreſs himſelf better, and the moſt intelligent were of opinion, that thoſe anſwers did not ſatisfie himſelf. The Fathers murmuring hereat, *Jacobus Pavia*, another *Portugal* Divine, repeated, in the next Congregation, all his arguments, and reſolved them, with ſatisfaction of his hearers; ſaying, in excuſe of his Collegue, that he was of the ſame mind; and the teſtimonies of the Ambaſſadors and Prelates of *Portugal* of his honeſty, and ſoundneſs of Doctrine, cauſed the Legates not to be offended with him. Notwithſtanding, he departed a few days after; neither is his name in the Catalogues of the Divines, but only in thoſe which were printed at *Breſcia*, and *Riva*, before that time.

Giveth bad ſatisfaction to the Prelates.

The 28. of *July*, *John Cavillone*, a *Jeſuite*, and a Divine of the Duke of *Bavaria*, ſpake very clearly concerning the Articles; repreſenting all, as it were without difficulty, not by way of examination, or diſcuſſion, but ſtirring up their affections to piety. He ſhewed many miracles, which hapned in divers times; affirmed, that from the time of the Apoſtles until *Luther*, no man doubted of it; alledging the *Liturgies* of Saint *James*, Saint *Mark*, Saint *Baſil*, and Saint *Chryſoſtom* Concerning the oppoſitions of the Proteſtants, he ſaid, they were ſufficiently reſolved, without which they ought to believe they were but fallacies, becauſe they come from perſons alienated from the Church. And, in the end, he exhorted the Legates not to permit, that in any matter whatſoever, the arguments of the Hereticks ſhould be propoſed, without adding a moſt evident reſolution; which he that cannot do, muſt forbear to relate them; becauſe true piety requireth, that the reaſons contrary to the Doctrine of the Church ſhould not be repeated, before the minds of the hearers be prepared, by ſhewing the perverſeneſs and ignorance of the inventors, and that their arguments are not hearkened unto but by people of a weak brain; which being done, they may ſuccinctly be rehearſed, with the intermediate proofs, adding the plain anſwer well amplified; and when it doth ſeem that ſomething wanteth, the diſputation is to be diverted to another matter, for fear of breeding ſcruple in the minds of the Auditors, eſpecially being Prelates, and Paſtors of the Church. His diſcourſe did pleaſe very much the greater part of the Prelates, and was commended for pious and Catholick, and that it did deſerve that the Synod ſhould make a Decree, and command that all Preachers, Readers, and Writers ſhould obſerve the Rules ſet down therein. But it gave ſmall ſatisfaction to the Ambaſſador of his Prince, who, after the Congregation, in preſence of the Imperialiſts, which came in complement to thank him for his ſpeech, ſaid, that truly it did deſerve to be commended, for having taught how to uſe Sophiſtry, in the ſimplicity of Chriſtian Doctrine.

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Antonius of *Valtelina*, a *Dominican* Fryar, one of the laſt which were to ſpeak of the ſix laſt Articles of the *Rites*, ſaid, that it was plain by all hiſtories, that anciently every Church had her particular *Ritual* of the *Maſs*, brought in by uſe, and upon occaſion, rather than by deliberation and Decree; and that the ſmall Churches did follow the *Metropolitan*, and the greater, which were near. The *Roman rite* hath been, to gratifie the Pope, received in many Provinces, though the *Rites* of many Churches are ſtill moſt different from it. He ſpake of *Mozarabo*, where there are horſes and fencings after the manner of the *Moors*, which have a great myſtery and ſignification; and this is ſo different from the *Roman*, that, if it were ſeen in *Italy*, one would not think it to be a *Maſs*. But that of *Rome* alſo hath had great alterations (as will appear to him that readeth the ancient Book, which remaineth as yet, and is called *Ordo Romanus*) which hath been made, not only in ancient times, but even in the latter ages alſo, and the true *Roman rite*, obſerved within three hundred years, is not that which is now obſerved by the Prieſts in that City, but that which is retained by the *Order* of S. *Dominick*. For the Veſtments, Veſſels, and other Ornaments of the Miniſters and *Altars*, it appeareth, not by Books only, but by Statues, and Pictures, that they are ſo changed, that if the Ancients ſhould return into the world, they would not know them. Therefore he concluded, that to bind all to approve the *Rites* which the Church of *Rome* uſeth, might be reprehended, as a condemnation of antiquity, and of the uſes of other Churches, and might receive worſe interpretations. He adviſed to diſcuſs the eſſence of the *Maſs*, and not make mention of theſe other things. He returned to ſhew the difference between the preſent *Rite* of *Rome*, and that which is deſcribed in the *Ordo Romanus*; and amongſt other particulars, inſiſted much upon this, that according to that, the Laicks did communicate with both kinds; and ſo began to perſwade the grant of the Cup at this preſent. His diſcourſe diſpleaſed the Auditory; but the Biſhop of *Five-Churches* protected him, and ſaid, that he had delivered nothing untruly, nor given any ſcandal, becauſe he ſpake not to the common people, nor to fools, but in an Aſſembly of learned Men; to whom no truth can give bad edification, and that he that would condemn the Fryar, as ſcandalous or raſh, did firſt condemn himſelf, as uncapable of the truth.

The *Rites* of the Church of *Rome* are various.

The ſame difference which was between the Divines, was alſo between the Prelates, deputed to compoſe the Doctrine and the *Anathematiſms*, to be propoſed in Congregation. For, in the Doctrine being to alledge the proofs and explications, ſome approved or diſproved one, and ſome another, according to their affections. *Martinus Pereſius*, Biſhop of *Segovia*, who had been preſent in the Council at the handling of this matter, in the end of the year 1551. was of opinion, that the ſame Doctrine and Canons ſhould be taken, which were compoſed to be publiſhed in *January* 1552. and that they ſhould be reviewed. But Cardinal *Seripando* did not approve it, ſaying, that there appeared in that an incomparable piety and Chriſtian zeal, but ſubject to the calumnies of the adverſaries; and that the end ought not to be the inſtruction of the Catholicks, as the aim of thoſe Fathers ſeemeth to have been, but the confuſion of the Hereticks. Therefore that they ought to be more reſerved in all parts, and not to meddle with correcting the things ordained then, that it was better to begin again, and not to give occaſion that it may be ſaid, that they have reaped that which was ſown by others. *Granata* diſſented from all, and would not have it ſaid, that *Chriſt* made an oblation in the Supper, or did in-

The Prelates are divided in opinion, about publication of the Doctrine.

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ſtitute the Sacrifice, by thoſe words *Do this in remembrance of me.* For the firſt, *Seripando* ſaid, he did not think it neceſſary, and that it might be omitted, it being ſufficient that *Chriſt* hath inſtituted the oblation; but yet it was neceſſary to ſay by what words it was inſtituted, and there be not any other but thoſe before mentioned. But *Johannes Antonius Pantuſa*, Biſhop of *Lettere*, was very paſſionate to have the reaſons of *Melchiſedec*, *Malachie*, of the adoration of the Woman of *Samaria*, the Tables of S. *Paul*, the Oblation of *Chriſt* in the Supper, and every other reaſon alledged to be put into the Decree. In the end after the diſputation of many days, they agreed to put all in, that the Prelates might ſpeak their opinions in the Congregations, and that might be taken away which did not pleaſe the *major* part. They made alſo a collection of the abuſes, which daily happen, in the celebration of *Maſſes*, which were but few in reſpect of thoſe which were noted in the year 1551.

The Archbiſhop of *Lanciano*, and of *Palermo*, are contrary in opinion.

The thirteenth of *Auguſt* a general Congregation was held to receive the *Proctors* of the Biſhops of *Ratisbone*, and *Baſil*, that they might honour this ſecond, to the ſhame of the City of *Baſil*, which did contend with him for the title, ſaying, he ſhould not be called Biſhop of *Baſil*, but of *Bontruto*. The draught being given forth, the Archbiſhop of *Lanciano* was of opinion, that the *Anathematiſms* only ſhould be publiſhed, and the points of Doctrine wholly omitted. He alledged the example of other Councils, in very few of which it hath been otherwiſe obſerved, and that this ſame Council of *Trent*, in the matter of Original ſin, of the Sacraments, and of Baptiſm, did leave it out. He ſaid it was for Doctors to ſhew reaſons for their opinions, but the Judges (ſuch as Biſhops in Council are) were to make their ſentences abſolute; that, if a reaſon be added, not only the Decree, but that alſo may be impugned; without which every one will think that the Synod hath been moved by moſt potent arguments, and every one will believe that it hath been induced by thoſe which himſelf doth moſt eſteem; that it is not ſecure to uſe reaſons, though moſt evident, becauſe the Hereticks will oppoſe them, and eſteem them but little; and the more is ſaid, the more matter of contradiction is miniſtred. He added alſo, that the conjunctures did require a ſudden diſpatch of the Council, and did intimate, by words underſtood by the Legates and favourers of the Pope, that by this means they ſhould give ſatisfaction to his Holineſs. *Octavianus Preconius*, Archbiſhop of *Palermo*, who followed him in order, ſpake to the contrary; that the uſe of Councils hath been to make a *Symbol* of their own, unto which the Doctrine doth anſwer, and then to add the *Anathematiſms*. That this having been obſerved in this Council under *Julius*, and now again in the laſt Seſſion, if it were not continued, it would be ſaid, it was for want of reaſons. He ſaid it was baſe, to ſhun the diſputation of Hereticks, yea that their contradiction would make the Doctrine of the Council ſhine more brightly, and that they were not to take care to finiſh the Council quickly, but to finiſh it well. Theſe two Prelates were ſo tedious, that the night concluded the Congregation, and they ſaid it was no wonder if a *Dominican* of *Genua* (for ſo *Landiano* was) ſhould be contrary to a *Franciſcan* of *Sicily*.

The days following divers practices were uſed, by ſome to finiſh, by others to prolong the Council, and thoſe who were intereſted uſed theſe and the like reaſons. But the matter being propoſed once again in Congregation, the *major* part thought fit to continue the order begun. This ſet on foot again the diſputation about *reſidence*, and the ſame men were deſirous of the concluſion of the Council, and of the omiſſion of

The Legates uſe practices to divert the diſcuſſion of *Reſidence*.

that

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that matter. Which gave occaſion to *Mantua* and *Seripando* to uſe their endeavours and ſhew the Pope, by effects, that they did accommodate themſelves to his pleaſure, according to the inſtruction which *Lanciana* had brought them by word of mouth. They employed herein, to uſe good perſwaſions, the Archbiſhop of *Otranto*, the Biſhops of *Modena*, *Nola*, and *Breſcia*, who were not open *Papalins*, but newly gained. They did overcome the *Italians*, inducing them not to change their opinions, nor to contradict themſelves, but not to urge that matter any more. Many did promiſe that if the *Spaniards* would ſurceaſe, themſelves would do the like. Theſe four Prelates made a note of all they had perſwaded, and found they had gained much; but with the *Spaniards* it was not poſſible to prevail a jot, yea this made them combine the more. They wrote a common Letter to the King, in anſwer of that which his Majeſty had written to the Marquis of *Peſcara*; firſt complaining of the Pope, for not ſuffering the point of *Reſidense* to be decided, in which all the Reformation of the Church is to be grounded, and with a very fair and reverend manner of ſpeech; they concluded there was no liberty in the Council; that the *Italians* did overcome with plurality of voices, of which ſome for penſions, ſome for promiſes, and thoſe who were leaſt corrupted for fear, did obey the will of his Holineſs. They complained of the Legates, who if they had ſuffered, as they ought, the point to be concluded, when the fit time was, it might have been reſolved for the ſervice of *God*, with great concord, before they could have written from *Rome*. That two thirds of the Prelates did deſire the definition; that all the Ambaſſadors did favour the truth herein: yet proceeding with modeſty and charity, they never had the courage to proteſt; They beſeeched his Majeſty to conſult with godly Men about this Article, aſſuring themſelves, that, after mature deliberation, he would favour the opinion, as being catholick, pious, and neceſſary for making a good Reformation.

The *Spaniſh* Prelates write a common Letter to their King, and tell him that there is no liberty in the Council.

This accident aſſured the Legates, and their adherents, that it was impoſſible to bury this matter in ſilence, ſeeing that the *Spaniards* were not pacified, either by the Kings Letter, or by the perſwaſions uſed to them: yea, had declared themſelves again, by writing into *Spain*, which made them ſeem to be inſuperable. The *Papalins* therefore conſulted together, and reſolved to ſend to the Cardinal of *Ferrara* into *France*, a Copy of the Catholick Kings Letter to *Peſcara*, that he might procure ſuch another from that King to the *French* Ambaſſadors, as well to hinder their practices to the contrary, which they daily made, as that the *French* Biſhops, when they came, might not unite with the *Spaniards*, as theſe did hope, and expect. And, to diſcredit the *Spaniards* with their King, they reſolved to write into *Spain*, that *Granata* and *Segovia*, their Leaders, who make ſhew of conſcience, had promiſed their voices to the Biſhop of *Five-Churches*, for the Communion of the Cup, not reſpecting his Majeſty, who doth ſo much abhor it.

The Pope maketh levie of Souldiers.

At this time, the Pope, conſidering in what imminent danger his authority was, in regard of the difficulties and confuſions of *Trent*, ſtirs of *France*, and of the Diet which was prepared in *Germany*, in which the Emperour would be forced for his own intereſts to yield to the Proteſtants, thought fit to ſecure himſelf by all means, and had given money a month before to ten Captains, to raiſe Souldiers, which were lodged in *Romani* and *Marca* and grew very familiar with the Miniſters of the Princes of *Italy*, and with the Cardinals who

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were their near friends. This bred a ſuſpicion in the *Spaniards* and *French men*; and the *French* Ambaſſador exhorted him to deſiſt from making proviſions of War, for fear of diſturbing the Council. The Pope anſwered, that the *Engliſh men* and Proteſtants of *Germany*, having declared themſelves that they will aſſiſt the *Hugonots* of *France*, it was not fit for him to be unprovided; that the world was full of Hereticks, and therefore it was neceſſary to protect the Council, as well by force, as by authority. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador went not the ſame way, but confirming that the proceedings of his Proteſtants were to be ſuſpected, promiſed him all aid and aſſiſtance in the Kings name; which he did to hinder the making of a League in *Italy*, which would never have been pleaſing in *Spain*. The Pope accepted the offer; and, underſtanding at the ſame time the union of his Legates, and how zealous they were to do him ſervice, was much conſolated. And he ſent them word, that they ſhould hinder all ſpeech concerning *reſidence*, if it were poſſible, or, if they could not, ſhould make uſe of plurality of voices; but above all, that they ſhould diſpatch quickly, that they might conclude it before the coming of the *French-men*, and the aſſembling of the Diet in *Germany*, that the Emperour for the great deſire he hath to make his Son King of the *Romans*, may not ſuffer himſelf to be perſwaded by the Proteſtants, to propoſe in Council ſome thing more prejudicial, than thoſe things which have been propoſed already.

And is pleaſed with his Legates.

The requeſt of the *French* Ambaſſadors.

The *French* Ambaſſadors, after they had often made a modeſt requeſt, that their Prelates might be expected, did, the tenth of *Auguſt*, preſent it in writing. The tenor whereof was, that the moſt Chriſtian King, reſolving to obſerve and reverence the Decrees of Councils which repreſent the univerſal Church, doth deſire that the Canons of this may be received by the adverſaries of the Church of *Rome*, of which thoſe who are not ſeparated have no need; and he thinketh that thoſe which are to be made, will be more acceptable, if the Seſſion be prorogued, that, unto ſo great a multitude of *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Prelates, the *French* Biſhops may be added, of whom, in the ancient Councils of the Church, great account hath been made. The cauſe of their abſence, which they the Legates have heard before, and judged neceſſary, will ceaſe quickly, as it is hoped, and, in caſe it ſhould not, yet they will arrive before the end of *September*, becauſe they are ſo commanded by the King. And hereby it will come to paſs alſo, that the Proteſtants, for whoſe ſake the Council was intimated, who ſay every day that they will be preſent in it, will have leſs cauſe to complain, becauſe they cannot require more maturity in this weighty buſineſs, nor accuſe them for too much precipitation. They demanded that, while their Biſhops were expected (that none might think that the King did deſign that by this means the Council ſhould be idle or diſſolve) they would treat only concerning manners, and diſcipline, and the two points remaining, in matter of the Communion of the Cup. They added this laſt clauſe, not to diſpleaſe the *Imperialiſts*, who had hope to obtain it in that Seſſion. The Legates, having conſulted, anſwered in writing; that the Prelates of *France* were, before the Council was opened, expected almoſt ſix months, and after it was begun, which was principally done in regard of *France*, they deferred to handle any matter of weight ſix months more, into which becauſe they are now entred, it is not convenient to deſiſt, becauſe they could not ſo do, without diſhonouring the Council, and much incommodating ſo

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many Fathers; but to prolong the day of the Seſſion was not in their power to grant, without conſent of the Fathers; and therefore that they could not expect from them a more determinate anſwer.

The *French-men* then deſired, that it might be granted to them to make their propoſition in the Congregation. But the Legates anſwered, that, before it had been told them, and all the other Ambaſſadors, that they might negotiate with none but the Legates, and that it was formerly decreed in that ſame Council that Ambaſſadors might not publickly ſpeak in Congregation, but only the day in which they are received, and their *Mandate* is read. This made the *French-men* complain much to the Biſhops, and eſpecially to the *Spaniards*, and to ſay it was a great abſurdity that the Ambaſſages ſhould be addreſſed to the Synod, and the *Mandates* preſented to it, and yet they might not treat with it, but with the Legates only, as if they were Ambaſſadors to them, who are but Ambaſſadors themſelves, as the Pope who ſendeth them is a Prince; and as he is a Biſhop and the firſt Biſhop, they are but Proctors of one who is abſent, and have been always ſo eſteemed in ancient Councils. They alledged the example of the Councils of *Nice*; *Epheſus*, *Chalcedon*, *Trullus*, of the ſecond of *Nice* alſo, and that the breach between the Pope and the Council of *Baſil* was, becauſe they pretended to change this ancient and laudable inſtitution. That this was a kind of grievous ſervitude in the Council that they could not be heard, and an injury to Princes, who could not treat with thoſe with whom they were to manage the affairs of their ſtates; that the Decree alledged by them, was not ſhewed, and that it was fit to ſee it, and to know from whom it proceeded. For if the Legates for the time being did make it, they did extend their authority with great exorbitancy; if the Synod, it was neceſſary to examine how and when. For it was an intolerable inconvenience, which was done in the beginning of this laſt Convocation of the Council, that the Legates, with a few *Italian* Prelates, who came from *Rome* only, ſhould make a Decree, and practice it with rigour, that nothing may be propoſed, but by the Legates; ſo that the way is barred, to all Princes, and Prelates, to be able to propoſe a good Reformation, which would be for the ſervice of God; but in ſtead of that, the Doctrine controverſed with the Proteſtants is handled in their abſence, without any benefit of the Catholicks, who do not doubt of it, and aliening the Proteſtants, by condemning them before they are heard. And their complaints were renewed when they were informed from *Monſieur de l'Iſle*, Ambaſſador of their King in *Rome*, that, by the Kings order, he had made the ſame requeſt to the Pope, that the *French* Biſhops might be expected all *September*, and that his Holineſs had referred it to the Legates. *Lanſac* ſaid, it was a thing worthy of eternal memory; The Pope referred it to the Legates, the Legates cannot do it without the Synod, and that cannot hear them; and ſo the King and the world are deluded.

All Ambaſſadors muſt negotiate with the Legates only.

Whereof the Ambaſſadors do complain.

The eleventh of *Auguſt* the Biſhops began to give their voyces, concerning the Decrees in matter of the Sacrifice; and almoſt all did lightly and uniformly paſs over all, but only that ſome did not approve the putting in of the oblation of our Lord, in the Supper, and others did maintain it, and, for many days, the number on both ſides was almoſt equal. I muſt not omit, as a thing worthy of memory, that the fourteenth of *Auguſt* *James Lainez*, General of the Jeſuites did arrive; about whoſe place, becauſe that ſociety had never been in Council,

Why the General of the Jeſuits is not in the Catalogue of thoſe who aſſiſted in Council.

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cil, there was much ado. For he would not content himſelf with the laſt place of the Generals of the Regulars, and three of the ſame ſociety laboured to put him forward; for which cauſe he is not named in the Catalogues of thoſe who aſſiſted in the Council.

The *Spaniſh* Prelates preſented to the Legates a requeſt ſubſcribed by them all; in which, having rehearſed many inconveniences, cauſed by the exorbitant *graces*, and *priviledges*, granted to thoſe of the *Conclave*, they demanded a revocation, or, at the leaſt, a moderation of them. The Cardinals, entring into the *Conclave*, where they are locked up for the election of the future Pope, uſe to have two ſervants apiece, one for a *Chaplain*, another to ſerve in the Chamber; which are elected by them rather for negotiations, than to ſerve their perſons, and are ordinarily the beſt Courtiers of *Rome*. Theſe oftentimes have no leſs part in thoſe affairs than their Maſters; ſo that it hath been an old uſe, that, when they come out of the *Conclave*, the new Pope receiveth them all into his family, and giveth them *Priviledges*, fitting the degree of every one, of one kind to Prieſts, of another to Seculars. Amongſt thoſe which then were uſually given to Prieſts, were theſe; that they might reſign, to any Eccleſiaſtical perſon, the Benefices they held, and cauſe them to be conferred upon whomſoever they would name; that they might change their Benefices with any beneficed Man, themſelves making choice of the perſons to conſer both the one and the other. By this exorbitant Faculty, an open merchandizing was cauſed, and the Biſhops perceived that where any *Conclaviſt* was, Canonries, Pariſh Churches, and other Benefices were ſcandalouſly changed, at pleaſure. The *Spaniards* complained much becauſe great inconveniences had lately happened in *Catalonia*, by means hereof. But the Legates ſaid, that the moderation of ſuch abuſes belonged only to the Pope, becauſe it concerned perſons of his family, and that it had been often concluded, to leave the reformation of the Court to him, much more of his family; but they promiſed to write to his Holineſs, and to deſire a proviſion: as they did. The Pope conſidering that the *Conclaviſts* of account remain at *Rome*, and with the Cardinals, and that the proviſion would touch only ſome few, and thoſe of ſmall eſteem, Men retired to their houſes, and that it was fit for his affairs, to give ſome ſatisfaction to the Prelates of the Council, eſpecially to the *Spaniards*, reſolved to yield unto them, and, in the next month, made a revocation of many priviledges granted unto thoſe, which notwithſtanding was not obſerved by his Succeſſor.

The Priviledges of the *Conclaviſts*.

Faber, the third *French* Ambaſſador, parted from *Trent*, to return to *France*, which made the Papalins ſuſpect that he went to give an account of the Council, and to ſollicite the coming of the *French* Prelates: and they thought he would do bad Offices, becauſe they ſaw his inclination by ſome of his Letters written to the Chancellor, which they had intercepted, for the ill ſatisfaction he and his Collegues had becauſe they could not obtain the prorogation. Which being related to *Lanſac*, by ſome creatures of *Simoneta*, to diſcover the truth, he anſwered that he was gone for his own particular occaſions, and that it was no marvel, if, the defects of the Council being ſo manifeſt, one did think they might be related.

A ſharp contention about the oblation of Chriſt in the *Supper*.

But concerning the Sacrifice of the Maſs, in the Congregation held until the eighteenth, all contended reſolutely about the oblation of *Chriſt* in the *Supper*: and Father *Salmeron* was the principal Man to perſwade the affirmative. He went to the houſes of thoſe who were

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of the other opinion, eſpecially of thoſe who had not given their voices perſwading them to be ſilent, or, at the leaſt to ſpeak remiſly, and uſed the name of Cardinal *Varmienſe* principally, and ſometime of *Sarpando*, intimating the other Legates, without naming them. And this he did with ſuch importunity, that the BB. of *Chiozza* and of *Veglia*, complained of it in the Congregation of the 18. of *Auguſt*. And this ſecond ſpake for the negative with very forcible reaſons. He told them they ſhould conſider well of it, becauſe one *propitiatory ſacrifice* being offered, if it be ſufficient to expiate, no other is offered but only for thankſgiving; and he that maintaineth a *propitiatory ſacrifice* in the *Supper*, muſt needs confeſs that, by it, we are redeemed, and not by his death; which is contrary to the Scripture and Chriſtian Doctrine, which aſcribe our redemption to this. And if any ſay it is all one, begun in the *Supper*, and ended in the *Croſs*, he falleth into another inconvenience as great, becauſe it is a contradiction to ſay that the beginning of a *Sacrifice* is a *Sacrifice*, and if one ſhould ceaſe after the beginning, and go no further, no Man would ſay he had ſacrificed: and it will never be believed that, if *Chriſt* had not been obedient unto his Father, even unto the death of the *Croſs*, but had only made an oblation in the *Supper*, we had been redeemed; ſo that it cannot be ſaid that ſuch an oblation may be called a *Sacrifice*, becauſe it is a beginning of it. He ſaid he would not abſolutely defend that thoſe arguments were inſoluble, but that the Council ought not to tie the underſtanding of any, who had conceived an opinion, upon ſo good reaſons. He ſaid, that, as he made no difficulty to call the *Maſs* a *propitiatory Sacrifice*, ſo he could not by any means be ſatisfied, that it ſhould be ſaid that *Chriſt* did offer, becauſe it is enough to ſay that he commanded the oblation. For (ſaid he) if the Synod doth affirm that *Chriſt* did offer, the ſacrifice was either *propitiatory*, and ſo it will fall into the difficulties before mentioned, or not *propitiatory*, and ſo, by that, it cannot be concluded that the *Maſs* is *propitiatory*: yea on the contrary, it will be ſaid that the oblation of *Chriſt* in the *Supper* was not *propitiatory*, and therefore that of the Prieſt in the *Maſs* ought to be. He concluded, that it was more ſecure to ſay only that *Chriſt* commanded the Apoſtles to offer a *propitiatory Sacrifice* in the *Maſs*. Then he obliquely touched *Salmeron*, ſaying, that, if in points of Reformation, practices were uſed, it were tolerable, becauſe they are humane, but to proceed by faction, in matter of Faith, is not a good example. The Biſhop perſwaded ſo many, that it was almoſt the common opinion, not to make mention of the *propitiatory Sacrifice* offered by *Chriſt* in the *Supper*.

Salmeron the Jeſuit is taxed for proceeding by faction in matter of faith.

The ſame day the Archbiſhop of *Prague*, who came not long before from the Emperour, preſented his Letters to the Legates and Letters came alſo from the *Nuncio Delphinus*, reſident with his Majeſty: both which ſignified, that his deſire was, that the *Sacrifice* of the Maſs ſhould not be handled before the Diet, and that the Article of the communion of the Cup might be diſpatched in the firſt Seſſion. The Archbiſhop preſented alſo, in the Emperours name, a form of Reformation. The Popes command, to finiſh the Council quickly, was ſo peremptory, that the Emperours firſt demand could not be granted: but he was partly ſatisfied in the expedition of the matter of the communion of the Cup. For the Pope, unto whom the Emperour had made the ſame requeſts, wrote to *Trent* that they ſhould do ſo. Therefore, in the next Congregation, *Mantua* propoſed that, the Doctrine of the Sacrifice

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Sacrifice being concluded, the communion of the Cup ſhould be handled. As the Prelates were giving their voices, it was remembred, that the difficulty, whether *Chriſt* did offer himſelf in the Supper, was not propoſed to be diſputed by the Divines, howſoever they have accidentally ſpoken of it, and therefore that it would be good to propoſe it, that it might be diſputed on expreſly, or omitted.

The general of the Jeſuits was the laſt that ſpake in this matter; who was wholly for the oblation of *Chriſt*, and ſpent a Congregation himſelf alone, whereas, in the other, between ſeven or ten Prelates did ſpeak. Every one having given his voice, howſoever the opinions were almoſt equally balanced, yet the Legates at the earneſt intreaty of *Varmienſe*, reſolved to put the *oblation* into the Decree, but not uſing the word *Propitiatory*. In the end of the Congregation, the Biſhop of *Five-Churches* ſeconding the propoſition of the Cardinal of *Mantua*, made an oration; in which having firſt repeated the negotiations and pains, taken by the Emperour for the ſervice of the Chriſtian Common-wealth, and to reſtore the Catholick purity, not only after he was aſſumed to the Empire, but in the life time of *Charles*, he added, that his Majeſty had found by experience, that the moſt grievous contentions and complaints of the people did ariſe from the prohibition of the Chalice, and had therefore deſired it ſhould be treated on in Council. Whereupon himſelf, and the other Ambaſſadors, by Commiſſion from him did, at the firſt, put the Fathers in mind to conſider that Chriſtian charity did require, that they ſhould not ſuffer ſo many ſacriledges, and ſlaughters in moſt noble Provinces, and hinder the reducing of ſo many ſouls into the boſom of the Catholick Church, by enjoying the obſervation of a Rite with too much ſeverity; that there is an infinite number of thoſe, who having not abandoned the Orthodox faith, are notwithſtanding weak of conſcience, who cannot be cured but by this permiſſion; that his Imperial Majeſty is forced to make continual War with the Turks, which he cannot do but by the common contribution of *Germany*; whereof ſo ſoon as he maketh mention, they begin to ſpeak of Religion, and principally demand the uſe of the Cup, which if it be not granted, and ſo the controverſies taken away, it is to be ſuſpected that not *Hungary* only, but *Germany* will be poſſeſſed by the *Barbarians*, with danger of other bordering Provinces; that the Church hath uſed always to embrace thoſe *rites* which are contrary to the new hereſies: and therefore it is good to take this reſolution which doth ſhew the faith of the verity of the moſt bleſſed *Euchariſt* againſt the *Sacramentaries*; that there is no need, as ſome require, to ſend a Proctor expreſly in the name of thoſe who do deſire it, as was done in the Council of *Baſil*; for then all the Kingdom alone demanding that favour, it might eaſily be done: but now not one people, or Nation alone, but an infinite number diſperſed in many Regions, doth make this demand; that it is no marvel if the Petition were firſt preſented to the Pope, and not obtained, becauſe his Holineſs did wiſely refer all to the Synod, to ſtop the mouths of the *Hereticks*, who will not receive favours from that See, and becauſe he would not ſeem to derogate from the Council of *Conſtance*, it being convenient, that the uſe of the Cup taken away by a general Council ſhould be permitted by the definition of another, as alſo to give reputation to the Synod, to which it is fit to remit this determination which may compoſe the diſcords of the Church; that he had Letters from *Rome*, that the Pope did think the demand honeſt, and neceſſary

The Biſhop of *Five-Churches* maketh an Oration concerning the Communion of the Cup.

neceſſary, and took it in good part that it was deſired of the Council. Then he preſented the Article concerning the Cup, as he deſired it ſhould be handled. And it contained, in ſubſtance; that it might be granted to the States of the Emperour, as they comprehend all *Germany* and *Hungary*. This being read, the Prelates made a great buſtling, and gave manifeſt ſigns that they would contradict. But they were quieted for that preſent, becauſe it was told them, that they might deliver their opinion, when the voices were collected. 1562 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip* II.

The third of *September*, the *French* Ambaſſadors made a new requeſt to the Legates, that, to give more credit to the Council, and to make the Decrees thereof to be more eaſily received in their Kingdom, they would prorogue the Seſſion a Month, or five Weeks, handling other matters in the mean while, to publiſh afterwards in the next Seſſion as well that which hath been diſcuſſed and determined already, as that which ſhall be handled and determined in the mean ſpace; for ſo no time would be loſt, the Council would not be prolonged, and the King and the whole Kingdom would receive great ſatisfaction. Beſides, the Prelates of *Polonia* being expected to come ſhortly, it would be a thing of much edification to the univerſality of Chriſtendom, to ſhew that eſteem is held of two ſuch conſiderable Kingdoms. This inſtance was made the day before the Legates received Letters from the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, that the Cardinal of *Loraine* and the *French* Prelates would come by all means, and twenty *Pariſian* Doctors with them. And other Letters were ſhewed alſo, written to divers Prelates by their Friends, giving the ſame advice; adding, that their intention was to handle the point of the ſuperiority of the Pope and Council. Therefore they thought it ſo much the more neceſſary to diſpatch the things already diſcuſſed, that they might not be croſſed with new troubles, fearing alſo that, to the bad humours in *Trent* worſe being added; and more violent, ſo many difficulties would be raiſed, that either the Council would be infinite, or ſome prejudicial thing reſolved. But the Legates concealing theſe Reaſons, anſwered the Ambaſſadors with honourable terms, in the manner formerly uſed by them. That the Council was called principally for *France*; that their Prelates had been long ſince called; that to entertain ſo many Fathers a longer time, in the ſame expectation, would be an indignity to the Council; and that, if the things diſcuſſed were not publiſhed, the world would think that it was either by reaſon of ſome diſſention amongſt themſelves, or becauſe the Reaſons of the Proteſtants had ſome validity. But *Lanſac* being ſatisfied with no anſwer, and ſtill preſſing the dilation more, complained that the Council was opened for the *French-men*, and yet they were not expected; that he could never obtain any requeſt of the Legates; that his Remonſtrances were contemned; that inſtead of gratifying his King, they uſed greater precipitation that he did, not attribute this to the Legates, knowing they did nothing but what was commanded from *Rome*; that they were in an ereror for ſuſpecting the coming of the *French-men*; that having aſſayed ſo often to obtain that which was juſt, and ought to be granted without demand, it was now fit to think of other remedies; and ſpake ſo, as that he made them doubt he would do ſome extraordinary matter. This raiſed a rumour in the Council, that it would be diſſolved. Which pleaſed the greater part; ſome to free themſelves from the incommodities they ſuffered; ſome becauſe they thought that remaining there they ſhould do God little or no ſervice; and the Papalins, for fear of ſome attempt. It was publickly ſaid,

News of the coming of the Cardinal of *Loraine* to *Trent*, with many Prelates and Divines.

The complaint of *Lanſac*.

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that *Loraine*, upon all occaſions, had ſhewed an inclination to diminiſh the Popes authority, that he would open ſome way for *France* to aſcend to the Papacy, which he thought not fit ſhould be wholly in the diſpoſition of the Colledge of Cardinals, conſiſting of *Italians*; that *France* hath ever pretended to limit the Popes power, to ſubject it to the Canons and Councils; that this opinion would be favoured by the *Spaniards*, who already, howſoever they were much reſerved in their ſpeeches, had declared their deſire for the ſame, and would be followed by many *Italians*, who, becauſe they cannot, or know not how to make uſe of the preferments of the Court, do envy thoſe that do, beſides thoſe who are deſirous of novity not knowing why; of whom there ſeemed to be a conſiderable number.

A diſcourſe publiſhed in *Trent.*

In *Trent* a diſcourſe was publiſhed, which paſſed through the hands of all, and was ſent by the Legates to *Rome*; in which it was ſhewed that it was impoſſible to finiſh the Council in a ſhort time, becauſe all Princes were inclined to prolong it. Of the *French men* and *Imperialiſts* it could not be doubted, in regard of their demand made for the dilation. The King of *Spain* ſhewed the ſame mind, having deſtinated the Count *di Luna* for Ambaſſador to the Synod, ſo ſoon as the Diet of *Francfort* ſhould be ended, to which he was firſt ſent. The Prelates by their tedious diſcourſes, would draw the matters in length alſo. Then was ſhewed the impoſſibility to continue long in this ſort, there being no proviſion of Corn but for *September* only: and it being not known where any may be gotten, in regard of the general dearth, and the delay, made by the Emperour and Duke of *Bavaria*, to anſwer the demand made unto them concerning victuals, it did ſeem they could not be relieved. It was added, that the Proteſtants would always be laying ſome ſnares to make the Fathers fall into ſome diſhonourable reſolution, and raiſing novities to cauſe Princes to propoſe things prejudicial; that the Biſhops ſeemed to aſpire to liberty, and would not in time be contained within ſuch narrow bounds, and that the Synod would not only be made free, but licentious alſo: and, by a fine *Metaphor*, the progreſs of the Council was compared to a mans body, which doth get, with delight, a ſmall, and in the beginning not regarded *French* infection, which afterwards doth encreaſe, and poſſeſſeth all the blood, and all the powers of it. It exhorted the Pope to conſider well on it, and not to come to a *tranſlation*, or *ſuſpenſion*, for fear of being contradicted by all Princes, but to learn how to uſe thoſe remedies which God doth ſend him.

Three opinions about the grant of the Chalice.

Amidſt theſe troubles the Legates haſtened to conclude the Decrees for the Seſſion. That of the Sacrifice ſtood in good terms; but they talked ſtill of the grant of the Chalice: and there were three opinions. One extream, and negative, that, by no means, it ſhould be granted; another affirmative, that it ſhould be granted, with the conditions, and cautions, which ſeemed good to the Synod, which was maintained by fifty of the moſt intelligent perſons; and, amongſt theſe, ſome would have Ambaſſadors ſent into the Countries which did deſire it, to take information whether the grant were fit, and with what conditions. The third, that it ſhould be remitted to the Pope; which was divided into many branches. Some would have had an abſolute remiſſion, without declaring whether he ſhould grant, or deny it; and others, with a declaration that he ſhould grant, according to his wildom. Some would have reſtrained him to particular Countries, and others left him to his liberty. The [illegible] did abſolutely deny it, becauſe the

Ambaſſador

Ambaſſador *Vargas* had written to them from *Rome*, that it would be for the good of Religion and ſervice of the King, in regard of the Low Countries and the State of *Milan*, who, when they ſhould ſee their Neighbours enjoy that liberty, would require it themſelves alſo, and whether it were granted or denied, a great gate would be opened to Hereſie. The *Venetian* Prelates, perſwaded by their Ambaſſadors were of the ſame mind alſo for the ſame Reaſon. 1562 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip* II.

I will recite the principal Authors only of theſe opinions, and the things remarkable ſpoken by them. The Cardinal *Madruccio*, who ſpake firſt, approved the grant, without exception. The three Patriarchs did abſolutely deny it. Five Archbiſhops who followed, referred themſelves to the Pope. *Granata*, who had promiſed the Emperours Ambaſſadors to favour them, that they might adhere to him in the matter of *Reſidence*, on which he inſiſted above all, ſaid he did neither affirm nor deny, but that it could not be concluded in that Seſſion, and was neceſſarily to be deferred until another, but would not refer himſelf; ſaying it was a matter of great deliberation, becauſe it could not be regulated by the Scripture, or Traditions, but by wiſdom only; wherein it is neceſſary to proceed with circumſpection, for fear of being deceived in the circumſtances of the fact, which cannot be known by ſpeculation, or diſcourſe; that he made no difficulty, as others did, for the danger of effuſion, ſhewing that the Wine is not ſpilt in the ablution which is now made; that, if it would make an union in the Church, it ſhould not be abhorred, it being but a Rite, which may be changed for the good of the faithful: but yet he reſerved himſelf, becauſe other extravagant things might afterwards be demanded; that, to avoid errour, it would be good firſt to have recourſe unto God, by Prayers, Proceſſions, Maſſes, Alms, and Faſtings: afterwards, not to omit humane diligence, in regard there are no Prelates of *Germany* in the Council, to write to the Metropolitans to aſſemble them, and examine the matter well, and to inform the Synod according to their conſcience. He concluded, that, it being impoſſible to do ſo many things in a ſhort ſpace, he thought fit to deſiſt now, and defer the determination until another time. *John Baptiſta Caſtagna*, Archbiſhop of *Roſano*, diſſwading the grant abſolutely, ſpake againſt thoſe that made, and thoſe that favoured the requeſt, taxing them not to be good Catholicks, becauſe, if they were, they would not deſire a thing unfit, with ſcandal of others. And he ſaid plainly, that the requeſt did aim to bring in Hereſie, and uſed ſuch words, that every one underſtood, that he meant *Maximilian* King of the *Bohemians*. Of which the principal Authors were.

The Archbiſhop of *Braga*, or *Braganza*, ſaid, he was informed that in *Germany* there were four ſorts of men. True Catholicks: Obſtinate Hereticks: Concealed Hereticks; and men weak in faith. That the firſt do not demand the grant, yea oppoſe it; the ſecond care not for it; the third deſire it, that they may cover their Hereſie, becauſe they may counterfeit in all other things, but in this; which therefore was not to be granted them, for that it would foſter their errours; but the weak in faith were not ſuch, but only for the bad opinion they have of the Eccleſiaſtical power, and of the Pope, and do not demand the Cup for devotion, which is found only in perſons of a good life, whereas they are drowned in vanities and pleaſures of the world, and do unwillingly confeſs and communicate once a year, which doth not demonſtrate ſuch heat of zeal that they ſhould deſire to communicate with both kinds. He concluded, that the diligence of

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the Fathers of *Baſil* ought to be imitated, that four or ſix Prelates of the body of the Council ſhould be elected, who, as their Legates, accompanied with Divines fit to preach, ſhould viſit the Provinces named by his Imperial Majeſty, or where they found penitent men, who deſired the Cup for devotion, or becauſe they were accuſtomed to that Rite, and for all other matters would obey the Church, ſhould reconcile them, and grant it unto them.

The *Titular* of *Philadelphia*, though a *Dutch-man*, ſaid, that to deny it, being demanded by the Emperour, was dangerous, and pernitious to grant it; but that he was reſolved rather to diſpleaſe men than ſpeak againſt his conſcience; that it was impoſſible to practiſe the uſe of the Chalice, without danger of effuſion, carrying it about, to places remote, and of bad paſſage, many times by night, in time of Snow, Rain, and Ice; that the Proteſtants would boaſt, and inculcate to the people, that the Papiſts do begin to know the truth; and that, without doubt, thoſe who make the requeſt do maintain that the Precept of *Chriſt* cannot be fulfilled, but by taking the *Euchariſt* under both kinds. And he took in his hand a *Catechiſm* written in *Dutch*, which he read and expounded in *Latine*, and declared what their opinion was. He added, that the *Catholicks* would have the worſe, and to gain a few, would loſe very many, that they would doubt on which ſide the true Faith was, ſeeing the *Catholicks* yield to the Cuſtoms of the Proteſtants; that the grant made unto *Germany* would move other Provinces, and eſpecially *France*; that the *Hereticks* will make proof by this, to overſway the conſtancy which they have found in the Doctrine of the Catholick Church. He concluded, that it ought to be deferred, at the leaſt, until the end of the Diet, that the *Dutch* Prelates might ſend to the Council; approving the opinion of *Granata* to defer, and the other of *Braga*, that thoſe who deſire the Cup have all a root of Hereſie; and added, that the Emperours Ambaſſadors had made ſuch paſſionate inſtances, and ſuch effectual perſwaſions, that, being intereſted ſo much, it was not fit they ſhould be preſent in Congregation, that every one might ſpeak freely. Fryar *Thomas Caſellus* Biſhop of *Cava*, having recounted that the Biſhop of *Five Churches* had perſwaded many, ſaying, that if it were not granted, ſo many miſchiefs would follow, that it had been better never to have called a Council, ſhewed at large, that it ought not to be granted though the loſs of many Souls ſhould enſue, becauſe a greater number would periſh, if it were granted.

The Biſhop of *Captemberg*, in *Stiria*, deſired alſo that the Emperours Ambaſſadors ſhould retire, and inveighed much againſt the words of *Five Churches*, related by *Cava*. Many of the *Spaniſh* Prelates made the ſame inſtance to the Legates, that the Imperialiſts might not be preſent in the Treaties of the Fathers during this conſultation, it being ſufficient for them to know, in the end, the reſolution of the Synod. But others contradicted; ſaying, that rather they than others ſhould be preſent, and that to exclude thoſe who have intereſt, hath never been the cuſtom of Synods. The Legates, conſidering that they had been preſent from the beginning, and that they could not be excluded without danger of tumult, reſolved to make no innovation.

The Biſhop of *Conimbria* was of opinion, that it ſhould be referred to the Pope, to grant the *Grace*, with five conditions. That thoſe that were to make uſe of it ſhould abjure all Hereſies, and, in particular, ſhould ſwear that they believe, that as much is contained under one kind, as under

under both, and as much *grace* received; that they ſhould baniſh the Heretick Preachers; that in their places they ſhould not keep the Chalice, nor carry it to the ſick; and that his Holineſs. ſhould not commit this to the *Ordinaries*, but ſend Legates, and that the reſolution ſhould not be made in Council. For when it ſhould be publiſhed, it would make the Hereticks proud, and ſcandalize very many Catholicks; and therefore, in caſe this diſpenſation were to be granted, it ought not to be put in the eyes of all Nations. The Biſhop of *Modena* maintained that it could not be denied, becauſe, after the Council of *Conſtance*, the Church having reſerved to it ſelf power to diſpenſe, hath always ſhewed, that ſometimes it would be expedient to do it; that *Paul* the third had formerly ſent *Nuncii*, to releaſe it, becauſe he perceived that the prohibition had done no good in ſo many years; that the *Bohemians* would never be reduced without it; that the uſe of the Cup was conformable to the inſtitution of *Chriſt*, and anciently obſerved by the Church.

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Fryar *Jaſper* of *Caſſall*, Biſhop of *Liria*, a man of an exemplary life, and learned, defended the ſame opinion. He ſaid in ſum, that he did not wonder at the diverſity of opinions, becauſe thoſe who deny have the moderns to follow, and thoſe who grant do follow Antiquity, the Council of *Baſil*, and *Paul* the Third; that in this variety, he adhered to the affirmative, becauſe the thing was good in its own nature, and profitable, and expedient with the conditions propoſed, and being addreſſed as a thing neceſſary to reduce Souls, he that did deſire the end, muſt needs uſe the means; that the neceſſity of the means ought not to be doubted of, becauſe the Emperour did affirm it, whom he did believe that God would not ſuffer to be deceived in ſo important a buſineſs, and the rather, becauſe *Charles* was of the ſame opinion; and the demand of the Duke of *Bavaria* and of the *French-men* did prove the ſame. And if any did doubt that the Secular Princes were not well informed in this cauſe, being Eccleſiaſtical, he muſt needs believe the Biſhop of *Five Churches*, and the two other Biſhops of *Hungary*, who were in the Council. And becauſe it had been ſaid, that the Father was to be imitated, who received his prodigal Son, but not before he repented, he ſaid they ought rather to imitate the Shepherd in the Goſpel, who ſought, with great diligence; in deſart and mountainous places, the loſt Sheep, and laying it on his neck, brought it to the ſheepfold. The diſcourſe of this Prelate, for the fame of his honeſty and excellent learning, and becauſe he was a *Portugal*, whom every one thought would have been moſt rigorous in maintaining the *Rites* uſed, did not only confirm thoſe who were of his opinion, but made alſo very many of the oppoſites to waver.

The Biſhop of *Oſemo* who ſpake after him, ſaid, I doubt we muſt drink this Cup, by all means, and God grant it may be with good ſucceſs. *Johannes Baptiſta Oſius* defended, that this uſe ought not to be granted, becauſe the Church hath never wont to grant the leaſt thing according to the poſitions of the Hereticks, yea always to conſtitute the contrary. He ſhewed by that which happened amongſt the *Bohemians*, who had always been the moſt rebellious, that one ought not to promiſe himſelf any thing of the converſion of Hereticks, but to make account he ſhall be deceived by them, and that it was neceſſary to make the Emperour underſtand, that this demand was not profitable for his State. He deſired the Legates alſo, that they ſhould not ground themſelves upon thoſe who had from the beginning ſpoken of referring it to the Pope, becauſe they ſpake confuſedly, and that the ſuffrages ought to be collected,

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collected, as upon other occaſions, by making every one anſwer Yea, or No, and to omit thoſe artificial ways which ſome had been forced to uſe to give ſatisfaction. He was followed by Fryar *Johannes di Munnatones*, Biſhop of *Sogorne*, who ſaid, that firſt he was of opinion that the Grace ought not to be denied, but having heard the Biſhop of *Riete*, was, by his conſcience, forced to change, and defend the negative; that the Council, which was judge in this cauſe, ought to have regard, that, yielding unadviſedly to the Emperour, they do not prejudice other Princes. Fryar *Marcus Laureus*, Biſhop of *Campania*, ſaid, that the Emperour did heartily deſire this grant, but that it would be ſufficient for his Majeſty for the gaining of his people, to make a ſhew only, and therefore that it would be fit to give him an account of the difficulties, that he might juſtifie himſelf with them.

Petrus Daneſius, Biſhop of *Lavaur*, did not define whether it were fit to grant the Cup or not, but ſpake only againſt the opinion of referring it to the Pope. He ſaid in ſum, that perhaps the Pope would be offended, becauſe having been firſt requeſted himſelf, and having, either for that he knew not how, or would not reſolve, referred it to the Council, it is a manifeſt argument that he would not be pleaſed, if it were remitted to him again with the ſame ambiguities; and the Council which conſiſteth of many, may more eaſily bear the burthen of the importunities of thoſe who complain for want of ſatisfaction, and require a remedy, than the Pope alone, who to maintain his dignity, muſt hold an eſteem of many reſpects. Beſides, it will give occaſion of calumnies, that the Pope remitteth to the Council, and the Council to the Pope, to delude the World. Afterwards he came to Logical terms, ſaying, that either it is referred to the Pope as ſuperiour, or as inferiour; that either the Council, not daring to reſolve, in regard of the difficulties, doth remit it to a greater power, or, to free it ſelf, doth refer it to an inferiour: but neither the one nor the other is fit to be done, before it be decided which power is ſuperiour; becauſe every one will hence draw an argument for his opinion, and much occaſion will be given for diſputations and diviſion. He ſaid with aſſeveration, that no wiſe Prelate ought to conſent to the reference, if he were not firſt aſſured in which of the two kinds it ought to be done; yea, that it was impoſſible it ſhould be done, but that the words would ſhew either the one or the other. The Papalins were impatient to hear this Prelate.

The Biſhop of *Five Churches* ſpake in thoſe Congregations, in his place, as a Prelate; and following immediately after, with other new diſcourſes, he made them forget the former, and making a long digreſſion, perſwaded the grant of the Cup. Then he anſwered point by point, to all the oppoſitions. He ſaid there was no need to anſwer thoſe who would exclude him from the Congregations, becauſe their Reaſons were as ſtrong againſt the Emperour himſelf, if he had been preſent; that he would not anſwer the dangers of effuſion, becauſe if they had been remedileſs, the Council of *Conſtance*, would not have reſerved power to diſpence; that the diſcourſes of thoſe who perſwade the negative ſeem unto him weighty, and effectual, and able to draw him to that ſide, if he had not practice and experience in that buſineſs, which hath more need of ſuch knowledge, than of Science and ſpeculative Reaſons. To thoſe that ſaid, that the like grant did never any good in times paſt, he anſwered, that it was quite contrary, becauſe, after the Treaty of *Baſil*, many *Catholicks* were preſerved in *Bohemia*, who ſtill live

live in peace with the *Caliſtini*, and have lately received the new Archbiſhop of *Prague*, by whom they cauſe their Prieſts to be ordained. To thoſe that feared to put new cogitations into other Nations, he anſwered, that thoſe would not be moved by ſuch an example, becauſe having in them no mixture of Hereſie, and being deſirous to preſerve the purity of Religion, they would refuſe the Cup, though it were offered unto them; that the *Germans* the more it is denied them, the more they deſire it, but if it were granted them, they might be diverted from that uſe; the fear that when they had obtained this, they would paſs to other demands was too ſuſpicious, and if they ſhould, they might always be denied; that it could not be called a novity, becauſe it had been granted by the Council of *Baſil*, and by *Paul* the Third; whoſe Miniſters had they been more couragious, and not retired from that diſpenſation for ſmall terrours, becauſe ſome impertinent Fryers preached againſt them, would have done more good; that he was much offended with the reaſon alledged by ſome, that as no man could be received with condition that fornication ſhould be permitted unto him, no more can theſe people, who would be reconciled, ſo that they may have the uſe of the Cup. For the firſt condition is abſolutely bad, and this only as it is prohibited. He anſwered the Biſhop of *Sagorne*, that the Emperour did not contend with any Prince, nor ſought prejudices againſt others, and deſired the Cup for his people by Grace, and not by way of Juſtice. But upon thoſe who ſaid the care hereof ought not to be committed to the Ordinaries, but that Delegates were to be ſent from the Apoſtolick See, he jeſted ſomewhat ſharply; asking whether he that had the charge of their Souls, and all the ſpiritual Government, might not be truſted with a thing indifferent, or whether they thought that this thing did exceed the Epiſcopal Government. He ſaid, that to refer it to the Pope, was to give him new and continual moleſtations. To *Philadelphia* he anſwered, that the Catholicks would not only not be troubled, but conſolated, becauſe they might live united with thoſe, with whom they are now much troubled. To them who would have Proctors ſent expreſly, he ſaid, it was no marvel that none came to demand this Grace, becauſe the Emperour had undertaken to demand it for them, who could make an infinite number of them to come if the Fathers would. But as the Council was careful not to make the ſafe-conduct too large, that ſo many Proteſtants might not come as to put them in fear, ſo they ought to have the ſame reſpect herein, becauſe more would come to obtain this grant. His concluſion was, that they would have compaſſion on their Churches, and hold an eſteem of the demand of ſo great a Prince, who, out of his deſire of the union of the Church, doth never ſpeak of this buſineſs without tears. In the end, he ſhewed grief for the paſſion of many Prelates, who, for a vain fear of ſeeing a change in their own Countries, were content with the loſs of others. In particular he complained of the Biſhop of *Riez*, who held the Emperour for a Prince ignorant in Government, not knowing what was good for his States, which he ſaid his moſt Reverend Lordſhip, accuſtomed to ſerve at the Cardinals Tables in *Rome*, could not teach him. Finally, he ſaid, that many other things did remain to be anſwered, which were ſpoken as to challenge him to a *Duel*; but he thought it better to bear them, and paſs them over with patience. He repeated that which he had ſaid before; that is, that if the Cup were not granted, it had been better that the Council had never been called: which he expounded thus, that much people remained in obedience to

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the Pope, hoping that this Grace would in the Council be granted unto them, who would wholly aliene themſelves when they ſaw they were defrauded.

Andreas di Cueſta, Biſhop of *Lion* in *Spain*, ſaid, that the good intention of the Emperour and Duke of *Bavaria* could not be doubted of, nor diſputed, whether the Council might give ſuch a permiſſion, but that it was only to be conſidered what was expedient. His opinion was that the ancient Fathers, and continual uſe of the Church, never to yield to the Petitions of the *Hereticks*, was to be imitated. It appeared by the practice of the *Nicene* Council, that, howſoever the world went topſie turvy, they would never grant any thing unto them, and the Doctors abſtained from words uſed by the *Hereticks*, though they had a good ſenſe; that they would never have been pleaſed with this grant; that the *Catholicks* would take it ill, that for an uncertain hope of reducing a few *Hereticks*, many *Catholicks* would be loſt; that becauſe the Biſhops of *Germany* did not make the demand, it was a great argument that it proceeded not from devotion, coming from a people who give no ſign of any ſpiritualty; that he could not underſtand how they were penitent, and would return to the Church, believing it was governed by the Holy Ghoſt, and yet be obſtinate to do it without this favour; that this obſtinacy ſheweth, that they have not the formal reaſon of Faith; that if the Council of *Baſil* did formerly grant this to the *Bohemians*, it was becauſe they did abſolutely refer themſelves to the Church, which, afterwards, in kindneſs, did grant it; that it ought not to be called a true remedy which is not neceſſary, by the nature of the thing, but by the malice of men, that the Synod ought not to nouriſh nor cheriſh them; that the example of *Chriſt*, in ſeeking the wandring ſheep, is ſufficiently imitated, when they are called, invited, and prayed; that if this favour muſt be granted, it were better to be done by the Pope, who may revoke it if the conditions be not performed; that the Council granting it, if the Pope would afterwards recall it, they will pretend he cannot do it, and that his authority is not above the Council; that the *Hereticks* do ever proceed with falſhoods and deceits.

Antonius Coronicius, Biſhop of *Almeria*, ſaid, that he was confirmed in the negative by the reaſon uſed by the defenders of the affirmative; that howſoever God giveth many helps to the impenitent, as preaching, miracles, and good inſpirations, yet he giveth the Sacraments to the penitent only; that if they would be moved with charity, they ſhould be more careful to preſerve the *Catholicks* than reduce the *Hereticks*; that the Council of *Conſtance* ought to be imitated, which to maintain the good Children of the Church, prohibited the Communion of the Chalice, taught by *John Huſſe*; that now they ought ſo to deal with the *Lutherans*; that this grant would open a gate to infinite miſchiefs; that they would demand marriage of Prieſts, abrogation of Images, of Faſts, and of other godly Conſtitutions, always propoſing their demands as the only and neceſſary remedies to unite them to the Church; that every little change of the Law doth breed great damage, eſpecially if it be made in favour of *Hereticks*; that he would not give counſel that the Pope ſhould do it, though he might do it better; that the people would be leſs offended than if the grant were made by the Council, howſoever it ought to be confeſſed that the ſupream Authority is in the Pope; that in caſe he ſhould grant it, it ought not to be committed to the Biſhops though known to be worthy

worthy for ſome time, becauſe they may become bad, and of a perverſe Faith, moved by their private intereſts. 1562

Franciſcus di Gado, Biſhop of *Lugo* in *Spain*, made a long exhortation to the Fathers, that, to avoid difficulties, or to give ſatisfaction to Prince or People, they would not derogate from the reputation and dignity of general Councils, whoſe authority having ever been eſteemed in the Church, as every one knoweth, and that having maintained the Faith, was not to be contemned now, for reſpects and intereſts. He alledged many places of Saint *Auſtin*, for authority of general Councils, and much extolled the authority of them; and howſoever he never deſcended to compare it with the Popes, yet every one underſtood that he made it the ſuperior. And *Jerolamus Guerini*, Biſhop of *Imola*, uſing the like conceits and words, extolled alſo the authority of Provincial Councils, to confirm his opinion of not granting the Cup, and ſaid, that their authority ought to be eſteemed obligatory, until the contrary was determined by a general Council; alledging Saint *Auſtin* for it. In heat of ſpeaking, he came out with theſe words, That the general Council had no ſuperiour; but perceiving afterwards that the Papalins (of which number himſelf was) were offended, ſought to moderate it, by repeating the ſame things, and adding an exception of the Popes authority. By which means he ſatisfied neither party; but the greater number did excuſe him, and attribute it to inconſideration, becauſe, in the former Congregations, he had, upon divers occaſions, confuted thoſe who alledged the Council of *Baſil*. Notwithſtanding Cardinal *Simoneta*, howſoever he employed him to make ſuch oppoſitions, did not forbear to expound it in a bad ſenſe, and to charge him that he was tranſported by affection, becauſe the Bulls of his Biſhoprick were not diſpatched upon free coſt, as he would have had them.

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The laſt Congregation concerning this point was held the fifth of *September*: and, amongſt others, *Richard* of *Verſelli*, a *Prevalentian Abbot*, and a Regular Canon in *Geneva*, maintaining the negative, ſaid, that this matter was diſputed many days in the Council of *Baſil*, which diſputation remaineth ſtill, collected by Fryar *John* of *Raguſi*, Proctor of the *Dominicans*, and, in concluſion, the Cup was abſolutely denyed to the *Bohemians*: ſo that no other determination can now be made, without declaring to the world that the Church did then err, in a general Council. He was reprehended by the Biſhop of *Imola* (to ſalve his own ſore) for giving authority to that ſchiſmatical Council, and noted of great boldneſs, that thoſe who ſimply alledged the Council of *Baſil* having been often reproved, he ſhould not only cite it, but give it the authority of a general Council. The Father replyed that he always marvelled, and then more than ever, how any one could ſpeak ſo of that Council, conſidering that the fourteen Articles decreed in the matter of the Chalice the laſt Seſſion were wholly taken out of it, and that he knew not how a Decree could more be approved, than by renewing of it not only in ſenſe, but in words alſo. And waxing warm herewith, he ſaid, that, in regard of the Decree of that Council, the demand of the Cup ſavoured of Hereſie, and mortal ſin. Whereupon a buzzing was raiſed among the Prelates; and he deſiring to proceed was ſilenced by the Cardinal of *Mantua*, ſo that ſtopping himſelf he asked pardon, and ſpeaking a few words, concluded.

The authority of the Council of *Baſil*.

Not to ſpeak any more of this Father, I will add here, that he was noted to have been at the *French* Ambaſſadors Houſe, the ſixteenth

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of *Auguſt*, early in the morning, to demand whether their Biſhops would come, and to exhort that they might be ſollicited to come quickly. And in the Congregations, in which the Sacrifice was handled, he propoſed the doubt whether the authority of the Pope be above the Council; adding, that when it ſhould be diſcuſſed, he would ſpeak freely. Theſe things being put together, and duly weighed, the Legates did not think fit that the *French-men* ſhould find at their coming ſuch a humour in *Trent*, and thought to make his General recal him, for buſineſs of the Congregation, and ſo to remove him honeſtly. But there was no need; for the poor Father fell ſick a little after with grief of mind, and the twenty ſixth of *November* died. In that Congregation Fryar *John Baptiſta*, General of the *Servi*, maintaining the negative alſo, to overthrow the ground of the oppoſites, ſpake at large concerning the Council of *Conſtance*, which firſt decreed that matter, and commended the authority thereof; exalting it above other general Councils, and ſaying that it had depoſed three Popes. This did not pleaſe; but was paſſed over, becauſe they would not thruſt many matters together.

Richard of *Verſelli* dieth with grief.

The General of the *Servi* extolleth the Council of *Conſtance*.

The Cup is denied by plurality of voices.

The giving of voices being ended, the Legates were deſirous to give the Emperour ſatisfaction, but could not, becauſe the party of the negative prevailed: they reſolved therefore to labour that it might be referred to the Pope, hoping that, by perſwaſions, ſome of the negative might be drawn into that middle opinion. And they gave commiſſion to *Jacobus Lomelinus*, B. of *Mazzara*, and to the Biſhop of *Ventimiglia*, to employ themſelves herein, with dexterity and circumſpection. The Legates themſelves ſpake with the three Patriarchs, and perſwaded them; by whoſe means all the Prelates and Fathers of the *Venetian* State were pacified, which was a conſiderable number. Having gained as many as ſeemed ſufficient, they believed they had overcome the difficulty. They brought the matter to this point, to write a Letter to the Pope in the ordinary form, and to ſend a note of all the voices. But the Biſhop of *Five-Churches* did not approve it, except a Decree of the Seſſion did appear. For theſe two Articles having been reſerved in the laſt Seſſion, to be handled in this, and they now being handled, and reſolved, it is neceſſary that the reſolution of the Seſſion ſhould appear in the Acts. *Varmienſe* ſhewed him how hard and dangerous it was to propoſe the Decree, and that he ought to be content with the Letter, if he deſired to obtain. The Biſhop not being pacified herewith, they reſolved to make a Decree, to be read in the Seſſion; in which he deſired it ſhould be ſaid, That the Synod, knowing it is expedient to grant the uſe of the Cup, did refer unto the Pope to grant it, to whom, and upon what conditions he pleaſed. The Legates ſhewed him that many who were for the remiſſion, did doubt whether it were expedient, and therefore would oppoſe the Decree, ſo that it was impoſſible to cauſe any ſuch Declaration to be made; and that, if he were firm in this opinion, it were better to let a week paſs, that this great heat might be cooled. The Biſhop of *Five-Churches* was content; and ſo, this point being deferred, they purpoſed to eſtabliſh the Decree of the Sacrifice, that this being joined with it, they might make the propoſition for the Communion. *Varmienſe* did oppoſe, who being perſwaded by the *Jeſuites*, *Laynez*, *Salmeron* and *Torre*, did propoſe another form of Decree for the Sacrifice in matter of the oblation of *Chriſt* in the *Supper*, and they had much ado to make him deſiſt. Finally, being almoſt out of hope to be ready to hold the Seſſion at the

the time appointed, the Decree of the Sacrifice was eſtabliſhed in the Congregation of the ſeventh day by conſent of the major part, howſoever *Granata* laboured to interpoſe impediments and delays. 1562 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.*

After this, ten Articles for Reformation of the abuſes, occurring in the *Maſs*, were propoſed, and eleven more in divers other points of Reformation; which were purpoſely choſen of eaſie matters, not ſubject to contradiction, and favourable to the authority of Biſhops, that their proceeding might not be hindred by the oppoſition of any; which was well known to the Ambaſſadors and Prelates who complained of it. Theſe began to be handled the ninth of *September*, and the Prelates delivered their opinions briefly, forty in a Congregation. There was no remarkable oppoſition, only *Philadelphia* ſaid, that *Germany* expected that matters of weight and importance ſhould be handled in Council. He named divers, and, amongſt others, the creation of Cardinals, and plurality of Benefices. *Joannes Zuares*, Biſhop of *Conimbria*, ſaid, that ſmall matters were not to be neglected, but thought that the dignity of the Synod did require that ſome ſpecial order ſhould be followed, that it may appear why theſe particulars are propoſed before others; that the Reformation ought to begin from the Head, and paſs to the Cardinals; from the Cardinals to the Biſhops; and from them to other degrees; otherwiſe he feared that the Catholicks would be offended, and the Proteſtants laugh. *Paris* ſaid, that, for theſe hundred and fifty years, the world hath demanded a Reformation in the Head, and the Members, and hitherto hath been deceived; that now it was time they ſhould labour in earneſt, and not by diſſimulation; that he deſired the *French-men* ſhould be heard for the neceſſities of that Kingdom; that in *France* a far more profitable Reformation was made, than that which was propoſed in Council. The Biſhop of *Segovia* ſaid, they did imitate an unskilful Phyſician, who gave a lenitive, or anointed with Oyl, in mortal diſeaſes. The Biſhop of *Oreate* ſaid, that the Pope ought not to grant ſo great faculty to the *Cruſado*, and the *Fabrick* of S. *Peter*, by virtue of which, every one in *Spain* will have *Maſſes* in his Houſe, which if it be not moderated, the proviſions of the Council will be in vain; that it was neceſſary to declare that the Decrees of the general Council do bind the Head alſo. Whereat buzzing being raiſed, he made a ſign they ſhould be ſilent, and added, that he meant in reſpect of the direction, and not of coaction. He proceeded, and ſaid, that it was neceſſary to find a means to take away contentions, and ſuits, or, at the leaſt, to make them fewer and ſhorter, in cauſes of Benefices; that this cauſed great expences, hindred the worſhip of God, and ſcandalized the people. The Biſhop of *Five-Churches* ſpake concerning the point of conferring Biſhopricks, expounding the words he had ſaid, that baſe and unworthy perſons were promoted, and declaring that the abuſe proceeded from Princes, who did importunately recommend them to the Pope, ſaying they would be better beſtowed upon the Horſe-keepers of his Holineſs. And he complained that his words had been ill expounded.

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The Council is taxed by divers Prelates, for omitting the chief points of Reformation.

The *Spaniſh* Agent complained in the Kings name, that in the eighth Article too much authority was given to Biſhops over *Hoſpitals*, *Mountains* of piety, and ſuch places; and particularly in *Sicilia*, againſt the priviledge which that Kingdom anciently hath; for whoſe ſatisfaction the Legates cauſed a clauſe to be added for reſervation of the places which are immediately under the protection of the King. Theſe things being ended, the Legates were in a ſtrait, becauſe there

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were but three days to the Seſſion, and many things unreſolved, eſpecially that which was of greateſt importance, in which every one was carried with a ſtrong affection, that is the communion of the Cup. But one accident made them to prolong the time. For the *French* Ambaſſador in *Rome*, having earneſtly deſired the Pope in the Kings name, to cauſe a delay until the coming of his Prelates, his Holineſs, though nothing could more diſpleaſe him than the prolonging of the Council, as well in regard of his own inclination, as of the Cardinals and Court, who were in hope, and much deſired to ſee it ended in *December*, notwithſtanding, to conceal his fears, did anſwer, that it was all one to him, and that it did depend on the Prelates, who if they did abhor every delay, it was no marvel, in regard of their long and incommodious abiding there, ſaying that they ought to be reſpected, and that he neither could nor would compel them, or impoſe a Law upon them contrary to the ancient uſe; that he would write to the Legates, concerning this inſtance, and ſhew he was contented with the dilation; that this is all that can be required of him, and enough to ſatisfie the King. Thus he wrote, adding that they ſhould make uſe of this permiſſion, as it ſhould ſeem moſt reaſonable to the Fathers. This Letter, and the backwardneſs in their buſineſs, and that which was written by *Delphinus*, *Nuncio* with the Emperour, and the inſtance of the Emperours Ambaſſadors, that the Decree of the *Maſs* might not be publiſhed, made ſome of the Legates incline to defer the Seſſion. But *Simoneta*, who underſtood the Popes mind, rather as it was in his head, than as it was expreſſed in the Letter, oppoſed ſo ſtrongly, that the contrary was reſolved. And he ſent advice to *Rome* how dangerous a thing it was to change the abſolute commands formerly given, to come quickly to the concluſion of the Council, only to give verbal ſatisfaction to others, encouraging thoſe who had bad intentions to croſs good reſolutions, and laying burthens upon them to make them odious, to loſe reputation, and to make them unfit to do the ſervice of his Holineſs. *Simoneta* was favoured by the event. For, there being no oppoſition of moment, the Article of the abuſes of the *Maſs* was eſtabliſhed, together with the eleventh of Reformation, and the Decree of the Communion had leſs difficulty than was believed. It did not paſs at the firſt propoſing, becauſe it ſaid, that the Pope, by conſent and approbation of the Council, ſhould do what he thought good. This was impugned by thoſe who held the negative, and the remiſſive part; which made the Legates reſolve to omit this matter wholly, and excuſed themſelves to the Imperialiſts, becauſe the fault did not proceed either from the Pope, or from them. The Ambaſſadors deſired that it ſhould be propoſed without the clauſe of conſent and approbation; which the Legates thinking would cauſe a delay of the Seſſion, did refuſe. The Ambaſſadors proteſted, that ſeeing ſo ſmall eſteem was held of the Emperour, they would aſſiſt no more either in Congregation or Seſſion, until his Majeſty adviſed hereof, had given thoſe orders that befitted the Imperial dignity. Hereupon the Legates were content, not only to propoſe it again without the clauſe, but to uſe perſwaſions themſelves, alſo, and to employ others. And the day following, which was the next day before the Seſſion, the Decree, corrected, did paſs by the major part (though contradicted by all of the negative) to the great joy of the Legates and Papalins, as well becauſe the Seſſion was not prolonged, which they greatly feared, as alſo becauſe they thought it more honour for the Pope, that the *grace* ſhould totally depend on his authority.

The grant of the Cup is referred to the Pope.

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The Ambaſſadors were well ſatisfied with this particular; but perceiving that the Seſſion would be in order, and that the publication of the Sacrifice of the *Maſs* could not be hindred, as they had deſired in the Emperours name, they joined with the *French men*, who were male content, becauſe the requeſt which their King had made in *Rome* was denied. Therefore the ſame day, in the afternoon, all the Ambaſſadors met in the Houſe of the Imperialiſts, ſaying they would conſult of a thing common to all Princes. The *Venetians* and *Florentine*, being called, excuſed themſelves, ſaying they could not come, without expreſs Commiſſion from their Maſters. In that Aſſembly, the Biſhop of *Five-Churches* made a long diſcourſe, to ſhew, that hitherto nothing of worth had been handled in the Council; that they had vainly diſputed of points of Doctrine, which did the Hereticks no good, who were reſolved not to change their opinion, nor the Catholicks, who are ſufficiently perſwaded already, that, for Reformation, nothing hath been propoſed but things of no moment, of Notaries, Receivers, and ſuch like; that it did plainly appear, that the Legates would make the next Seſſion according to the ſame ſtile, and afterwards ſpend the time in diſputes, deciding of Doctrines, making Canons, of *Order*, *Marriage*, or ſome other ſlight matter, to avoid, as they have done the ſubſtantial points of Reformation. And, by theſe and other reaſons, well amplified, he perſwaded the Ambaſſadors to join together, and to go to the Legates, and deſire that for that Seſſion they would omit to ſpeak of the Sacraments, of Doctrines, or Canons, becauſe it was now time to think upon a good Reformation, to take away ſo great abuſes, to correct bad manners, and to labour that the Council may not be unfruitful. The *Spaniſh* ſecretary would not aſſent. For his King, deſiring that the *continuation* ſhould be declared in the end of the Council, feared he ſhould prejudice himſelf, if the manner of proceeding which was to handle the Doctrine and Reformation together, ſhould be changed, becauſe that alteration might be uſed for an argument that it was a new Council. The Ambaſſador of *Portugal*, having made a long unconcluding ſpeech, to ſhew he deſired a Reformation, but upon more pleaſing terms, retired from the company. The *Suiſſe*, ſeeing the examples of thoſe two, and that the *Venetians* were not preſent, fearing to commit an error, ſaid, it were good to conſider of it again, before they reſolved. All the others were reſolute to go.

A general conſultation of the Ambaſſadors.

Lanſac (by conſent) ſpake for them all, ſaying, They were ſent by their Princes to aſſiſt and favour the Council, and to procure that the proceedings ſhould be pertinent, not by diſputing of Doctrine, whereof none of them being Catholicks, do doubt, and is ſuperfluous, in abſence of thoſe who do impugne it, but by making a good, holy, and abſolute Reformation of manners. Now, becauſe, notwithſtanding all their Remonſtrances, they ſaw they would determine principal points of controverſed Doctrine, and touch the Reformation but ſlightly, he prayed them to change their purpoſe, and to employ the next Seſſion in Reformation only, propoſing more important and neceſſary Arguments than thoſe whereof hitherto they had ſpoken. The Legates anſwered in the uſual form; That the deſire of the Pope and theirs was to do the ſervice of God, procure the good of the Church, and ſatisfie and gratifie all Princes; but yet that it was not convenient to break the order always obſerved in the Council to handle Doctrine and Reformation together; that the things already done were but a beginning; that they had a good intention to do better; that they would moſt readily receive

Who choſe *Lanſac* to ſpeak for them.

The anſwer of the Legates.

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receive the Articles which the Ambaſſadors would propoſe; that they marvelled that the Articles determined at *Poiſi* in *France* were not ſent to the Pope; who would have approved them. *Lanſac* replyed, that the Pope having referred all matters concerning Religion to the Council, the *French* Prelates, when they came, would propoſe both thoſe and many other things. The Legates anſwered, they ſhould be welcome, and willingly heard; but that they ought not for that cauſe to defer the Seſſion, in regard that nothing ſhould be handled in it in prejudice of their propoſitions; that moſt of the Fathers were reſolved the Seſſion ſhould be held; that it was dangerous to give them diſtaſte, and that if they expected in *Trent*, with great diſcommodity, thoſe who lived at their eaſe, and deferred their coming which they promiſed, it was not fit to diſcontent them more, by making them remain idle. This cunning perſwaſion being not ſtrongly oppoſed by the Ambaſſadors, they held the Congregation, and framed the Decrees; which being eſtabliſhed, when they came to appoint the time and the matter for the next Seſſion, *Granata* counſelled them to prolong the time, that the *Frenchmen*, and *Polonians* might have ſpace, not only to come, but to inform themſelves, and that they would not proceed to a preciſe declaration of that which was to be handled, but ſtand upon the general, as formerly they had done, and reſolve according to occurrences. For ſo many perſons being to come, it could not be but that they would bring ſome new matters, which might cauſe new determinations. This opinion was followed by the *Spaniards*, and many others, and was like to have been generally approved. But it being noiſed, that the Popes abſolute commandment was come, that the Seſſion ſhould not be deferred above two months, and that the Sacraments of *Order* and *Marriage* ſhould be handled together, the Papalins were induced to perſwade that the time might not be prolonged, and that both thoſe Sacraments might be diſcuſſed. The Legates ſhewed they were forced to make the Decree in conformity hereof. But there were two other true cauſes of it; the one the quick diſpatch of the Council, becauſe they hoped, by ſo doing, to finiſh all in that Seſſion alone; the other, that the *Spaniards* and other favourers of the Reformation, might not have time, being buſied in matters of Faith, to handle any thing of importance; and particularly that they might be hindred to promote, or inſiſt upon Reſidence. After that this point was eſtabliſhed, all the Decrees being read together, new contradictions were raiſed, beſides the uſual contentions, which the Legates could hardly ſtop with fair words. The Congregation laſted until two hours within night, with ſmall ſatisfaction of the parties, and ſcandal of honeſt Men. In the end all was reſolved; but by the greater part only, which did not much exceed in number thoſe who contradicted.

The Seſſion.

The ſeventeenth of *September*, the day appointed for the Seſſion, being come, the Legates Ambaſſadors, and 180 Prelates went to the Church, with the uſual Ceremonies; and after Prayers made in time of the *Maſs*, the Biſhop of *Ventimiglia* preached: who, with an Epiſcopal and Senatorious gravity, uſing the compariſon between civil bodies and natural, ſhewed how monſtrous a Synod would be, if it had no head; he ſhewed the office of it, in making an influence of virtues into all the members, and the thankfulneſs and duty of theſe, in having more care of it than of themſelves, expoſing themſelves alſo to the defence of it; he ſaid that the chief fault of an Heretick, according to S. *Paul*, was, that he doth not acknowledge an Head, on which the connexion of the whole

whole body doth depend; he added, in few words, that *Chriſt* was the inviſible Head of the Church, but in many, that the Pope was the viſible. He commended the exact diligence of his Holineſs, in making proviſion for the Synod, and put every one in mind of his duty, in preſenting the dignity of his Head: he praiſed the piety and modeſty of the Fathers; prayed God that that Council might proceed, and end as gloriouſly as it had begun. 1562. *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip* II.

The *Maſs* being ended, the Letters of Cardinal *Amulius* were read, who, as Protector of the Oriental Chriſtian Nations, informed the Synod that *Abdiſu*, Patriarch of *Muzale* in *Aſſyria*, beyond *Euphrates*, was come to *Rome*, who had viſited the Churches, rendred obedience to the Pope, and received the confirmation, and Cope from his Holineſs. He related that the people ſubject unto him had received the Faith, from the Apoſtles, *Thomas* and *Thaddeus*, and one of their Diſciples called *Marcus*, wholly conformable to the *Roman*, with the ſame Sacraments and Rites, whereof they had Books written ever ſince the time of the Apoſtles. In the end, he told the largeneſs of the Country, ſubject to that Prelate, which extendeth it ſelf unto the further *India*, with innumerable people, ſubject, partly to the *Turk*, partly to the *Sophi* of *Perſia*, and to the King of *Portugal*. The Letter being read, the Ambaſſador of *Portugal* proteſted, that the Eaſtern Biſhops ſubject to his King, did not acknowledge any Patriarch for their Superiour, and ſaid that by acknowledging of this Patriarch, they might not do themſelves and the King a prejudice. Afterwards the *Confeſſion* of his Faith, made in *Rome* the 17, of *March*, was read, in which he ſwore to maintain the Faith of the holy Church of *Rome*, promiſing to approve and condemn that which it did approve and condemn, and to teach the ſame to the *Metropolitans* and Biſhops ſubject unto him. Afterwards his Letters, directed to the Synod, were read; in which he excuſed his not coming to the Council, by reaſon of the length of the journey, and prayed them, that when it was ended, the Decrees thereof might be ſent unto him, which he promiſed he would cauſe to be fully obſerved. The ſame things had been read in the firſt Congregation, but not regarded. The *Portugals* proteſtation made Men conſider divers abſurdities in that Narration, and there was a whiſpering, and the *Portugal* Prelates began to ſpeak. But the Speaker, by order of the Legates, told them, that this ſhould be ſpoken of in the Congregation.

The Letters of Cardinal *Amulius* concerning the Oriental Chriſtians.

Are confuted by the *Portugal* Ambaſſador.

And proceeding in the acts of the Council, the Maſs-Biſhop read the Doctrine of the Sacrifice of the *Maſs*, divided into nine heads; which contained in ſum: 1. That, for the imperfection of the Levitical Prieſthood, another Prieſt, according to the order of *Melchiſedec*, was neceſſary; which was *Chriſt* our Lord: who, although he offered himſelf but once upon the *Croſs*, to leave in the Church a viſible Sacrifice, repreſenting that of the *Croſs*, and applying the vertue thereof, declaring himſelf to be a Prieſt after the order of *Melchiſedec*, offered to God the Father his Body and Blood, under the Bread and Wine, and gave them to his Apoſtles, commanding them and their Succeſſors to offer them. And this is that pure Offering foretold by *Malachy*, which Saint *Paul* calleth the Table of the *Lord*, and was figured by divers Sacrifices, in the time of Nature, and of the Law. 2. Becauſe the ſame *Chriſt* is ſacrificed in the *Maſs* without Blood, who was ſacrificed on the *Croſs* with Blood; this Sacrifice is propitiatory, and God, appeaſed with this offering, beſtoweth the gift of repentance, and remitteth all ſins, the offering, and (by the Prieſts) the Offerer being the ſame,

The Doctrine of the *Maſs*.

who

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who formerly offered himſelf upon the *Croſs*, only in a divers manner; ſo that this of the *Maſs* doth not derogate from that of the *Croſs*, yea, by this, the fruits of that are received, which is offered for the ſins, puniſhments, and neceſſities of the Faithful, and alſo for the dead, not fully purged. 3. And though ſome *Maſſes* be celebrated in memory of the Saints, the Sacrifice is not offered to them, but to God only. 4. And, to offer him with reverence, the Church hath, for many Ages, inſtituted the Canon, free from all errour, compoſed out of the words of the Lord, tradition of the Apoſtles, and conſtitutions of Popes. 5. And, for the edification of the Faithful, the Church hath inſtituted certain Rites to pronounce in the Maſs, ſome things with a low, and ſome with a loud voice, adding benedictions, lights, odours, and Veſtments by Apoſtolical Tradition. 6. And the Synod doth not condemn as private and unlawful, but doth approve thoſe *Maſſes*, in which the Prieſt doth communicate alone (which uſe is common) in regard the people doth communicate ſpiritually, and that they are celebrated by a publick Miniſter, and for all the Faithful. 7. And the Church hath commanded to put Water into the Wine, becauſe *Chriſt* their done ſo, and from his ſide did iſſue Water and Blood together, by which the union of the people, ſignified by the Water, with *Chriſt* hath head is repreſented. 8. And howſoever the people do not receive much inſtruction by the *Maſs*, yet the Fathers have not thought it fit that it ſhould be celebrated in the vulgar. Therefore retaining the uſe of the *Roman* Church, that the people may not be deceived, the Prieſts ought to expound ſomething which is read in it, eſpecially upon Holy-days. 9. And to condemn the errours which are ſpread againſt this Doctrine, it doth add nine Canons.

The Canons of the *Maſs*.

1. Anathematizing him that ſhall ſay, that a true and proper Sacrifice is not offered to God in the *Maſs*. 2. Or that ſhall ſay that *Chriſt* by theſe words, *Do this in remembrance of me*, hath not inſtituted Prieſts, and commanded them to offer. 3. Or ſhall ſay, that the *Maſs* is a Sacrifice only of praiſe, or thankſgiving, or a bare commemoration of the Sacrifice of the *Croſs*, and not propitiatory, and that it doth help only him that doth receive it, and ought not to be offered for the living and the dead, for ſins, puniſhments, ſatisfactions, and other neceſſities. 4. Or ſhall ſay, that the Sacrifice of the *Maſs* doth derogate from that of the *Croſs*. 5. Or that it is a deceit to celebrate *Maſſes* in honour of Saints. 6. Or that errours are contained in the Canon of the *Maſs*. 7. Or that the Ceremonies, Veſtments, or external ſigns uſed in the *Maſs*, are rather incitements to ungodlineſs than offices of piety. 8. Or that the *Maſſes*, in which the Prieſt alone doth communicate, are unlawful. 9. Or ſhall condemn the Rite of the Church of *Rome*, to ſpeak part of the Canon and the words of conſecration with a low voice; or that the *Maſs* ought to be celebrated in the vulgar, or that Water ought not to be mingled with the Wine.

A decree concerning the abuſes of the *Maſs*.

The Fathers aſſented to the Decree, except only to that particular, that *Chriſt* did offer himſelf, which three and twenty Biſhops did contradict: and ſome others ſaid, that, howſoever they held it to be true, yet they thought not either the time or place fit to decree it. And there was ſome confuſion in delivering their voices, becauſe many ſpake at once. The Archbiſhop of *Granata* began to diſſent, who, having contradicted in the Congregations, that he might not have occaſion to do the ſame in Seſſion, determined to be abſent. But the Legates ſeeing him not at *Maſs*, ſent to call him more than once, and conſtrained him to come; which

which did more excite him to contradict. Immediately after another Decree was read for inſtruction of Biſhops, concerning abuſes to be corrected in celebration of the *Maſſes:* And contained in ſubſtance; That the Biſhops ought to forbid all things brought in by avarice, irreverence, or ſuperſtition. It named particularly, for faults of avarice, bargains for reward, that which is given for new *Maſſes*, importunate exaction of Alms: of irreverence, the admitting to ſay *Maſs* of vagabond Prieſts, unknown, and publick and notorious ſinners, *Maſſes* in private houſes, and every where elſe out of the Churches and Oratories, if the aſſiſtants be not in an honeſt habit, the uſe of Muſick in Churches, mixed with laſcivious Songs, all ſecular actions, profane ſpeeches, noiſes; and ſcreeches; of ſuperſtition, to celebrate out of due hours, with other ceremonies and prayers than thoſe which are allowed by the Church, and received by uſe, a determinate number of ſome *Maſſes*, and of Candles. It ordained alſo, that the people ſhould be admoniſhed to go to their Pariſh Churches, at the leaſt on Sundays and great Holydays, declaring that the things aforeſaid are propoſed to the Prelates, that they may prohibit and correct as Delegates of the Apoſtolick See, not only thoſe, but all that are alike unto them. 1562 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip* II.

The Decree of Reformation contained 11. Heads. 1. That all the Decrees of Popes and Councils, concerning the life and converſation of the Clergy, be obſerved hereafter; under the ſame and greater puniſhments, at the pleaſure of the Ordinary, and thoſe revived which are antiquated. 2. That none be promoted to a Biſhoprick, but he, who, beſides the qualities required by the Holy Canons, hath been ſix months in holy *Orders*, and if there be not notice of all the neceſſary qualities in Court, information may be taken from the *Nuncii*, from his *Ordinary* or neighbour *Ordinaries*; who ought to be a *Doctor*, *Maſter*, or *Licentiate* in Theology, or the Canon Law, or declared to be able to teach, by publick teſtimony of an Univerſity; and the Regulars ſhall have the like teſtimonies from the Superiours of their Religion; and the proceſſes and teſtifications ſhall be freely given. 3. That the Biſhops may convert the third part of the revenues of Cathedral or Collegiate Churches into daily diſtributions, which notwithſtanding thoſe ſhall not loſe, who, not having juriſdiction or other Office, do reſide in their Pariſh Church or Church united, being, out of the City. 4. That none ſhall have voice in Chapter, but he that is a *Subdeacon*; and he that ſhall hereafter obtain a Benefice to which any charge is annexed, ſhall be bound to receive *Orders*, within one year, that he may execute it. 5. That Commiſſions of diſpenſations out of the Court of *Rome* ſhall be addreſſed to the *Ordinaries*, and thoſe that are for *Grace*, ſhall not take effect, until it be known by the Biſhops, as Delegates, that they have been juſtly gotten. 6. That commutations of Wills be not executed, until the Biſhops as Delegates, do know that they have been obtained by expreſſion of the truth. 7. That ſuperiour Judges, in admitting appeals, and granting inhibition, ſhall obſerve the conſtitution of *Innocentius* 4. in the Chapter *Romana.* 8. That the Biſhops, as Delegates, ſhall be executors of pious diſpoſitions, as well teſtamentary, as of the living, ſhall viſit Hoſpitals, Colledges, and *fraternities* of Laiques, even thoſe which are called *Schools*, or by what other name ſoever, except thoſe which are under the immediate protection of Kings; ſhall viſit the Alms of the *Mountains* of piety, and all other places of piety, though under the charge of Lay-men, and ſhall have the knowledge and execution of whatſoever belongeth to the ſervice The Decree of Reformation.

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of God, ſalvation of ſouls, and ſuſtentation of the poor. 9. That the adminiſtrators of the Fabrick of any Church whatſoever, Hoſpital, Confraternity, alms of any *Mountain* of piety, or any other pious place, ſhall be bound to give an account every year to the Biſhops, and, in caſe they be obliged to make an account to others, the Biſhop ſhall be joyned with them, without whom they ſhall not have any diſcharge. 10. That the Biſhops ſhall examine the Notaries, and forbid them the uſe of their Office in Spiritual matters. 11. That whoſoever ſhall uſurp the goods, rights, or emoluments of Churches, Benefices, *Mountains* of piety, or other pious places, whether he be Clerk, or Laique, King or Emperour, ſhall remain excommunicate, until a full reſtitution or abſolution of the Pope; and, if he be Patron, he ſhall be deprived of the right of Patronage, and the Clerk conſenting ſhall be ſubject to the ſame puniſhment, deprived of all benefices, and uncapable of any more.

The Decree concerning the Cup.

Afterwards the Decree for the grant of the Cup was read; of this tenor. That the Synod having reſerved to it ſelf the examination and definition of two Articles, concerning the communion of the Cup, in the former Seſſion, hath now determined to defer the whole buſineſs to the Pope, who, in his ſingular wiſdom, may do what he thinketh profitable for the Chriſtian Common-wealth, and for the good of thoſe who demand it. This Decree, as it was approved in the Congregations by the major part only, ſo it happened in the Seſſion, where, beſides thoſe who contradicted, becauſe they thought the Cup could not be granted for any cauſe; there were ſome who required that the matter ſhould be deferred, and examined again. To whom the *Speaker* anſwered, in the name of the Legates, that conſideration ſhould be had of it.

The matter of the next Seſſion.

And finally the next Seſſion was intimated for the twelfth of *November*, to determin concerning the Sacraments of Order and Matrimony. And the Synod was diſmiſſed, after the uſual manner, great diſcourſes between the Fathers about the Communion of the Cup continuing ſtill. Concerning which, ſome perhaps will be curious to know, for what cauſe the Decree laſt recited, was not put after that of the *Maſs*, as the matter ſeemeth to require, but in a place where it hath no connexion or likeneſs with the Articles preceding. He may know that there was a general *maxim* in that Council, that to eſtabliſh a Decree of Reformation a *major* part of voices was ſufficient, but that a Decree of faith could not be made, if a conſiderable part did contradict. Therefore the Legates knowing that hardly more than half would conſent to this of the Chalice, did reſolve to make it an Article of Reformation, and to place it the laſt amongſt thoſe, to ſhew plainly that they held it to be of that rank. There were alſo many diſcourſes at that time; and ſome days after, about the point decided, that *Chriſt* offered himſelf in the *Supper*, ſome ſaying that, in regard of the three and twenty contradictors, it was not lawfully decided, and others anſwering that an eighth part could not be called a conſiderable, or notable part. There were ſome alſo who maintained that the *maxim* had place only in the *Anathematiſms*, and in the ſubſtance of the Doctrine, and not in every clauſe which is put in for better expreſſion, as this, which is not mentioned in the Canons.

A *Maxim* in the Council about the *major* part.

The Emperours Ambaſſadors were very glad for the Decree of the Cup, being aſſured that his Majeſty would more eaſily obtain it of the Pope, and upon more favourable conditions, than it could have been obtained in the Council, where, for the variety of opinions and

and intereſts, it is hard to make many to be of one mind, though in a good and neceſſary matter. The great part overcometh the better, and he that oppoſeth hath always the advantage of him that promoteth. And their hope was the greater, becauſe the Pope ſeemed before to have favoured their Petition. But the Emperour had not the ſame opinion, aiming not to obtain the communion of the Cup abſolutely, but to pacifie the people of his own States, and of *Germany*, who being diſtaſted with the Popes Authority for the things paſt, could not reliſh any thing well that proceeded from him; whereas if they had obtained this grant immediately from the Council, it would have given them good ſatisfaction, and bred an opinion in them, that they might have obtained other requeſts which they eſteemed; ſo that this motion being ſtopped, and the infected Miniſters caſhered, he did hope he might have held them in the Catholick Communion. He ſaw, by former experience, that the grant of *Paul* was not well received, and did more hurt than good; and, for this cauſe, he did proſecute the inſtance no further with the Pope, and declared the cauſe of it. Therefore when he received news of the Decree of the Council, turning to ſome Prelates who were with him, he ſaid, I have done all I can to ſave my people, now look you unto it, whom it doth more concern.

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The cenſure of the Decrees.

But thoſe people which deſired and expected the favour, or, as they ſaid, the reſtitution of that which was due unto them, were all diſtaſted that their juſt requeſt having been treated on ſix months, preſented by the interceſſions of ſo many, and ſo great Princes, and after, for better examination, deferred and diſputed, and diſcuſſed again with ſuch contention, ſhould, in the end be referred to the Pope, which might have been as well done at the very firſt, without loſing ſo much time, ſo many perſwaſions, and ſo great pains. They ſaid, the condition of Chriſtians was according to the Prophecy of *Iſaias*, *He ſendeth, and countermandeth, expecteth, and reexpecteth.* For the Pope, who was moved firſt, referred that to the Council, which now the Council remitteth to him; and both of them do mock both Prince and people. Some diſcourſed more ſubſtantially; that the Synod had reſerved the definition of two Articles. Whether the cauſes which did formerly move to take away the Cup, are ſuch as that they ought to make them perſevere in the ſame prohibition; and if not, with what conditions it ought to be granted. The former being undoubtedly a matter not of fact, but of faith, the Council did confeſs, by a neceſſary conſequence, that it knew the cauſes to be unſufficient; and would not, for worldly reſpects, make the declaration. For if they had thought them ſufficient, they muſt needs perſevere in the prohibition; if any doubt had remained they ſhould have proceeded in the examination, and ought not to remit it, but for the inſufficiency of the cauſes. But if they had made the Declaration negative, that is, that the cauſes were not ſuch as that they ought to perſevere, and referred to the Pope to do upon information, what remained to be done *de facto*, they might have been excuſed. Neither can it be ſaid that this is preſuppoſed by the reference. For in the Decree of this Seſſion, having repeated the two Articles, they reſolved to refer the whole buſineſs to the Pope; and therefore not preſuppoſing any thing.

I do not find, in the memorials which I have ſeen, that the Decree of the Sacrifice did raiſe any matter of diſcourſe. And the cauſe perhaps was, for that the words do not ſo eaſily declare the ſenſe, as containing many ſtrained *Metaphors*, which draw the minds of the Readers

1562 unto divers conſiderations, who, when they are come to the end, know not what they have read. Only concerning the prohibition of the vulgar tongue in the Maſs, the Proteſtants ſaid ſomething. For it ſeemed a contradiction, to ſay, that the Maſs doth contain much inſtruction for the faithful people, and to approve that part ſhould be uttered with a low voice, and wholly to forbid the vulgar tongue, only commanding the Paſtors to declare ſomething to the people. Whereunto ſome anſwered well, that, in the Maſs were ſome ſecrets which ought to be concealed from the people, which are uncapable; for which cauſe they are ſpoken ſoftly, and in the Latin tongue, but other things which be of good edification are commanded to be taught. But this was oppoſed two ways; one, that therefore this ſecond ſort ought to be in the vulgar; the other, becauſe they did not diſtinguiſh the two ſorts. For the Paſtors being commanded to declare, often, ſomething of that which is read, and conceal the reſt, theſe two kinds being not diſtinguiſhed, ſome of them may miſtake for want of knowledge, and ſo abuſe the people. The Antiquaries did laugh at theſe diſcourſes; becauſe it is certain that every tongue which is now brought into Art, was formerly vulgar, in its own Country; and that the Latin, uſed in the Church, was many hundred years, both in *Italy*, and in divers Colonies of the *Romans*, in divers Provinces, the common language. And in the *Roman* Pontifical there remaineth yet a form of the ordination of Readers in the Church, in which it is ſaid, that they muſt ſtudy to read diſtinctly and plainly, that the people may underſtand. But he that would know what language is to be uſed in the Church, needeth only (without any more diſcourſe) read the 14. Chapter of Saint *Paul*, in the firſt to the *Corinthians*, which will ſufficiently inform him, though his mind be never ſo much prepoſſeſſed with a contrary opinion. And he that would know what the meaning of the Church was, and when and why the Court made this alteration, may obſerve that Pope *John* the eighth, having ſeverely reprehended the *Moravians*, for celebrating of the Maſs in the *Slavonian* tongue, and commanded them to do ſo no more, yet being better informed afterwards, wrote in the year eight hundred eighty eight, to *Sfento-Pulero*, their King or Count, a Letter, in which, not by way of grant, but of declaration, he affirmeth that it is not contrary to Faith and ſound Doctrine to ſay Maſs, and other Prayers in the *Slavonian* tongue, becauſe he that hath made the Hebrew Language, Greek and Latin, and hath made others alſo for his glory, alledging divers paſſages of the Scripture, and, in particular, the admonition of Saint *Paul* to the *Corinthians*. Only he commanded that, for a greater *decorum* in the Church, the Goſpel ſhould firſt be read in Latin, and afterwards in the *Slavonian* tongue, as the uſe already was in ſome places. Notwithſtanding he gave leave to the Count, and his Judges, to hear the Latin Maſs if it pleaſed them better. To theſe things we muſt add that which *Gregory* the ſeventh wrote to *Vratiſlaw*, of *Bohemia*, juſt two hundred years after, that he could not permit the celebration of Divine Offices in the *Slavonian* tongue, and that it was not a good excuſe, to alledge, that it was not formerly prohibited. For the Primitive Church hath diſſembled many things, which afterwards, Chriſtianity being eſtabliſhed, upon exact examination, have been corrected. And he commanded that Prince to oppoſe the people herein with all his Forces. Which things he that ſhall obſerve plainly, ſhall ſee which were the ancient incorrupt inſtitutions, and how corruptions began for worldly reſpects and intereſts. For when men began to place

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Heaven below the Earth, good inſtitutions were publiſhed to be corruptions, only tolerated by antiquity, and abuſes, brought in afterwards, were canonized for perfect corrections. 1562 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip* II.

But, to return to the Decrees of the Council, that of the Reformation diſpleaſed many; conſidering, that in times paſt the Eccleſiaſtical goods belonged to the whole Church, that is to all the Chriſtians of one Congregation; the adminiſtration whereof was committed to the *Deacons*, *Archdeacons*, and other diſpenſers, with the ſuperintendency of the *Biſhops* and *Prieſts*, to diſtribute them for the maintenance of Miniſters, Widows, Sick, and other poor perſons, for education of Children, in Hoſpitality, ranſoming of Priſoners, and other works of Piety. Notwithſtanding, the Clergy, though unfitly, yet tolerably, began to deſire to ſeparate, and to know their part, and to uſe it as they pleaſed. But afterward the abuſes came to the height. For the people was wholly excluded from all right in the goods, and the Eccleſiaſticks being but adminiſtrators before, declared themſelves to be Lords of them, converting that to their own uſe, which was deſtinated for the poor, for hoſpitality, Schools, and other works of Piety; whereof the world having a long time complained, and demanded a remedy in vain, ſome Laicks have, in ſome places, piouſly erected other Hoſpitals, and Schools, *&c.* and appointed Adminiſtrators of the Laity. Now the world, in this age, demanding a remedy more earneſtly, that Hoſpitals, and Schools, *&c.* uſurped by Prieſts, may be reſtored, the Council, in ſtead of granting a demand ſo juſt, and reſtoring Hoſpitals, Colledges, Schools, and other places of Piety, as was expected, hath opened a way, in the eighth and ninth Articles, to uſurp thoſe alſo which have been inſtituted ſince, by ordaining the ſuperintendency of Biſhops; which no man can doubt, but that as it hath been a means formerly to divert goods deſtinated for good works, and to appropriate them to uſes not pious, ſo it will, in a very ſhort time, produce the ſame effect again. The Parliaments of *France* ſpake much of this particular, and ſaid plainly, the Synod had exceeded their authority, medling with the goods of Seculars, it being clear, that the title of a pious work giveth no right to a Prieſt, that every Chriſtian may apply his goods to what good work he pleaſeth, without giving the Clergy power to make Laws therein, otherwiſe the Laity would be in extream ſervitude, if they might do no good but what pleaſed the Prieſts. Some condemned alſo the Article, by which power is obliquely given to change Wills and Teſtaments, by preſcribing how and when they may be changed; it being plain, that Teſtaments have their ſtrength from the Civil Law, by which only they may be changed. And if any ſay that their ſtrength is from the law of nature, the authority of Prieſts will be excluded the more; becauſe where that law is diſpenſable, none can diſpenſe but he that holdeth the higheſt place in the Common-wealth, or his Miniſters. But the Miniſters of *Chriſt* mut remembeſt that Saint *Paul* doth allow them only the adminiſtration of the Miniſters of God. And if any Common-wealth hath given, at any time, to their Prelates any juriſdiction concerning Wills, they are, in this, not ſpiritual Judges, but temporal, and ought to receive Laws herein, not from Councils, but from that Majeſty which governeth the Republick, and do proceed herein, not as Miniſters of *Chriſt*, but as members of the Common-wealth, as they are called by divers names, and aſſiſt in publick governments. But the fifth Article, in matter of Diſpenſations, was no leſs noted. For it is plain, that, in ancient times, every Diſpenſation

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was adminiſtred by the Paſtors in their ſeveral Churches, and that afterwards in ſucceſs the Popes reſerved to themſelves the moſt principal things; which one might ſay was done, that the moſt important matters might not be managed by unſufficient perſons, howſoever the reaſon formerly alledged to the contrary by the Biſhop of *Five Churches* ſeemeth very ſtrong. But now the Council decreeing that Diſpenſations ſhall be committed to the *Ordinaries*, to whom they ſhould belong, if reſervations did ceaſe, one may demand to what end power is taken from any perſon, to be given to the ſame again? It is plain, that by reſerving Diſpenſations, nothing was meant in *Rome*, but only that their Bulls might be uttered; becauſe this being done, they think it better the work ſhould be executed by him that ſhould have done it, if he had not been forbid, than by any other. Divers other oppoſitions were made, by thoſe who more willingly cenſure the actions of others, when they proceed from eminent perſons; which becauſe they be of no great moment, are not worthy of an Hiſtory.

The Pope being adviſed of the holding of the Seſſion, and of that which happened in it, was very glad, as delivered from the fear he apprehended, that, in the contention about the Cup, his authority would be drawn into diſputation; and becauſe this way of compoſing differences, by referring them unto him, was opened, he hoped the like might be done in the Article of Reſidence, or in any other that ſhould be controverſed: by which means the Council would be ended quickly. But he foreſaw two cauſes which might croſs his deſign; one, the coming of the Cardinal of *Lorain* with the *French* Biſhops, which did much trouble him, eſpecially in regard of the vaſt thoughts of that Prelate, much contrary to the affairs of the Papacy, ſo incorporated in him, that he was not able to conceal them; for which he ſaw no remedy, but by making the *Italians* ſo far exceeed the *Ultramontans*, that in their voyces they ſhould not paſs for a conſiderable number. Therefore he continually ſollicited all the Biſhops, whether titular, or others who had renounced, to go to *Trent*, offering to bear their charges, and loading them with promiſes. He thought alſo to ſend a number of Abbats, as had been done in ſome Councils. But being adviſed better, he thought it fit not to ſhew ſo much affection, nor to provoke others to do the like. He feared another croſs in regard of the purpoſes which he had diſcovered in all Princes to hold the Council open with doing of nothing; in the Emperour, to gratifie the *Dutchmen*, and to gain their favour in the election of his Son to be King of the *Romans*; in the *French* King, to work his will with the ſame men, and with the *Hugonots*. He conſidered much of the Congregation of the Ambaſſadors, which ſeemed to be a Council of Seculars in the middeſt of that of the Biſhops; thinking that the Congregations of the Prelates would be dangerous, without the preſence and preſidence of the Legates to keep them in order; and therefore, that the Ambaſſadours much more, might handle things prejudicial; and that there was danger if they continued, that they might bring in ſome Prelate, in regard there were Eccleſiaſticks amongſt them, and ſo uſe licence, under the name of liberty. In this perplexity he conceived hope, becauſe he ſaw the greater part of the Ambaſſadors oppoſe the propoſitions, and that none were combined but only the Ambaſſadors of the Emperour, and of the *French* King, who having no Prelates could prevail but little. Notwithſtanding he thought fit to ſollicite the concluſion of the Council, and to cheriſh the diviſion which he ſaw

The Pope plotteth to make a *major* part in the Council.

ſaw amongſt the Ambaſſadors. Therefore he wrote immediately that they ſhould hold Congregations often, and digeſt, and put in order the matters quickly. And becauſe to give one thanks, doth oblige him to perſevere, he commanded that the Ambaſſadors of *Portugal*, and of the *Suiſſes*, and the Secretary of the Marqueſs of *Peſcara*, ſhould be commended, and heartily thanked, on his part, for refuſing to conſent with others to an impertinent propoſition. He cauſed thanks to be given to the *Venetians* and *Florentine*, for the good intention they ſhewed in denying to come to the Congregation, praying them not to refuſe to come hereafter if they were called, becauſe he knew their preſence would ever be ſerviceable to the Apoſtolick See, and hinder the bad deſigns of others. Neither was his Holineſs deceived in his opinion. For it made them all ſay, that they had done ſo, becauſe in thoſe times, the ſervice of God did require that the Popes authority ſhould be defended, reſolving to perſevere in that reſolution. And they profeſſed they were more obliged by the courteous thanks of his Holineſs for doing that, to which their duty did bind them.

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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

Council of Trent.

BOOK VII.

THE cuſtom of thoſe who write Hiſtories is, to propoſe, in the beginning, a model of what they mean to handle. Which I have thought fit to defer until this place, making it an abſtract of that which is related already, and a deſign of that which is to follow. Having reſolved to give to the memorials which I had collected, ſome form, which might not exceed my power, and yet beſt befit the matter, I conſidered, that, of all the negotiations which have hapned amongſt Chriſtians in this world, or perhaps will happen hereafter, this is the moſt principal, and that moſt men are deſirous to know whatſoever doth belong to that which they do eſteem, even the leaſt things of all. Therefore I thought firſt that the form of a Diary would beſt agree to this ſubject. But two oppoſitions did croſs mine opinion: One, that that form could not befit the occurrences of twenty nine years, ſpent in making preparation for the birth of this Council, nor of the fourteen years which paſſed while it ſlept, it not being known whether it were alive or dead. Another, that all the matter which a continuate Diary doth require, could not poſſibly be found. Therefore, fitting the form to the matter, as Nature doth, not the matter to the form, as the Schools, I thought it not abſurd to write the preparatory and interconciliary times by way of *Annals*, and in thoſe of the celebration to make a Diary of the occurrences of thoſe days, the knowledge whereof I was able to attain; hoping that whoſoever ſhall read this Treatiſe will excuſe the omiſſion of thoſe which could not be known. For it of things, the intire memory of which thoſe who have intereſt do labour by all means to preſerve, oftentimes a great part is quickly loſt, how much more will it happen in this, which many Men, of great place, and exact judgment, have uſed all diligence, and ſpared no

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pains wholly to conceal. It is true that matters of great weight ought to be held in a myſtery, when it is for the common good; but when it doth damnify one, and profit another, it is no marvail if Men who have contrary ends, do proceed in contrary courſes. The common and famous ſaying of the Lawyers is true, that his cauſe is more to be favoured who laboureth to avoid loſs, than his who ſeeketh gain. For theſe cauſes this Treatiſe of mine is ſubject to ſome diſequality of Narration; and howbeit I might ſay, that as much might be found in ſome famous Writer, yet this ſhall not be my defence; but this, that if others have avoided it, they have not written the Hiſtory of the Council of *Trent*, nor any other like unto it.

The petition of the *French* Ambaſſadors.

The Ambaſſadors of *France* ſo ſoon as the Seſſion was ended, received Letters from their King, that they ſhould make inſtance for the deferring of it. Wherefore though the time was paſt, they came to the Legates, and told them they had a new Commiſſion from the King to make requeſt, that they would labour in the Reformation, and, for points of Doctrine, expect the coming of his Prelates; adding that, if the matter of *Order* and *Matrimony* were diſputed by the Divines, and handled by the Prelates, no more points of Doctrine would remain, and the coming of the *French-men* would be to no purpoſe. Wherefore their requeſt was, that they would be pleaſed to defer them until the end of *October*, employing themſelves, in the mean ſpace, in the matter of Reformation, or one day in that, and another in matter of Doctrine, not deferring as they had done, all the matter of Reformation until the laſt days immediately before the Seſſion, ſo that there ſcarce remained time ſo much as to ſee the Articles, much leſs to conſult upon them.

To which the Legates anſwered.

The Legates anſwered, that their propoſitions did deſire to be weighed well, and that they would be carefnl to give them all poſſible ſatisfaction; demanding a Copy of their inſtructions, that they might reſolve the better. The Ambaſſadors gave them a writing, of this tenour: That the King having ſeen the Decrees of the ſixteenth of *July*, concerning the Communion *Sub utraque*, and deferring two Articles in the ſame matter, and thoſe propoſed in the Congregations concerning the ſacrifice of the Maſs, howſoever he commendeth that which is done, yet he cannot conceal that which is generally ſpoken, that is, that the matter of diſcipline and manners is either quite omitted, or ſlenderly handled, and the controverſed points in Religion, in which all the Fathers do agree, haſtily determined. Which although he thinketh to be falſe, yet he deſireth that the propoſitions of his Ambaſſadors may be expounded, as neceſſary, to provide for the good of Chriſtendom, and the calamities of his Kingdom. And having found, by experience, that neither ſeverity nor moderation hath been able to reduce thoſe who are ſeparated from the Church, he thought fit to have recourſe to the General Council, which he hath obtained of the Pope; that he was ſorry that the tumults of *France* did hinder the coming of his Prelates; that he ſaw well that the conſtancy and rigour, in continuing the form begun by the Legates and Biſhops, was not fit to reconcile peace, and make an unity in the Church; that his deſire was, that nothing might be done to alien the minds of the adverſaries, now in the beginning of the Council, but that they may be invited, and, in caſe they come, received as Children with all humanity, hoping that by this means, they will ſuffer themſelves to be taught, and brought back to the boſom of the Church. And becauſe all that are in *Trent* do profeſs the ſame Religion, and neither can nor will make doubt of any

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part thereof, he thinketh the diſputation and cenſure in points of Religion to be not only ſuperfluous, but impertinent for the Catholicks, and a cauſe to ſeparate the adverſaries the more. For he that thinketh they will receive the Decrees of the Council in which they have not aſſiſted, doth not know them well; neither will any thing be done by this means, but arguments miniſtred of writing more Books. Therefore the King thinketh it better to omit the matter of Religion, until the other of Reformation be well ſet in order; and that this is the ſcope at which every one muſt aim, that the Council which now is great, and will be greater by the coming of the *French-men*, may produce fruit. Afterwards the King demandeth, that in regard of the abſence of his Biſhops, the next Seſſion may be put off until the end of *October*, or the publication of the Decrees deferred, or a new order expected from the Pope, to whom he hath written, labouring in the mean while in the matter of Reformation. And becauſe he underſtandeth that the ancient liberty of Councils is not obſerved, that Kings and Princes, or their Ambaſſadors may declare the neceſſities of their States, his Majeſty demandeth that their authority may be preſerved, and all revoked which hath been done to the contrary.

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The petition of the Emperours Ambaſſadors.

The ſame day the Emperours Ambaſſadors came to the Legates, requiring that the Articles ſent by his Majeſty, and preſented by them, might be propoſed, and were very earneſt that the points of Doctrine might be deferred until the coming of the *French-men*; and, that the Reformation may be ſerviceable not only for the whole Church, but for the Church of every particular Kingdom, their deſire was that two of every Nation might be deputed, to put them in mind of that which did deſerve to be propoſed, and diſcuſſed in Council. The Legates made a common anſwer to them both, that they could not alter, without great prejudice, the order ſet down, which was to handle Doctrine and Reformation both together, and, if they ſhould, that other Princes would oppoſe; but, to content them, they would ordain that the Divines and Prelates ſhould examin the matter of Order only, and afterwards handle ſome points of Reformation, obſerving ſtill the former uſe, that every one, of what condition ſoever, may put them, the Legates, in mind, of what they think neceſſary, profitable, or convenient; which is a greater liberty than to have two deputed for every Nation: and afterwards they would treat of *Matrimony*. The Ambaſſadors being not one jot contented, the Legates ſent all their demands to the Pope.

The *French men* complained to all Men of this auſterity, and for that the Pope had lately commanded other Prelates to go to the Council, that he might exceed in number: which the Papalins themſelves did not like ſhould be done ſo openly, and juſt when the news was ſpread of the coming of the *French men*; deſiring to be ſecured by a *major* part, yet ſo, as not to have it known for what cauſe it was done. But the Pope did of ſet purpoſe proceed ſo openly, that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* might know that his attempts would be in vain, and ſo reſolve not to come, or that the *French-men* might take ſome occaſion to make the Council diſſolve. Neither was the Pope only of this opinion, but all the Court, fearing ſome great prejudice by the Cardinals deſigns; which howſoever they might not ſucceed (a thing which they could ſcarce hope for) yet his coming only would hinder, prolong, and diſturb the Council. *Ferrara* told *Lorrain*, his Kinſman, that his journey would be of no moment, and of ſmall reputation to him-

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ſelf, in regard he would arrive after all was determined; and *Biancheto*, a familiar friend of the Cardinal of *Armignac*, who alſo had credit with *Lorain*, wrote as much to them both; and the Secretary of *Seripando*, who had familiarity with the Preſident *Farrier*, told him the ſame; all which was thought to be done by Commiſſion from the Pope, or to pleaſe him, at the leaſt.

The Articles of the Sacrament of *Order.*

But their care of the actions of the Council was not intermitted for all this. For the Articles, concerning the Sacrament of *Order*, were preſently given forth, to be diſputed by the Divines, the diſputants elected, and diſtinguiſhed into four ranks, each of them being to diſcuſs two. For they were eight. 1. Whether *Order* be truly and properly a Sacrament, inſtituted by *Chriſt*, or an humane invention, or Rite, to elect Miniſters of the word of *God*, and of the Sacraments? 2. Whether *Order* be one Sacrament only, and all others be means and degrees unto *Prieſthood?* 3. Whether there be an *Hierarchy* in the Catholick Church, conſiſting of *Biſhops*, *Prieſts*, and other *Orders*, or whether all Chriſtians be *Prieſts*, or whether the vocation or conſent of the people or ſecular Magiſtrate be neceſſary, or whether a *Prieſt* may become a Laick? 4. Whether there be a viſible and external *Prieſthood* in the new Teſtament, and a power to conſecrate and offer the body and blood of *Chriſt*, and to remit ſins, or only the bare Miniſtry to preach the Goſpel, ſo that thoſe who preach not are not *Prieſts?* 5. Whether the Holy Ghoſt is given and received in ordination, and a *Character* imprinted? 6. Whether *Unction*, and other ceremonies, be neceſſary in conferring *Order*, or ſuperfluous, or pernicious? 7. Whether Biſhops be ſuperiour to Prieſts, and have peculiar power to confirm and ordain, and whether thoſe who are brought in by any other means than Canonical ordination, are true Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments? 8. Whether the Biſhops, called and ordained by the Pope, be lawful, and whether thoſe be true Biſhops who come in by any other way than Canonical inſtitution? The 23. of this month the Congregations of the Divines began, and were held twice a day, and ended the ſecond of *October*. I will, according to mine uſe, relate thoſe opinions only which are remarkable, either for ſingularity or contrariety among themſelves.

Are diſputed in the Congregations.

In the firſt Congregation four Divines of the Pope ſpake; who did all agree in proving that *Order* was a Sacrament, by places of Scripture, eſpecially by that of S. *Paul.* 1. *The things which come from God, are ordained*; then by the tradition of Apoſtles, ſayings of the Fathers, uniform conſent of Divines, and above all, by the Council of *Florence*, adding alſo this reaſon, that the Church would be a confuſion if there were not government and obedience. But Fryar *Peter Stoto* was copious, in ſhewing that there were ſeven *Orders*, and each properly a Sacrament, and all inſtituted by *Chriſt*, ſaying, it was neceſſary to make a Declaration herein, becauſe ſome Canoniſts, paſſing the limits of their profeſſion, have added two more, the firſt Tonſure, and the Biſhoprick; which opinion may cauſe many other errors of greater importance. He likewiſe ſhewed at large, that *Chriſt* had, when he was on earth, exerciſed all theſe *Orders*, one after another; all whoſe life as it was addreſſed to the laſt of theſe Sacraments, ſo it is plain, that all the others ſerve only as a ladder, to climb up to the higheſt, which is the *Prieſthood.*

But *Jerolamus Bravus*, a Dominican Fryar, having proteſted that he conſtantly held that there were ſeven *Orders*, and each of them a Sacrament,

ment, and that the uſe of the Church ought to be obſerved, to proceed from the inferiour to the ſuperiour, and ſo to the *Prieſthood*, he added, that he was not of opinion that ſo particular a Declaration ought to be made, in regard of the difference between the Divines, amongſt which one can hardly find two of the ſame mind. For which cauſe *Cajetan*, in his old age, wrote, that he that collecteth the things taught by the Doctors, and in the ancient and modern Pontificals, will ſee a great confuſion in all other *Orders* but *Prieſthood*. The Maſter of the *Sentences* maintained, that *Sub-deaconſhip* and inferiour *Orders*, were inſtituted by the Church, and the Scripture ſeemed to have inſtituted the *Deaconſhip*, as a miniſtry of Tables, and not as one of the Altar. The difference concerning inferiour *Orders* in the old Pontificals, where that which is in one is not in another, doth ſhew they are Sacramental, and not Sacraments. And reaſon doth lead us hereunto. For the actions which one ordained doth, may be done by one not ordained, and are of the ſame validity, effect, and perfection. Saint *Bonaventure* alſo, though he thinketh that all ſeven are Sacraments, yet he holdeth two other opinions to be probable; one, that only *Prieſthood* is a Sacrament, and the inferiours, being imployed about corporal things, as to open doors, read Leſſons, light Tapers, and the like, do not ſeem to expreſs any celeſtial matter, and are therefore only diſpoſitions to *Prieſthood*. The ſecond, that the three holy *Orders* are Sacraments, and, concerning the common ſaying, that the inferiour are degrees to the ſuperiour, Saint *Thomas* affirmeth, that in the Primitive Church many were ordained Prieſts immediatly, without paſſing by the inferiour *Orders*, and that the Church did ordain that this paſſage ſhould be made for humiliation only. It appeareth plainly, in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, that Saint *Matthias* was immediately ordained an Apoſtle, and the ſeven Deacons did not paſs by the *Sub-deaconſhip*, and the inferiour *Orders*. *Paulinus* ſaith of himſelf, that, having a purpoſe to apply himſelf to the ſervice of *God* in the Clergy, he would, for humiliation, paſs by all Eccleſiaſtical degrees, beginning from the *Oſtiary*: but while he was thinking to begin, being yet a Laick, the multitude took him by force in *Barcelona* on Chriſtmaſs day, carried him before the Biſhop, and cauſed him to be ordained *Prieſt* at the firſt; which would not have been done if it had not been the uſe in thoſe times. Therefore this *Bravus* concluded, that the Synod ought not to paſs beyond thoſe things which are agreed on by the Catholicks, and that it was better to begin with the *Order* of *Prieſthood*, which would make a connexion between this Seſſion and the laſt, which handled the Sacrifices, and to paſs from *Prieſthood* to *Order* in general, not deſcending to any particularity.

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The Congregation being ended, and moſt of the Prelates departed, *Five Churches*, with his *Hungarians*, and ſome *Polonians*, and *Spaniards*, tarried behind; to whom he made a ſpeech, and ſaid, that the Emperour, being freed from all ſuſpicion of War, by the truce concluded with the Turk, took nothing ſo much to the heart as the Reformation of the Church; which would ſurely be effected, if ſome of the Prelates in the Council would aſſiſt. Therefore he exhorted and prayed them, for Gods ſake, and for the charity which every Chriſtian oweth to the Church, that they would not abandon ſo honeſt, juſt, and profitable a cauſe, that every one would put down in writing what he thought might be conſtituted for the ſervice of God, without any reſpect of man, not reforming one part, but the whole body of the

The Biſhop of *Five-Churches* maketh a ſpeech concerning reformation.

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the Church, both in the head and in the members. *Granata* did ſecond him, ſhewing the neceſſity and opportunity thereof, thanking the Biſhop of *Five-Churches* for his admonition, and ſaid, they would conſult amongſt themſelves. For this cauſe the *Spaniards*, being aſſembled together, diſcourſed of the neceſſity of Reformation, and the hope thereof, in regard of the Emperours inclination, from which their King alſo, who was moſt piouſly addicted would not diſſent, and the *French* Prelates, who would ſhortly be there, would undoubtedly promote and aſſiſt the work, in earneſt. They repeated divers abuſes, and ſhewed that the fountain of them all was the Court of *Rome*, which is not only corrupt in it ſelf, but the cauſe of deformation in all Churches; and particularly the uſurpation of the Epiſcopal Authority, by reſervations, which if it were not reſtored, and the Court deprived of that which they have taken from Biſhops, it would be impoſſible the abuſes ſhould be redreſſed. *Granata* conſidered, that, it being neceſſary to lay a good foundation for ſo noble a Fabrick, a way was open for them now that they were to ſpeak of the Sacrament of *Order*, if it be determined that the Authority of Biſhops is inſtituted by *Chriſt*; becauſe it will follow by conſequence, that it cannot be diminiſhed; by which means that will be reſtored to the Biſhops which having been given them by *Chriſt*, hath by the ambition of others, and their own negligence, been uſurped from them. *Braganza* added, that it was ſo much the more neceſſary, becauſe the Epiſcopal Authority was brought to nothing, and the *Order* erected ſuperiour to Biſhops, unknown to the Church in former ages, that is, the Cardinals, who at the firſt, were eſteemed in the number of Prieſts, and Deacons, and, after the tenth age began to exalt themſelves above their degree. Notwithſtanding they were ſtill accounted inferiour to Biſhops until the year 1200. ſince which time they have ſo far advanced themſelves, that they hold Biſhops as ſervants in their houſes, and it will be impoſſible to reform the Church, until both of them be reduced to their due places.

And is ſeconded by the *Spaniards.*

Theſe propoſitions and diſcourſes were heard with applauſe; ſo that they reſolved to elect ſix of them, to put in writing the things neceſſary and fit, as well for Reformation in general, as particularly for this point of the inſtitution of Biſhops, whence they purpoſed to begin, *Granata*, *Jaſper Cornrnte*, Archbiſhop of *Meſſina*, the Biſhop of *Segovia*, and *Martin di Cardova*, Biſhop of *Tortoſa* were named; the laſt of which was cauſe why the project did not proceed. For, having ſecret intelligence with the Papalins, he excuſed himſelf, alledging his own inſufficiency; and the unfitneſs of the time, adding that *Five-Churches* was not moved with piety, and had no other end than to make uſe of them, to conſtrain the Pope, by means of the Reformation, to grant the uſe of the Cup, wherein they had been averſe. And ſeeing they were diſpoſed to hear him, he prevailed ſo much with them that they paſſed no further for the preſent, but interpoſed a delay. Notwithſtanding it was not long deferred. For *Granata*, *Braganza*, *Meſſina*, and *Segovia*, having obtained audience of the Legates, deſired that they might handle the Articles propoſed heretofore by Cardinal *Criſcentius* in this ſame Council, and concluded, though not publiſhed, that is, that the Biſhops are inſtituted by *Chriſt*, and are ſuperiour to *Prieſts jure divino*. The Legates after they had conferred together, anſwered, that the *Lutherans* having affirmed that a Biſhop and Prieſt is the ſame thing, it was fit to declare that a Biſhop is ſuperiour, but that

that it was not neceſſary to ſay *quo jure*, nor by whom a Biſhop is inſtituted, becauſe there is no controverſy of it. *Granata* replyed that there was a controverſy, and that if the Divines did diſpute it, the neceſſity of deciding this point would be known. The Legates would not conſent by any means; and, after ſome few ſharp words on both ſides, the *Spaniards* departed without having obtained any thing; yet reſolved ſtill to perſwade ſome of the Divines to bring this particular into the diſcuſſions, and to make mention of it when they were to give voices in congregation. But the Papalins, underſtanding hereof, did cauſe it to be voiced amongſt the Divines that the Legates did forbid all ſpeech of that queſtion. 1562

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The Legates will not ſuffer the inſtitution of Biſhops to be diſcuſſed.

But to return to the Congregation, when the ſecond rank ſpake, conſiſting of Divines and Canoniſts, *Thomas Paſſius*, a Canon of *Valentia*, ſaid, that all doubt made of the Eccleſiaſtical *Hierarchy*, did proceed from groſs ignorance of antiquity, it being a thing moſt known that in the Church the people hath always been governed by the Clergy, and, in the Clergy, the inferiours by the ſuperiours, until all be reduced unto one univerſal *Rector*, which is the Pope of *Rome*. And having declared the propoſition at large, he added that there was no need to do any thing herein, but to make this truth appear, by removing the contrary errours, which have been brought in by the Schoolmen, who ſometimes, by too much ſubtilty, do make plain things obſcure, oppoſing the Canoniſts, who place the firſt *tonſure*, and the Biſhoprick in the number of *Orders*. Of the latter he ſaid, it ſeemed ſtrange to him, how they could confeſs, that confirmation, ordination, and ſo many other conſecrations do ſo peculiarly belong unto it, that they cannot poſſibly be done by any elſe, and yet deny it to be an *Order*, when as they give that name to the keeping of the door, which may as well be done by a Lay-man. For the firſt *tonſure*, he hath ever heard the Divines ſay, that a Sacrament is an external ſign which ſignifieth a ſpiritual grace, and that the *tonſure* is the ſign, and the thing ſignified is the deputation to the ſervice of God; and therefore he wondred why they would not have it to be a Sacrament, and the rather, becauſe one entreth into the Clergy by it, and doth participate of Eccleſiaſtical exemptions; ſo that, if it were not inſtituted by *Chriſt*, it could not be ſaid, that either Clergyſhip, or the exemption thereof were *de jure Divino*; that it was plain that the *Hierarchy* conſiſteth in the Eccleſiaſtical *Orders*, which is nothing but an holy Order of ſuperiors and inferiors, which can never be well eſtabliſhed without making, as the Canoniſts do, the *Tonſure* the loweſt, and the *Biſhoprick* the higheſt; which being done the *Hierarchy* is all eſtabliſhed, becauſe the firſt and laſt being given, thoſe of the middle will neceſſarily follow, which cannot ſubſiſt without the former.

Of Eccleſiaſtical *Hierarchy.*

Concerning the other part of the Article, they ſaid, it was very plain by the Canons, that in the choice of Biſhops and deputation of Prieſts, and Deacons, the people of all ſorts was preſent, and gave voice or approbation, but this was by the Popes tacite or expreſs conſent; becauſe no Laick can have authority in matters Eccleſiaſtical, but by priviledge from him. And this was granted in thoſe times, becauſe the common people, and Grandees alſo, were devout, and did, by this means, entertain themſelves in ſpiritual things, and ſhewed more obedience and reverence to the Clergy, being more ready to inrich it with oblations and donations, which hath made the holy Church to be in that ſtate in which it now is. But ſince devotion did ceaſe, the Seculars have aimed only

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only at the uſurpation of the Church goods, and to place their adherents in the Clergy. And now the new Hereticks have made a deviliſh invention, ſaying, that was due to the people which was granted by favour, which is one of the moſt peſtiferous hereſies which hath ever been ſet on foot, becauſe it doth deſtroy the Church, without which faith cannot ſtand. He alledged many reaſons and congruities, to ſhew that the ordination ought to be in the power only of the Ordainer, which he confirmed by the Popes *Decretals*, and concluded in the end, that not only the Article was to be condemned as Heretical, but that, the voice and conſent of the people in ordinations being taken away, for juſt and neceſſary reaſons, the Pontifical alſo ought to be corrected, and thoſe places removed which make mention thereof; becauſe, ſo long as they continue there, the Hereticks will make uſe of them, to prove that the aſſiſtance of the people is neceſſary. He ſaid, the places were many; but to recite one, in the ordination of Prieſts, the Biſhop ordaining ſaith, that it hath been conſtituted by the Fathers, not without cauſe, that the people ſhould have voice in the ordination of the Rectors of the Altar, that they may be obedient to him whom they have ordained, in regard of their conſenting to his ordination. If this, and other Rites ſhall remain, the Hereticks will always detract from the Catholick Church, ſaying the ordinations now are but ſhadows and ſhews, as *Luther* did wickedly ſay.

Francis Forrier, a Dominican of *Portugal*, ſaid, the *Hierarchy* of the Catholick Church could not be doubted of, it being proved by the Apoſtolical tradition, by teſtimony of all Antiquity and by the continual uſe of the Church. And howſoever the word be not uſed by all, yet the thing ſignified hath ever been in practice. *Dionyſius Areopagita* hath made a proper treatiſe of it, and the *Nicene* Council hath approved it, and called it an ancient cuſtom: and that which hath been called ancient in the beginning of the fourth age, muſt needs have its original from the time of the Apoſtles. Only he thought it not fit to handle this point jointly with the Sacrament of *Order*, howſoever many of the School-men do handle it in that place, putting the *Hierarchy* in the ſuperiour and inferiour *Orders*; a thing which cannot ſubſiſt, it being certain that the Pope is the higheſt Hierarch, and that the Cardinals do follow, and then the Patriarchs, Primates, Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, Arch-Prieſts, Arch-Deacons, and other inferiour degrees under the Pope, as Head. And to omit the diſputation whether the Biſhoprick be an *Order*, it is certain that the Archbiſhoprick, Patriarchſhip, and Papacy are not *Orders*, and do ſignifie only ſuperiority and juriſdiction over Biſhops. Therefore the *Hierarchy* conſiſteth in juriſdiction, and the Council of *Nice* placeth it in that, when it ſpeaketh of the Biſhop of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*. Therefore the handling of *Hierarchy* muſt not be joined with that of *Order*, for fear of giving way to calumny.

There was much variety in the diſcuſſion of theſe Articles, thoſe of the ſecond rank returning to the former, and ſome diſputing that the degree of a Biſhop was an *Order*, and others, that above Prieſthood, there was nothing but Juriſdiction; ſome alledging Saint *Thomas* and ſome Saint *Bonaventure*, and ſome being of a middle opinion, that is, that it is an eminent dignity, or Office in the *Order*. The famous ſaying of Saint *Hierom*, and the authority of Saint *Auſtin* were alledged, who ſay that the degree of a Biſhop hath been moſt ancient, but yet an Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution. *Michael* of *Medina* did oppoſe, and ſay, that the Catholick Church, as Saint *Epiphanius* ſaith, did condemn *Aërius* of Hereſie, for ſaying that the Degree of a Biſhop is no greater than

that

that of a *Prieſt*: into which Hereſie it is no wonder if *Hierom*, *Auſtin*, and ſome other of the Fathers did fall, becauſe the matter was not clear in all points. This boldneſs, to ſay that *Hierom* and *Auſtin* did ſavour of Hereſie, gave great ſcandal; but he inſiſted the more upon it, and maintained his Poſition. And the Doctors were equally divided into two opinions in this point. 1562 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip* II.

Others placed this *Hierarchy* in *Orders* only, alledging *Dionyſius*, who in naming the Hierarchs, maketh mention of none but of Deacons, Prieſts, and Biſhops. Some followed *Forrier*, that it did conſiſt in *Juriſdiction*. At the laſt a third opinion came forth, that it was a mixture of both, which afterwards was more generally approved. For placing it in *Order*, it did not appear how Archbiſhops, Patriarchs, and, which is of more importance, the Pope himſelf could enter, all being of accord that theſe Degrees are not *Orders* above the Degree of a Biſhop. Yet ſome did alledge the common ſaying to the contrary, that the Epiſc. *Order* is divided into four parts, Biſhops, Archbiſhops, Patriarchs, and the Pope: and placing it in Juriſdiction, none of the holy *Orders* did enter.

There was a great Diſputation amongſt them about the form of the *Hierarchy*; ſome ſaying it was Charity, ſome Faith informed; and others, according to Cardinal *Turrecremata*, Unity. To this laſt was oppoſed that Unity is a generical quality in all that is one, and is an effect of the form which doth produce it. Thoſe who were for Charity brought very many places of the Fathers, which do attribute the Unity of the Church unto it. But others ſaid that it was the Hereſie of *Wiglef*. For, if it were ſo, a Prelate, loſing Charity, would be out of the *Hierarchy*, and loſe Authority. Notwithſtanding they did not avoid the difficulty, by making Faith informed to be the form, becauſe a Prelate might externally counterfeit, and be ſecretly unfaithful, who not being of the *Hierarchy*, the Chriſtian People could not know whom to obey, becauſe they might doubt of all, and ſometimes had cauſe to do it. And as the Divines, eſpecially the Fryars, are free in exemplifications, they alledged the Pope, ſaying, that, in caſe he ſhould be incredulous, the whole *Hierarchy* would periſh by his default, whether one did make Faith or Charity to be the Form. And therefore they ſaid, Baptiſm was. But the ſame difficulties did ariſe in regard of the uncertainty thereof, becauſe the intention of the Miniſter, according to the determination of the Council, is eſſentially required, which is more ſecret than the other two: for which cauſe it cannot be certainly affirmed of any that he is baptized. The form of the *Hierarchy*.

The Articles, whether there be a viſible Prieſthood? or whether all Chriſtians be Prieſts? or whether a Prieſt may become a Layman? or whether his Office be preaching? were not handled with any diſcuſſion, but with declamations againſt the *Lutherans*, who deprive the Church of Commerce with God, and of the means to appeaſe him, making it a confuſion without Government, and bereaving her of all her beauty and comlineſs. Fryar *Adamantius*, of *Florence*, a Divine of this rank, belonging to Cardinal *Madruccio*, ſaid, that the greateſt part of thoſe who had ſpoken, had alledged only probable Reaſons, and Conveniences, which when Articles of Faith are diſcuſſed, do not only not force the Adverſaries, but confirm them more in their opinions; and, for proof hereof he brought a direct place of Saint *Auſtin*. He added that diſcuſſions in Council ſhould differ from Diſputations in Schools. For in thoſe how much the more things are minced, and curiouſly handled, the better it is; but it doth not become

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a Council to examine any thing, but that which may be cleared and made plain. Notwithſtanding many queſtions were diſputed, the knowledge whereof cannot in this life (in which God doth not ſuffer all to be diſcovered) poſſibly be attained. For this Article, it is abundantly ſufficient that the Church hath an *Hierarchy*; that the *Hierarchy* conſiſteth of Prelates and Miniſters, that theſe are ordained by Biſhops, that *Order* is a Sacrament, and that Seculars have no part herein. *Petrus Ramirius*, a *Franciſcan* Fryar, following the Doctrine of *John Scot* ſaid, that *Order* ought not to be called a Sacrament, becauſe it is inviſible and permanent, whereas all the Sacraments are neceſſarily viſible, and (except the *Euchariſt*) conſiſt in action. Therefore to avoid all difficulties, one muſt not ſay that *Order*, but that Ordination is a Sacrament. But he was much oppoſed, becauſe all the Divines, and (which is of no leſs importance) the Council of *Florence* alſo do call *Order* a Sacrament. And it would be a great boldneſs to Tax all the Doctors, a general Council, and the whole Church for ſpeaking improperly.

Of the Holy Ghoſt given in Ordination.

In the third rank, there was no leſs variety of opinions concerning the fifth Article. For howſoever all agreed that the Holy Ghoſt is given and received in Ordination, yet ſome ſaid, he was given in his proper perſon, and others, in the gift of grace only. They diſputed much on both ſides, but thoſe eſpecially who affirmed grace. Another queſtion was, whether Grace of Juſtification be conferred, or only a gift to exerciſe the Office. For the former was alledged, that all the Sacraments give Grace of Juſtification; for the latter, that a man cannot without repentance receive Grace, and yet may receive *Order*. For the *Character*, as they all agreed that it is imprinted in *Prieſthood*, ſo they diſſented in all the reſt. For ſome ſaid it was imprinted in the holy *Orders* only, and others in all the ſeven; both which opinions Saint *Bonaventure* doth think to be probable. Some were better pleaſed with the diſtinction of *Durandus*, that underſtanding, by *Character*, a power to work a Spiritual effect, the *Prieſthood* only hath it, which only can Conſecrate, and remit ſins; and the others have it not, in regard their Actions are Corporal, which a Lay-man, without any the leaſt venial ſin, may do as well as they. But if by *Character* be underſtood a deputation to a ſpecial Office, ſo all the *Orders* have a proper *Character*. Others oppoſed that it was a *Lutheran* opinion, contained in the firſt Article, and ſaid, that therefore it was neceſſary to affirm a proper and indeleble *Character* in all. And ſome ſaid it was in the firſt *Tonſure* alſo, becauſe it was not reiterated in thoſe who are degraded, as would be neceſſary if a *Character* were not imprinted; and becauſe, by it, one is inveſted in the Clergy, and made partaker of Eccleſiaſtical exemptions and immunities. Neither would it be poſſible to maintain that Clerkſhip, and the immunities thereof were *de jure Divino*, but by ſaying, that the firſt *Tonſure* is a Divine inſtitution. Concerning the degree of Biſhops the Controverſie was greater, and the queſtion was revived whether it be one of the *Orders*. For having two proper Actions ſo famous, to confirm, and ordain, a Spiritual power is neceſſary to it, which is a *Character*, without which Ordination and Confirmation would be to no purpoſe. The Auditors were weary with hearing ſo many difficulties, and did willingly give ear to thoſe who ſaid they ought to omit them, and ſpeak only in general terms. But the Fryars grumbled, and were angry to ſee in them a diſpoſition to define Articles, and pronounce *Anathemas*, not underſtanding the points, and abhorring thoſe who would inform them.

Of the Character.

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In the ſixth Article they all condemned the *Lutherans*, for detracting from Unctions, and Ceremonies uſed in conferring *Orders*. Some deſired that thoſe which are neceſſary, and belong to the ſubſtance of the Sacrament (as was done in the Council of *Florence*) might be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, and him declared to be an *Heretick*, who ſhould ſay that *Order* might be given or received without them; and for the others, that he ſhould be condemned in general terms, who did call them pernicious. Hereupon a great contention aroſe which were neceſſary, and which were added for ornament, or devotion. *Melchior Cornelius*, a *Portugal*, ſeemed to ſpeak much to the purpoſe; who ſaid, the Apoſtles did undoubtedly uſe impoſition of hands in Ordination, ſo that none is mentioned in the holy Scripture without that Ceremony; which, in ſucceeding Ages, was thought to be ſo Eſſential, that Ordination was called by that name. Notwithſtanding, *Gregory* the Ninth ſaith, it was a Rite brought in, and many Divines do not hold it to be neceſſary, howſoever others be of the contrary opinion. It appeareth alſo by the Decretal of *Innocentius* the Third in this point, that Unction was not uſed in all Churches. And the famous Canoniſts, *Hoſtienſis*, *Johannes Andreas*, *Abbas*, and others do affirm, that the Pope may ordain a Prieſt with theſe words only, Be thou a Prieſt; and (which is of more importance) *Innocentius*, Father of all the Canoniſts, ſaith; that if the forms had not been invented, it had been ſufficient if the Ordainer had uſed theſe words only, Be thou a Prieſt; or others equivalent, becauſe they were inſtituted by the Church afterwards to be obſerved. For theſe Reaſons *Cornelius* gave counſel not to ſpeak of neceſſary Ceremonies, but only to condemn thoſe who hold them to be ſuperfluous, or pernicious.

What Ceremonies be neceſſary in conferring *Orders*.

Although the Congregations of the Divines did take up almoſt all the time, yet the Prelates did more intend, and diſcourſe amongſt themſelves of Reformation, ſome promoting, and ſome declining it, than of the points of Doctrine diſcuſſed by the Theologues; ſo that the frequent and publick ſpeeches which were heard throughout all *Trent*, cheriſhed by the Ambaſſadors of the Emperour, and *French* King, induced the Legates to think it neceſſary to make ſhew they were not averſe from it; eſpecially becauſe they had promiſed to propoſe it ſo ſoon as the matter of *Order* was diſcuſſed, and underſtood, that a diſcourſe of the Ambaſſador *Lanſac* was received with great applauſe made in an Aſſembly of many Ambaſſadors and Prelates, in which he concluded that if the Reformation, propoſed and demanded by the Emperour, was ſo feared and abhorred, yet, at the leaſt, a way ought to be found out without making new Conſtitutions, to cauſe thoſe things which have been eſtabliſhed in ancient Councils to be obſerved, by removing the impediments which do nouriſh the abuſes. The Legates cauſed the Propoſitions of the Imperialiſts, and all the Inſtances made unto them in matter of Reformation until that day, and their own anſwers to be put together, and an abſtract to be made of the Conſtitutions of the Aſſembly in *France*, and of the demands of the *Spaniſh* Prelates: all which they ſent to the Pope, and told him it was impoſſible to entertain them any more with words, and that it was neceſſary to ſhew the world by ſome effect, that they have a purpoſe to handle this matter, and to give ſatisfaction in ſome ſort to the Ambaſſadors of Princes, eſpecially in that which they deſire for the intereſt of their Countrys; yet with ſuch Circumſpection as that they may not prejudice the Papal Authority, or Prerogatives of the Church of *Rome*.

The Legates are much troubled with the ſpeeches that paſſed concerning Reformation.

And ſend to the Pope.

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The Pope ſeeing the inſtruction of the *French* King, which did import the prolonging of the Council, was much diſpleaſed. For he had conceived hope, that all which did remain to be diſcuſſed, might be defined in the next Seſſion of the 12. of *November*; or if not, yet that the Council would be concluded, ſuſpended or diſſolved in the end of the year, at the lateſt. He therefore anſwered the *French* Ambaſſador reſiding with him (who deſired the points of Doctrine might be deferred until the coming of their Prelates, and the matter of Reformation handled in the mean time) that he was informed that the Cardinal of *Lorrain* meant to tarry until the Surprize of *Burges*, and to attend the King to *Orlience*, ſo that his departure out of *France* would be very late, and perhaps never, and that it was not juſt to entertain ſo many Prelates in *Trent*, upon deſigns ſo remote; that the demands for delay were not made, becauſe the *Frenchmen* deſired to go to the Council, but to put himſelf and the Prelates to more charges, proteſting, that, if his money were conſumed by this means, he ſhould not be able to continue in aſſiſting the King. He made it a greater matter, that their Prelates had been expected eighteen Months, and himſelf led along with divers frivolous excuſes. He complained of his condition, that if the Council uſeth any reſpect towards him, which it doth but ſeldom, the Ambaſſadors, there preſent, ſay it is not free, and yet themſelves to deſire him to ordain a dilation, which is a thing more unjuſt, and more abhorred by the Fathers than any other. His concluſion was, that when he had aſſurance or likelihood of their coming, he would endeavour that they ſhould be expected, ſaying, he had given order to be advertiſed, by an expreſs Currier, of the Cardinals departure, that he might preſently employ himſelf in the buſineſs, and, in the mean while, he thought it not juſt that the Fathers ſhould be idle. He ſaid the matter of Reformation was more fit to be deferred than this of Doctrine which doth not concern him, as being a good Catholick, who will undoubtedly not diſſent from others. But in matter of Reformation it is fit to hear him, becauſe it doth concern him, as being a ſecond Pope, having many Benefices, and a Revenue of three hundred thouſand Crowns of Church Livings, whereas himſelf hath but one Benefice, wherewith he is content; that notwithſtanding he had reformed himſelf, and all parts of the Court, to the hinderance and loſs of many of his Officers, and would do more, but that he ſaw plainly, that by diminiſhing his Revenues, and by weakening the Forces and Sinews of his State, he encourageth the Adverſaries, and expoſeth all Catholicks, who are under his protection, to the injuries of his Enemies. And, for the Countries which are not Subject to him in temporal matters, he ſaid the overthrow of Diſcipline did ariſe from themſelves, and from the Kings and Princes, who, with unfit and importunate requeſts, do force him to make extraordinary Proviſions, and grant unuſual Diſpenſations; that his condition was miſerable, who if he did deny unfit requeſts made unto him, every one complained of the injury; if he granted them, all the inconvenience enſuing was aſcribed unto him, and men began to ſpeak of Reformation, as the Kings Ambaſſadors had done in *Trent*, in ſuch general terms, that it cannot be underſtood what they mean. He ſaid, let them come to particulars, and ſay what they would have reformed in the Kingdom, and they ſhall have ſatisfaction in four days; that the Prelates in *Poiſt*, have made many Conſtitutions, which he will confirm when he ſhall be requeſted: but to ſtand upon Univerſalities only, and to find fault with

with all that is done, without propoſing any thing, ſheweth they bear no good affection. 1562

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The fourth rank of Theologues remained, who were to handle the ſuperiority of Biſhops above *Prieſts*. Thoſe who ſpake firſt followed the Doctrine of Saint *Thomas* and *Bonaventure* who ſay a *Prieſt* hath two powers, one to conſecrate the Body and Blood of *Chriſt*, and the other to remit ſins; in the former whereof a *Prieſt* is equal, in regard a Biſhop hath not greater Authority, than a ſimple *Prieſt*, but inferiour in the latter, becauſe not the power only of *Order*, but of juriſdiction alſo is required. Others added, that it was a more excellent action to give Authority to Conſecrate, than to Conſecrate; and therefore that the Biſhop was Superior in this alſo, who cannot only do it himſelf, but ordain *Prieſts*, and give them Authority. But this being diſputed ſufficiently, they returned to handle the Articles of the *Hierarchy*, as being the ſame with this point of Superiority; and the queſtion being whether it doth conſiſt in *Order*, juriſdiction, or in both, *Antonius* of *Mont-Alcino*, a *Franciſcan*, ſaid, it ought not to be underſtood of an imaginary Superiority, conſiſting in pre-eminence, or perfection of action, but in Superiority of Government, ſo that it may make Laws, give Commands, and judge Cauſes, as well in the Court of Conſcience, as in the external; which Superiority is to be diſcuſſed, becauſe it is denyed by the *Lutherans*. He ſaid there muſt be an Authority in the Church to govern it, the unity whereof could not otherwiſe be preſerved. He proved it by the Example of Bees and Cranes, ſaying, that in every particular Church a ſpecial Authority was neceſſary to govern it, which was in the Biſhops, who have part of the charge, the totality whereof is in the Pope as Head of the Church; which containing Authority to Judge, and to make Proceſſes and Laws, it muſt needs be a power of juriſdiction. Concerning *Order*, he ſaid a Biſhop was of an higher Degree than a *Prieſt*, having all the power of him, and two powers more; yet notwithſtanding cannot be called his Superiour; as a *Sub-deacon* is four degrees higher than a Door-keeper, yet not Superior unto him. He proved this his opinion by the general uſe of the whole Church, and all Chriſtian Nations, and alledged divers Authorities out of the Fathers. Finally, he came to the Holy Scripture, citing many places of the Prophets, to ſhew that this Authority is called the Authority of a *Paſtor*; ſaying, that the Univerſality of it was given to S. *Peter*, when *Chriſt* ſaid, *Feed my Lambs*; and ſome of it imparted by *Peter* to the Biſhops, when he bad them, *Feed the Flock which they have in their cuſtody*. And this opinion had great applauſe.

The ſuperiority of Biſhops above Prieſts.

But before thoſe of this fourth rank made an end of ſpeaking, the *Spaniſh* Prelates reſolving the point ſhould be handled whether Biſhops are inſtituted by *Chriſt*, after they had conſulted together, did conclude that it was better the firſt motion ſhould begin in the Congregations of the Divines, that themſelves might with more ſhew of Reaſon, reſuming the things ſpoken before, diſcourſe upon them, and compel others to do the like. Therefore, in the Congregation of the firſt of *October*, *Michael Orencuſpe*, a Divine of the Biſhop of *Pampelona*, ſaid to the ſeventh, that being to qualifie or condemn a propoſition which hath many ſignifications, it was neceſſary to diſtinguiſh them, and afterwards to examine them one by one: and he thought the Propoſition whether Biſhops be Superior to Prieſts to be ſuch. For one muſt diſtinguiſh whether they be Superiors *de facto*, or *de jure*. That they are Superiors *de facto* it cannot be doubted, becauſe preſent experience,

and

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and the Hiſtories of many Ages do ſhew, that Biſhops have exerciſed Superiority, and *Prieſts* obedience. Therefore this Article being without queſtion, the other, *de jure*, remaineth to be diſcuſſed. Wherein there is another ambiguity alſo, whether *Jure Pontificio*, or *Divino*. In the firſt ſenſe the caſe is clear, that they are Superiors, there being ſo many Decretals which ſay it expreſly: which howſoever it be true and certain, yet the *Lutherans* are not in this regard to be condemned for *Hereticks*, becauſe that cannot be an Article of Faith which is grounded only upon the Law of Man, and deſerve to be condemned for denying the Superiority of Biſhops, only in caſe it be *de jure Divino*. He added that he thought this point very clear, and that he could evidently prove it, and reſolve any thing alledged to the contrary, ſaying he muſt not proceed further, being prohibited to ſpeak of it. And here he ſhewed that the Miniſtry of Confirmation and Ordination is proper to Biſhops. And having ſpoken upon the eighth Article, in conformity of the others, he ended his diſcourſe.

The inſtitution of Biſhops is diſcuſſed.

Johannes Fonſeca, a Divine of the Archbiſhop of *Granata*, followed; who entred bravely upon the matter, ſaying, it neither was nor could be forbidden to ſpeak of it. For the Article being propoſed to be diſcuſſed, whether it be Heretical or no, it is neceſſary to underſtand whether it be againſt faith, againſt which it cannot be, if it do not repugn to the Law of God. He ſaid he knew not whence the report came, that one might not ſpeak of it, becauſe, by the very propoſition of the Article, it was commanded to be diſcuſſed. And here he proceeded to handle, not the Superiority alone, but the inſtitution alſo, affirming that Biſhops are inſtituted by *Chriſt*, and by his Divine Ordination, Superiors to Prieſts. He ſaid, that if the Pope be inſtituted by *Chriſt*, becauſe he hath ſaid to *Peter*, *I will give thee the Keys of the Kingdom*, and, *Feed my Lambs*; Biſhops are likewiſe inſtituted by him, becauſe he hath ſaid to all the Apoſtles, That which you bind on Earth ſhall be bound in Heaven, and whoſe ſins you remit they are remitted; ſaying to them afterwards, Go into the whole world, and preach the Goſpel. And (which is more) he ſaid unto them, As my Father hath ſent me, ſo I ſend you. And if the Pope be Succeſſor of S. *Peter*, the Biſhops are Succeſſors of the Apoſtles; alledging many Authorities out of the Fathers, that the Biſhops are Succeſſors of the Apoſtles. And, in particular, he recited along diſcourſe of S. *Bernard* in this point to *Eugenius* the Pope; and a place of the Acts of the Apoſtles, where S. *Paul* ſaith to the *Epheſians*, that they were *made Biſhops by the Holy Ghoſt to govern the Church of God*. He added, that to be confirmed or created by the Pope, did not conclude that they were not inſtituted by *Chriſt*, or had not Authority from him. For the Pope himſelf is created by the Cardinals, and yet hath his Authority from *Chriſt*: and Prieſts are created by the Biſhop, who doth ordain them, but receive their Authority from God: So the Biſhops receive the Dioceſs from the Pope, and Authority from *Chriſt*. Their Superiority over Prieſts he proved to be *jure Divino*, by Authority of many Fathers, who ſay that Biſhops do ſucceed the Apoſtles, and Prieſts the ſeventy two Diſciples. Concerning other particles of this point, he ſaid the ſame things which others had ſpoken before, Cardinal *Simoneta* was impatient, and turned often to his Colleagues, and was about to interrupt the diſcourſe: but being entred into upon ſo good Reaſon, and heard by the Prelates with ſuch attention, he knew not how to reſolve.

Which vexeth Cardinal *Simoneta*.

After him followed *Antonius Groſſetus*, a *Dominican* Fryar, who, having

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having briefly paſſed over the other Articles, inſiſted upon this. He ſtood much upon the words of S. *Paul* ſpoken to the *Epheſians* in *Miletum*, exhorting them to have a care of the Flock; over which the Holy Ghoſt had made them Overſeers: upon which place he made many obſervations. He ſaid it was firſt neceſſary to declare that Biſhops have not Commiſſion for their Office from men; for ſo they would be hirelings, to whom the Lambs do not belong, becauſe the man, who had committed the care unto them, being ſatisfied, they had no more to think on. But S. *Paul* ſheweth that the Commiſſion to govern the People of God is Divine, given by the Holy Ghoſt, to conclude that they could not be excuſed by any diſpenſation of man. He alledged the famous paſſage of Saint *Cyprian*, that every Biſhop is bound to give an account to *Chriſt* only. Then he added, that the Biſhops of *Epheſus* were not of thoſe who were inſtituted by *Chriſt* our Lord, while he was in the fleſh, but by Saint *Paul*, or ſome other Apoſtle or Diſciple; yet no mention is made of the Ordainer, but all is attributed to the Holy Ghoſt, who hath not given Authority to govern, but divided a part of the Flock, and conſigned it to be fed. And here he made an invective againſt thoſe, who a few days before, ſaid that the Pope doth diſturb the Flock, inculcating that it was not well ſpoken, and that it would bring again into uſe that which Saint *Paul* did deteſt; *I am of Paul, and I am of Apollo.* He ſaid the Pope was the miniſterial Head of the Church, by whom *Chriſt*, the Principal Head doth work, unto whom alſo the work ought to be aſcribed, ſaying, according to Saint *Paul*, that the Holy Ghoſt doth give the Flock to be governed. For the work is never aſcribed to the inſtrument or Miniſter, but to the principal Agent; that this form of ſpeech hath always been uſed by the Ancients, that *God* and *Chriſt* doth provide the Church of Governours; that Saint *Paul* wrote to the *Epheſians*, that *Chriſt*, aſcending to Heaven, hath furniſhed the Church with *Apoſtles*, *Evangeliſts*, *Paſtors*, and *Maſters*, ſhewing plainly that he did provide *Paſtors* after he was aſcended into Heaven, and that the Inſtitution of *Paſtors* and *Maſters*, in which number Biſhops are, ought as much to be aſcribed unto *Chriſt*, as unto the *Apoſtles* and *Evangeliſts* themſelves. The Theologue perceived that he diſpleaſed the Legates, and ſome more beſides; and fearing ſome bad encounter, as had happened upon other occaſions, he added that he had ſpoken without premeditation, being carried along by conſequence of words, and heat of Diſcourſe; not remembring that that point was forbidden to be ſpoken of. And entring again to examine the proper Offices of Biſhops, and contradicting the *Lutherans*, who hold them for Superfluous, ſhewing they have been very ancient in the Church, and come from Apoſtolical Tradition, he concluded. The Legates did perceive that this was the Art of *Granata*, and the other *Spaniards*, to give the Prelates a field to enlarge themſelves in this matter. Therefore they took order that the contrary opinion ſhould be defended by ſome of the four Prelates, who only remained to ſpeak the next day; and the Popes Prelates, uſed to this art, were prepared to contradict the *Spaniſh* Biſhops, if they had begun to ſpeak of this matter in the Congregations.

Antonius Groſſetus executeth himſelf.

The next day, the ſecond of *October*, two Divines went about to prove, that as the Superiority of Biſhops was certain, ſo it was hard to be decided *quo jure*, and in caſe it were, would be of no fruit; and therefore was to be omitted. Two others maintained, that it was *de jure Pontificio*. And Fryar *Simon*, a *Florentine*, and a Divine of *Seripando*, diſcourſed,

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diſcourſed, according to the opinion of *Cajetanus* and *Catharinus*, in this form; that Biſhops are inſtituted by *Chriſt*, to govern the Church; that his Majeſty did create Biſhops, all the *Apoſtles*, when he ſaid I ſend you, as I have been ſent by the Father; that this inſtitution was perſonal, and ended with them; that one of them was conſtituted, to remain perpetually in the Church, which was *Peter*, when he ſaid, not to him alone, but to all his ſucceſſion, *Feed my Lambs*; that Saint *Auſtin* did mean ſo when he ſaid, that *Peter* did repreſent the whole Church, which was never ſpoken of any of the other Apoſtles; that S. *Cyprian* ſaid that S. *Peter* is not only a Type and Figure of the Unity, but that the Unity doth begin from him. In this power, given only to *Peter* and his Succeſſors, the care of governing the Church is contained, and of ordaining other *Rectors* and *Paſtors*, not as Delegates, but as Ordinaries, dividing particular Provinces, Cities, and Churches. Therefore when it is demanded, whether any Biſhop be *de jure divino*, one muſt anſwer affirmatively, One only, the Succeſſor of *Peter*. Beſides, the degree of a Biſhop is *de jure divino*, ſo that the Pope cannot take order that there may be no Biſhops in the Church, but every particular Biſhop is *De jure Pontificio*. Whence it cometh that he may create and tranſlate them, diminiſh or enlarge their Dioceſs, give them more or leſs Authority, ſuſpend them alſo and deprive them; which he cannot do in that which is *de jure divino*. For from a *Prieſt*, he cannot take away Authority to Conſecrate, becauſe he hath it from *Chriſt*, but may take juriſdiction from a Biſhop, becauſe he hath it from himſelf. And thus the famous ſaying of *Cyprian* muſt be expounded; there is but one Biſhoprick, and every Biſhop holdeth a part thereof *in ſolidum*; otherwiſe, it cannot be defended that the Government of the Church, is the moſt perfect of all, that is Monarchical, and muſt neceſſarily fall into an *Oligarchy*, which is the moſt imperfect, and condemned by all thoſe who write of Government. He concluded, that *quo jure* Biſhops are inſtituted, by the ſame they are Superior to Prieſts, and that, when this matter is to be diſcuſſed, the declaration is to be made thus. He alledged Saint *Thomas*, who ſaith, in many places, that every ſpiritual power dependeth on that of the Pope, and that every Biſhop ought to ſay, I have received part of that fulneſs. He ſaid that the old Schoolmen were not to be regarded, becauſe none of them had handled this matter; but the Moderns, having, after that the Hereſie of the *Waldenſes* aroſe, ſtudied the Scripture and the Fathers, have eſtabliſhed this Truth. The laſt Divine laboured to contradict him, in that he ſaid the *Apoſtles* were ordained Biſhops, ſaying, when he ſent them, as himſelf was ſent by the Father, that he ſent them to preach and to baptize, which belongeth not to a Biſhop, but to a *Prieſt*, and that only *Peter* was ordained a Biſhop by *Chriſt*, who after the aſcenſion, ordained the other Apoſtles Biſhops. Concerning the other parts of this Article, and the next, they all agreed to condemn them. And ſo the Congregations of the Theologues were concluded.

After which the Legates, being obliged to propoſe the Reformation, conſidering with themſelves what particulars might be propoſed not prejudicial, and yet might give ſatisfaction, were much troubled. For that which would be grateful to the Ambaſſadors, would damnifie the Court, and diſtaſte the Biſhops; neither could they meddle with any thing that would pleaſe the Biſhops, which would not be prejudicial to *Rome*, or the Princes. Their reſolution was to diſpatch a Currier

Currier to the Pope, and expect an answer, and in the mean time, to draw the business in length, by making the Prelates speak in the matter of *Order*. In particular, they gave his Holiness an account of the contention which they did foresee, concerning the Article of the superiority of Bishops, in regard of the Petition made by the *Spanish* Prelates, and the entrance made by their Divines. And howsoever they knew not their end, yet, observing how earnest their request was, and knowing how the *Spaniards* do usually aim at things far off, they could not chuse but suspect. They put him in mind that this was the time in which they promised to speak of Residence; whereof some motion was made already. For the Archbishop of *Messina* demanded of those of *Cyprus* and *Zara*, what their opinion would be, in case it were proposed, and many practices were discovered, though they were not able to penetrate the ground of them. That they gave order to *Otranto* and *Ventimiglia*, to learn cunningly of what opinion the Prelates would be in case they proposed to refer it to his Holiness; who, having sounded them exactly, found that 60 would be rigidly opposite, of whom there was but small hope that they could possibly be perswaded. For howsoever the Secretary of the Marquess had, at their instance, dealt effectually with the *Spaniards*, yet he brought from them no more than this, that they would not oppose with bitterness, but deliver their opinions quietly, and without clamour. That they knew the *major* part were of the contrary opinion, because they depend on *Rome*; but they ought to disburthen their conscience. That they were assured that this was not contrary to his Holiness, of whose religious and godly disposition they could not doubt, but unto the Bishops only who are about him. They added, that the *Spaniards*, having discovered that there was a purpose to remit the business to his Holiness, said the same was done in the matter of the Chalice, and that it was in vain to hold a Council to handle that which was of no importance, and to refer that which deserveth provision. They advised him of the promise made to the Ambassadors, to propose the Reformation, and of the impossibility to defer it any longer, and being advertised of the coming of *Lorain*, and the *French-men*, and understanding that they were full of conceits, and designs of novity, they concluded that they would undoubtedly joyn with the malecontents of *Trent*. Therefore not knowing, in these ambiguities, what course to take, they told him they had resolved to expect the commandments of his Holiness.

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The Legates demand of the Pope by Letters what they shall do concerning the Reformation.

The Pope being advised, at the same time, from other places of the projects of *Loraine*, and particularly, that he would reform the Election of the Popedom, that the *Ultramontans* might also be partakers of it, it pierced deeply into his mind. Therefore resolving not to expect the blow, but to prevent, he informed all the *Italian* Princes hereof, shewing them what a dishonour it would be to the Nation, if it should succeed; that he spake not for himself, whom it did not concern, but for publick respects, and for the love of his Country. And knowing that a *Spanish* Pope could not be acceptable to the King of *Spain* in regard of the natural propension that Clergy hath, to free themselves from the exactions of the King, and that a *French-man* would have pleased him less because of the enmity between the Nations and that the greatest part of his trusty Friends were in *Italy*, he wrote unto his *Nuncio*, to communicate unto him the design of the *French-men*, to make a Pope of their Nation, that, by his means they may possess *Naples* and *Milan*, to which they pretend right

With whose advertisements and others his Holiness is much troubled.

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And, not to be wanting on his part, that he might remove ſome of the foundations, on which the Cardinal might build, which were the abuſes of the times paſt, lately revived, he made a Bull in this matter; which howſoever it contained only the Proviſions formerly made by divers Popes, which were antiquated, yet it might be ſaid there was no need of more Reformation in that behalf, becauſe the Bull did remedy all the inconveniences which happened, or, at the leaſt, took all ſtrength from them, ſo that it could not be pretended they were in force. And to him that would prognoſticate that it would not be obſerved, as others made before, it might be anſwered, that he who doth evil doth think ill, and that it is the duty of Chriſtian charity to expect good from every one. The Bull was dated the ninth of *October* 1562. Afterwards news came, that many Congregations were held in *Spain*, to make a general Reformation, and to give Commiſſion to the Ambaſſador, who was to go to *Trent*, to make the *Spaniſh* Prelates join, and aim all at one mark. The news that the King would ſend another Ambaſſador did pleaſe neither the Pope nor the Legates. For the Marqueſs of *Peſcara* did much conform himſelf to the Popes will, and the Miniſters he uſed were of *Milan*, much addicted to the perſon of his Holineſs and his Kindred, and to Card. *Simoneta*, who employed them in the Popes ſervice upon all occaſions. But the Count of *Luna*, who was deſigned to be ſent, had remained with the Emperor, and with the King of the *Romans*, and was very dear unto them, and had their projects imprinted in him. And they feared him the more becauſe there was a fame (and it was indeed ſo reſolved, though not effected) that he ſhould bear the name of the Emperors Ambaſſador, to avoid the difference of precedency with *France*, but really ſhould be Ambaſſador of the K. And the Pope did ſuſpect for many cauſes, the conjunction of thoſe Princes; eſpecially in regard of the K. of *Bohemia*, who, in divers things, had ſhewed he was averſe from him. And the nomination of the Count of *Luna* was more diſpleaſing to him, becauſe he could not come before the Diet of *Francfort* was ended, which being likely to laſt until the end of the year, he conjectured the King had a purpoſe to prolong the Council. But having received the laſt advice from the Legates, he was perplexed moſt of all, ſeeing the Prelates, even his own alſo, were conſpired to make it longer, by means of unſeaſonable perſwaſions, howſoever their intereſts did require a quick diſpatch. He cauſed the Letters to be read in Congregation of the Cardinals, and gave order that every one ſhould think of the beſt means rather to oppoſe an infinity of imminent difficulties, than to take away the preſent grievance, in regard the Council the longer it continued the harder it was to be managed. Neither could any order be given from *Rome*, but, becauſe of the great diſtance, it was unſeaſonable before it came to *Trent*; a thing which in continuance of time would produce ſome great inconvenience. He complained that the *Ultramontans* did conſent to prolong it, for their proper intereſts; the Emperour to gratifie the *Dutchmen*, and to make his Son King of the *Romans*; *France*, to make uſe of it, in caſe of compoſition with the *Hugonots*; and *Spain*, to keep the Low-Countries in hope. He repeated all the difficulties which aroſe from the divers intereſts of the Prelates in Council, the aims which were diſcovered in the *Spaniards*, and what was ſuſpected of the deſigns of the *French-men*, whoſe coming was expected.

At this time, the *French* King ſent the Abbot of *Mante*, expreſly, to *Rome*, to give the Pope an account of his reſolution, to accept the Decrees of the Council, and of the Cardinal of *Loraine* his going to *Trent*,

Trent, accompanied with many Biſhops to propoſe the means to reunite Religion in his Kingdom; becauſe both himſelf and his Counſel were of opinion, that none was more ſufficient for that charge, as well for learning as for experience. The Pope did ſeem to be pleaſed with the reſolution, both in ſending the Cardinal, and in accepting the Decrees of the Council. He promiſed the Legates and Fathers ſhould receive the *French* Prelates honourably and courteouſly, expecting their aſſiſtance in matters of Religion, in which they were ſo much intereſted, eſpecially the Cardinal, who is the ſecond Eccleſiaſtical perſon in the world, not much inferiour to a Pope. He ſaid the Biſhops had diſcreetly handled the Points of Reformation, in the Aſſembly of *Poiſi*, offering to cauſe the greater part of them to be confirmed by the Council. He added, that he was forced to haſten the end of the Synod in regard of his great charge, which if it did continue long, he could not be able to continue in aſſiſting the King in his War; ſo that he hoped he would join with him to conclude it. The concluſion of his diſcourſe was, that he had no Authority in Council, but to approve or reject the determinations of it, without which they would be of no force, and that his purpoſe was to go to *Bolonia* when the Council was ended, and to aſſemble all the Fathers there, that he might know them, and thank them, and make the approbation. This *French* Meſſenger gave the Pope alſo the Letters of the Cardinal of *Loraine*, of the ſame Tenour, with an addition of proffers, to preſerve by all means, the Authority of the Holy See. The Pope asked him in particular what the Cardinal meant to propoſe; but receiving only a general anſwer, that is, neceſſary remedies for the Kingdom of *France*, he anſwered, to make the Cardinal bethink himſelf what to do, that all ſhould be maturely adviſed on, every thing being decided in Council by plurality of voices.

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The anſwer made to the Legates.

It was reſolved, in the Congregation of the Cardinals, to anſwer the Legates, that they ſhould labour to conclude the Article of Reſidence, before the coming of the *French-men*, and to refer it to the Pope, without any Decree, if it were poſſible; but if not, yet, at the leaſt, with a Decree. If neither could be obtained, then to make the declaration with rewards and puniſhments, not touching the point, whether it were *de jure Divino*. That the Article of the inſtitution of Biſhops ſeemed difficult, and of great conſequence, and therefore that they ſhould procure that it ſhould be remitted likewiſe; which in caſe they could not do, yet they ſhould inviolably obſerve not to ſuffer a determination to paſs, that it was *de jure Divino*. Concerning Reformation, that his Holineſs was reſolute that none ſhould meddle with the Papacy, and Court, who already had made ſo many Reformations, (which all the world did know) as that every diſorder was redreſſed; and, if any thing remained, was willing to add it; that, for all other matters, they ſhould tell all men plainly that the Pope did remit the Reformation freely to the Council; and of thoſe things which were propoſed by the Imperaliſts, and decreed by the *French-men* in *Poiſi*, they ſhould propoſe in Council what they thought expedient, but not reſolve before they ſent advice again.

The Propoſition, to finiſh the Council, was eſteemed by the Congregation to be of greater moment; not becauſe the neceſſity to do it was not manifeſt, but becauſe they ſaw not the means, in regard ſo many things did remain to be handled, and that the Prelates could not be induced to ſpeak briefly, nor to agree in their diſcourſes; which

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things were neceſſary for a ſudden diſpatch, and, without them, it was impoſſible to conclude, but in a long time. To ſuſpend it without conſent of the Princes, ſeemed dangerous and ſcandalous, in regard of the advice, ſent by the Legates, that the Ambaſſadors *de Ferriers* and *Five Churches* had ſaid, that if the Council were ſuſpended they would not depart from *Trent*, nor ſuffer the Prelates, their Adherents, to go, before they had Commiſſion from their Princes. To have Commiſſion from them did require much time, becauſe they would undoubtedly know one another's mind, before they would anſwer. Therefore they knew not what to reſolve in this matter, but to ſolicite the Legates, to diſpatch the points, which remained to be handled. The coming of *Loraine* did trouble them more, being adviſed, from divers places, that, beſides the buſineſs of the election of the Pope, he meant to propoſe many novilties, about the collation of Biſhopricks, plurality of Benefices, and, which was of no leſs importance, the Communion of the Cup, marriage of Prieſts, and Maſs in the vulgar tongue. And, preſuppoſing he would not begin his journey before he had anſwer from the Abbot of *Mante*, ſent by the King and himſelf, they gave Counſel to Recall the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, and to offer the Legation of that Kingdom to *Lorain*, which they did think might ſtop him, becauſe he ſo much deſired to command that Clergy, that he had formerly plotted to make himſelf Patriarch in *France*; but if he came, that more Prelates ought to be ſent to the Council, and ſome Cardinals alſo, to counterpoiſe him. And the Cardinals of *Bordiſiera*, and *Navagero* were named. But this reſolution was not then taken, becauſe they feared that *Loraine* would diſdain, and take occaſion to do worſe, and becauſe it was not ſo well known whether theſe were able to make ſo great an oppoſition, as alſo becauſe they were willing to know the opinion firſt of thoſe who were in *Trent*, for fear of giving them diſtaſte. They conſidered the charge which would increaſe, which was not fit to be endured, without great utility. Therefore they reſolved to write to the Legates, not to ſuffer any the leaſt diſcourſe concerning the election of the Pope; which if they could not reſiſt, yet they ſhould not give any permiſſion, but rather return to *Rome*, leſt they ſhould prejudice the Colledge of Cardinals, and *Italy*.

The Cardinal of *Loraine* had a deſire to be Patriarch in *France*.

But, in *Trent*, the Deputies for compoſing the *Anathematiſms* and Doctrine, having conſidered the opinions of the Divines, made a draught; and put into it, that Biſhops are Superiors *jure Divino*. For the Archbiſhop of *Zara*, and the Biſhop of *Conimbria*, chief of the Deputies, were of that Opinion. But the Legates did not permit it, ſaying, that nothing ought to be put into it which was not contained in the Articles; notwithſtanding that it ſhould be thought on, if the Fathers did deſire it in the Congregations. The *Spaniards* therefore did immediately reſolve to deſire it; and the Legates, underſtanding ſo much, gave order to their Prelates, who were wont to contradict, that if this matter were propoſed, they ſhould be ſilent, and not diſpute, that they might not give the *Spaniards* occaſion to reply, by which means the Congregations might be drawn in length, and inconveniences ariſe, which happened in the matter of Reſidence, but if the inſtance were proſecuted by *Granata*, or others, the Cardinal *Varmienſe* ſhould interrupt them, anſwering that it was not a point to be handled in Council, becauſe it was not controverſed with the Proteſtants.

The Thirteenth of *October*, 1562. when the firſt Congregation of the Prelates

Prelates was held, the Patriarchs, and ſome Archbiſhops, having approved, in few words, the *Anathematiſms*, as they were compoſed, the Archbiſhop of *Granata*, did ſo likewiſe concerning the ſix firſt Canons; in the ſeventh he deſired it ſhould be ſaid, that Biſhops, inſtituted *jure Divino*, are Superiors to Prieſts; ſaying, that he might with reaſon deſire it, becauſe it was propoſed in this form in the Council, by Cardinal *Creſcentius*, under *Julius* the Third, and approved by the Synod. For witneſſes he brought the Biſhop of *Segovia*, who aſſiſted, as a Prelate, in that Council, and Fryar *Octavianus Preconius*, of *Meſſina*, Archbiſhop of *Palermo*, who being not then a Prelate, was there as a Theologue. He ſaid they muſt needs declare both of theſe two points, that is, that Biſhops are inſtituted *jure Divino*, and are *jure Divino* ſuperior to Prieſts, becauſe it is denyed by the Hereticks: and he confirmed his opinion at large, with many Reaſons, Arguments, and Authorities. He alledged *Dionyſius*, who ſaith, that the *Order* of Deacons is included in that of Prieſts, that of Prieſts in that of Biſhops, and that of Biſhops in that of *Chriſt*, who is Biſhop of Biſhops. He added Pope *Eleutherius*, who, in an Epiſtle to the Biſhops of *France*, wrote, that *Chriſt* had committed the Church Univerſal to them. That *Ambroſe*, upon the Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, ſaith, that the Biſhop holdeth the place of *Chriſt*, and is Vicar of the *Lord*. He added alſo the Epiſtle of *Cyprian* to *Rogatianus*, where he often repeateth that the Deacons are made by the Biſhops, and the Biſhops by *God*: and that famous place of the ſame Saint, that there is but one Biſhoprick, and every Biſhop holdeth a part of it. He ſaid the Pope was a Biſhop, others are, becauſe they are all Brothers, Sons of one Father, which is *God*, and of one Mother, which is the Church. Therefore the Pope doth alſo call them Brethren; ſo that if the Pope be inſtituted by *Chriſt*, ſo are the Biſhops alſo. Neither can it be ſaid, that the Pope calleth them Brethren in civility or humility only, becauſe the Biſhops alſo, in the incorrupt Ages, have called him Brother. There are extant Epiſtles of *Cyprian* to *Fabianus*, *Cornelius*, *Lucius*, and *Stephanus*, Popes, where he giveth them the title of Brothers; and of *Auſtine*, written in his own name, and of the other Biſhops of *Africa*, in which the Popes, *Innocentius*, and *Bonifacius*, are likewiſe called Brothers. But, which is moſt plain, not only in the Epiſtles of thoſe two Saints, but of many others alſo, the Pope is called *Colleague*. And it is againſt the nature of a Colledge to conſiſt of perſons of divers kinds: and if there were ſuch difference, that the Pope ſhould be inſtituted by *Chriſt*, and Biſhops by the Pope, they could not be in one Colledge. In a Colledge there may be an Head; as in this Colledge of Biſhops the Pope is Head, but for edification only, and, as it is ſaid in Latine, *in beneficientem cauſam*. St. *Gregory* ſaith, in his Epiſtle to *Johannes Syracuſanus* that when a Biſhop is in a fault, he is ſubject to the Apoſtolick See, but otherwiſe, all are equal, by reaſon of humility; which Chriſtian humility is never ſeparated from the truth. He alledged S. *Jerome* to *Evagrius*, that whereſoever a Biſhop ſhall be, whether in *Rome*, or in *Augubium*, or in *Conſtantinople*, or in *Rheggio*, all are of the ſame merit, and of the ſame Prieſthood, and all Succeſſors of the Apoſtles. He inveighed againſt thoſe Theologues, who ſaid, that S. *Peter* had ordained the other Apoſtles Biſhops. He admoniſhed them to ſtudy the Scriptures, and to obſerve, that power to teach throughout all the world, to adminiſter the Sacraments, to remit ſins, to bind and looſe, and to govern the Church, is equally given to all: and finally, they are ſent into the World, as the Father hath ſent the Son,

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Son. And therefore as the Apoſtles had Authority, not from *Peter*, but from *Chriſt*, ſo the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles have not power from the Succeſſour of *Peter*, but from *Chriſt* himſelf. He brought to this purpoſe the example of the Tree, in which there are many branches, but one body only. Then he jeſted at thoſe Divines, who had ſaid, that all the Apoſtles were inſtituted by *Chriſt*, and made equal in Authority, but that it was perſonal in them, and ought not to paſs to their Succeſſors, except that of S. *Peter*, asking them, as if they had been preſent, with what ground, authority, or reaſon, they were induced to make ſuch a bold affirmation, invented within theſe fifty years only, expreſly contrary to the Scripture, in which Chriſt ſaid to all the Apoſtles, *I will be with you, until the end of the World*; which words becauſe they cannot be expounded of their particular perſons only, muſt be neceſſarily underſtood of the Succeſſion of all; and ſo they have been underſtood by all the Fathers and Schoolmen, to whom this new opinion is directly contrary. He argued, that, if the Sacraments be inſtituted by Chriſt, by conſequence the Miniſters of them are inſtituted alſo, and he that will ſay that the *Hierarchy* is *de jure Divino*, and the chief *Hierarchy* inſtituted by his Majeſty, muſt ſay that the other *Hierarchs* alſo have the ſame Inſtitution. That it is a perpetual Doctrine of the Catholick Church, that *Orders* are given by the hand of Miniſters, but the power is conferred by *God*. He concluded that all theſe things being true and certain, and denyed by the Hereticks in many places, which the Biſhop of *Segovia* had collected, it was neceſſary they ſhould be declared, and defined by the Synod, and the contrary Hereſies condemned.

Cardinal *Varmienſe* took occaſion hence to interrupt him, ſaying, as they had agreed; that there was no controverſie of this, yea, that the *Confeſſioniſts* did maintain the ſame. Therefore that it was ſuperfluous, and unprofitable to put it in queſtion, and that the Fathers ought not to diſpute of any thing in which the Catholicks and Hereticks do agree. *Granata*, riſing up, replyed, that the *Auguſtan Confeſſion* did not confirm this, but contradicted it, putting no difference between a Biſhop and a Prieſt, but by humane conſtitution, and affirming, that the ſuperiority of Biſhops was firſt by Cuſtom, and afterwards by Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution. And he demanded again, that this definition might be made in the Council, or the reaſons and Authority, alledged by him, anſwered. The Cardinal replyed, that the Heretick did not deny theſe things, but only did multiply injuries, maledictions, and invectives, againſt the preſent uſes. And ſome other replies paſſing between them, *Granata*, full of diſdain and heat, ſaid, he referred himſelf to the Nations.

After this, there being ſome tumult raiſed and appeaſed, they ſpake of the other points, receiving the things as they were propoſed, ſome grounding themſelves upon the ſaying of *Varmienſe*, and ſome holding that the Pope only is inſtituted *jure Divino*, until it came to the Archbiſhop of *Zara*; who ſaid, it was neceſſary to add the words (*de jure Divino*) to condemn that which the Hereticks ſay to the contrary, in the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*. *Varmienſe* ſaid again, that in that *Confeſſion* the Hereticks did not diſſent in this; and *Zara* alledging the place and the words, the contention was ſo long, that the Congregation di end with it.

In the Congregations following, the opinions were divers alſo. In particular, the Archbiſhop of *Braga* demanded the ſame adj m

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saying, it could not be omitted. He proved at large the institution of Bishops *de jure Divino*, bringing Reasons and Arguments, like to those of *Granata*, and said, that the Pope could not take from Bishops the Authority given them in their Consecration, which doth contain in it the power not only of *Order*, but of jurisdiction also, because, in it, the people is assigned to him to be fed and governed, without which the Ordination is not of force; whereof this is a manifest argument, that to titular and portative Bishops a City is allotted, which would not be necessary if the Episcopal Order could subsist without jurisdiction. Besides, in giving the Pastoral, this form is used, that it is a sign of the power which is given him to correct Vices. And, which is of more importance, when the Ring is given him, it is said, that with it he doth marry the Church; and, in giving the Book of the Gospel, by which the Episcopal Character is imprinted, it is said; that he must go to the people committed to him: and in the end of the Consecration, that Prayer is said, *Deus omnium fidelium Pastor & Rector:* which since hath been in the *Missals* appropriated to the Pope, by turning himself to *God*, and saying, that his will is, that the Bishop should govern the Church. Moreover, *Innocentius* the Third said; that the spiritual marriage of the Bishop with the Church is a bond, instituted by *God*, not to be loosed by the power of man, and that the Pope cannot translate a Bishop, but because he hath special Authority to do it; all which things would be very absurd, if the institution of Bishops were *de jure Divino*. The Archbishop of *Cyprus* said, that it ought to be declared that Bishops are superiors to Priests *jure Divino*, but reserving the Authority in the Pope. The Bishop of *Segovia*, adhering wholly to the conclusions and reasons of *Granata* made a long repetition of the places of the Hereticks; where they deny the superiority of Bishops, and their institution to be *de jure Divino*. He said, that as the Pope is Successor of *Peter*, so the Bishops are of the *Apostles:* and that it was plain by the Ecclesiastical History, and by the Epistles of the Fathers, that all Bishops gave an account one to another, of all that happened in their Churches, and received approbation thereof from others. The Pope did the same for the occurrences of *Rome*. He added, that the Patriarchs, when they were created, sent a circular Epistle to the others, to give them an account of their Ordination, and Faith; which was as much performed by the Popes to others as by others to them; that if the power of the Bishops be weakened, that of the Pope is weakened also; that the power of *Order*, and jurisdiction, is given to the Bishops by God, and that the division of Dioceses, and the application of them to the person proceedeth from the Pope. He alledged an authority of *Anacletus*, that Episcopal authority is given in the Ordination, with the unction of the holy Chrism; that the degree of a Bishop is as well an *Order* instituted by *Christ*, as the Priest-hood; that all Popes, until *Silvester*, have either professedly, or incidently said it is an *Order*, which cometh immediately from God; that the words spoken to the Apostles, *Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth*, &c. give power of jurisdiction, which is necessarily conferred upon the Successors; that *Christ* did institute the Apostles with jurisdiction, and since that time the Church hath instituted Bishops in the same sort. Therefore this is an Apostolical tradition, and, if being defined that points of Faith are taken out of the Scripture, and Traditions, it cannot be denyed that this of the Episcopal institution is an Article of Faith; and the rather, because S. *Epiphanius*, and S. *Austin*, do put *Aerius* in the number of Hereticks, for saying that Priests

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are equal to Biſhops, which they would not have done, if Biſhops had not been *De jure Divino.*

Fifty nine Fathers were of this opinion, and perhaps the number had been greater if many had not been ill at eaſe at that time, of a defluxion of Rheum, which then did generally reign, and ſome others had not feigned the ſame impediment, that they might be out of the crowd, and offend none, in a matter, handled with ſuch paſſion; eſpecially thoſe, who, for ſpeaking what they thought in the matter of Reſidence, found they had incurred the diſpleaſure of their Patrons; as alſo if Cardinal *Simoneta*, when he ſaw matters proceed ſo far, had not uſed divers perſwaſions, employing herein *Johannes Antonius Fachinettus*, Biſhop of *Nicaſtro*, and *Sebaſtianus Vantius*, Biſhop of *Orvieto*; who perſwaded, with much cunning, that the enterprize of the *Spaniards* was to ſhake off their obedience to the Pope, and that it would be an apoſtaſie from the Apoſtolick See, to the great ſhame and damage of *Italy*, which hath no other honour above the Nations beyond the Mountains, but that which it receiveth from the Papacy. *Five Churches* ſaid, it was fit that it ſhould be declared *quo jure* all the *Orders* and Degrees of the Church are inſtituted, and from whom they receive Authority. Some others adhered to him, and, in particular, *Pompeius Picholhomini*, Biſhop of *Tropeia*; who, making the ſame inſtance, added, that when all the degrees of the Church were handled, from the greateſt to the leaſt, and declared *quo jure* they were, he would deliver his opinion alſo concerning the degree of Biſhops, if the Legates would give leave. In this number ſome briefly adhered to the opinion of others who had ſpoken in this matter, and ſome amplified the ſame reaſons, and turned them into divers forms, ſo that it would be too long to make a narration of all the Suffrages which are come into my hands.

Simoneta uſeth practices in the point of inſtitution of Biſhops.

That of *George Sincont*, a *Franciſcan* Fryar, Biſhop of *Segna*, doth well deſerve to be repeated, who, adhering to *Granata*, ſaid, that he would never have believed that any could have doubted whether Biſhops are inſtituted, and have Authority from Chriſt. For if they have it not from his Divine Majeſty, neither can the Council have any from him, which conſiſteth of BB. that it is neceſſary that a Congregation, though very populous, have their Authority from whom the particular perſons have it, that if Biſhops are not inſtituted by *Chriſt*, but by men, the Authority of them altogether is humane, and he who heareth it ſpoken, that Biſhops are not inſtituted by *Chriſt*, muſt needs think that this Synod is a Congregation of profane men, in which *Chriſt* doth not preſide, but a power received precarily from men, and ſo many Fathers would in vain reſide in *Trent*, to their great charge and trouble, becauſe he who hath given the power to Biſhops, and the Council, may, with more Authority, handle the ſame things; and it would be a great illuſion generally of all Chriſtendom to propoſe it, not only as the beſt, but as the only and neceſſary means, to decide the preſent Controverſies. He added, that he had been five Months in *Trent*, with this perſwaſion, that never any would have doubted whether the Council hath Authority from God, and whether it may ſay as the firſt Council of *Jeruſalam* did, *It ſeemed to the Holy Ghoſt and to Us*; that he would never have come to the Council, if he had believed that *Chriſt* had not been in the midſt of it. Neither can any one ſay that, where *Chriſt* aſſiſteth, the Authority cometh not from him; that if any Biſhop ſhould believe and think his Authority to be Humane, it had been great boldneſs in him to denounce, in the former difficulties,

difficulties, *Anathematiſmes*, and not rather refer all to him who hath greater authority. And if the authority of the Council be not certain, it was fit in the year 1545. when this was firſt aſſembled, that this matter ſhould have been ſifted, and decided what the authority of Councils is, as is uſually done in places of juſtice, where, in the beginning of the cauſe, it is diſputed, and decreed whether the Judge be competent, leſt in the end, there be a nullity in the ſentence, for want of authority. The Proteſtants, who do take all occaſions to detract from, and wrong this holy Synod, cannot have any more fit, than that it is not certain of its own Authority. He concluded, that the Fathers ſhould take heed what they did reſolve, in a point, which being reſolved truly, doth eſtabliſh all the actions of the Council, and if otherwiſe, overthroweth all.

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The nineteenth of *October*, all the Fathers made an end of ſpeaking in this matter, except Father *Laynez*, General of the Jeſuites; who, being to ſpeak laſt, did purpoſely abſent himſelf that day, that he might have a whole Congregation for himſelf alone. And to make the cauſe hereof underſtood, we muſt return a little back, and remember, that when the queſtion was ſet on foot in the beginning, the Legates thought that the aim was only to make great the Authority of Biſhops, and to give them more reputation. But before the ſecond Congregation was ended, they perceived, very late, by the voices given, and reaſons uſed, of what importance and conſequence it was. For it did infer, that the Keys were not given to *Peter* only; that the Council was above the Pope, and the Biſhops equal unto him, who had nothing left but a preeminence above others. They ſaw that the dignity of Cardinals, ſuperiour to Biſhops, was quite taken away, and that they remained meer Prieſts, or Deacons; that, by that determination, reſidence was inferred by a neceſſary conſequence, and the Court brought to nothing; that the preventions and reſervations were removed, and the collation of Benefices was drawn to the Biſhops. It was noted that the Biſhop of *Segovia* had a few days before, refuſed to admit one to a Benefice in his Dioceſs, to whom it was given in *Rome*. And theſe things did ſtill appear more plainly, as new ſuffrages were daily given, and new reaſons alledged. For theſe cauſes the Legates did uſe the ſollicitations aforeſaid, for fear that more *Italians* might joyn with the *Spaniards*. Yet they were not able to prevail, ſo much, but that almoſt the half were of that opinion. And the other Papalins reprehended the Legates, becauſe they foreſaw not what might happen, but ſuffered ſuch great prejudices to come upon them, ſaying, they proceeded by chance, and admitted not counſels and advertiſements of wiſe men; that, ſo ſoon as *Granata* delivered his ſuffrage, they were put in mind to uſe effectual ſollicitations, which afterwards they were forced to uſe, when it was too late; that by their want of care (if not malice in ſome) matters have been handled of the greateſt importance that can poſſibly happen in Council. They added, that the Ambaſſador *Lanſac* had, by many ſollicitations, uſed to divers of the Prelates, diſcovered himſelf to be not only a favourer, but a promoter of that opinion; and conſidered what an addition would be made unto it, when the *French-men* came who were expected. And they ſpake ſo openly, that ſome words came to the ears of the Legates themſelves; who, ſeeing now the danger not foreſeen, thought (in regard the matter had proceeded ſo far; and ſo many had put themſelves on that ſide) that it was not fit to think of diverting the queſtion, but of finding a temper, to give the *Spaniards* ſome ſatisfaction. And, after long conſul-

Laynez ſpendeth a whole congregation himſelf.

The importance of this point of the inſtitution.

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tation, they determined to compoſe the Canon with theſe words; That Biſhops have the power of *Order* from *God*, and, in that, are ſuperiour to Prieſts; not naming juriſdiction, for fear of making them ſuſpect. For, by ſuch a form of words, it might be inferred, that the juriſdiction remained wholly in the Pope, without ſaying it.

They ſent Father *Soto*, to treat with the *Spaniſh* Prelates, concerning this form, not ſo much with hope to remove any of them, as to penetrate to what they might be brought. *Granata* gave him audience, but no anſwer. He laboured with others alſo, and gained the reputation of a good Courtier of *Rome*, inſtead of the other of a good Fryer, as he was before. And, to win ſome that wavered, and ſome who unadviſedly fell into that opinion, being otherwiſe devoted to the Pope, they reſolved to uſe ſolicitations unto them, that, underſtanding the difficulty, they might be content to refer it to his Holineſs, or, at the leaſt, to ſpeak more ſparingly. To perform this, with the two aforenamed, they joyned the Archbiſhop of *Roſano*, and the Biſhop of *Ventimiglia*. And, that thoſe who would acknowledge their error might have colour to retire, they gave order that *Laynez* ſhould make an exactful Lecture on this matter; and, that it might be heard attentively, and make an impreſſion, they would not have him, as hath been ſaid, ſpeak after the others, in the end of the Congregation, but allowed him one wholly for himſelf. The four Jeſuites conſulted together concerning the opinion, and *Caveglione* laboured more than the reſt. And, not to omit any good means of diverſion, they buſied the Prelates in another matter. For, to return to the occurrences of that Congregation, after that the General of the *Servi* (who was the laſt) had given his voice in conformity of the *Spaniards*, the Cardinal of *Mantua* admoniſhed the Fathers deputed for the *Index*, and ſhewed how important a buſineſs they had in hand, in regard all ſubverſions do ariſe, and all hereſies are ſpread, by means of Books; he exhorted them to be diligent, and to let the Synod ſee the end of the work quickly, he ſaid he knew it required much pains and time, but conſidered withal that all the Fathers would contribute their labours to the aſſiſtance of the duputies, ſaying, that the Congregations were ſpent in handling queſtions of no profit, and a work ſo neceſſary deferred. He exhorted in the end, that this particular of the *Index* might be concluded in the next Seſſion.

The diſcourſe of *Laynez*.

The morning being come, *Laynez* ſpake more than two hours, very fitly, with great vehemence, and Maſter-like. The argument of his diſcourſe had two parts; the firſt he ſpent in proving, that the power of juriſdiction was given wholly to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and that none in the Church beſides hath any ſpark of it, but from him; and the ſecond, in reſolving all the contrary arguments uſed in the former Congregations. The ſubſtance was, that there is great difference, yea, contrariety between the Church of *Chriſt* and civil ſocieties. For theſe have firſt their being, and then they frame their government; and therefore are free, and all juriſdiction is originally in them, which they do communicate to Magiſtrates, without depriving themſelves of it. But the Church did not make it ſelf, nor its government, but *Chriſt*, who is Prince and Monarch, did firſt conſtitute Laws, by which it ſhould be governed, and then did aſſemble it, and, as the Scripture ſaith, did build it; ſo that it was born a ſervant without any kind of liberty, power, or juriſdiction, and abſolutely ſubject. For proof hereof, he alledged places of the Scripture, in which the Congregation of the Church is compared to a ſowing, to the draught of a net, and to a building; and

and where it is ſaid that *Chriſt* came into the world to aſſemble his faithful people, to gather together his ſheep, to inſtruct them, by Doctrine and example. Then he added that the firſt and principal ground, upon which *Chriſt* built the Church, was *Peter* and his ſucceſſion, according to the words which he ſpake to him; Thou art *Peter*, and upon this Rock I will build my Church. Which Rock howſoever ſome of the Fathers have underſtood to be *Chriſt* himſelf, and others the faith of *Peter*, or the confeſſion of his faith, yet the more Catholick expoſition is, that *Peter* himſelf is underſtood, who, in the *Hebrew* and *Syriack*, is called a ſtone. And, continuing his diſcourſe, he ſaid, that while *Chriſt* lived in the mortal fleſh, he governed the Church with an abſolute Monarchical government, and, being to depart out of this world, left the ſame form, appointing for his *Vicar* Saint *Peter* and his Succeſſors, to adminiſter it as he had done, giving him full and total power and juriſdiction, and ſubjecting the Church to him, as it was to himſelf. This he proved of *Peter*, becauſe the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were given to him only, and, by conſequence, power to bring in, and ſhut out, which is juriſdiction. And to him alone it was ſaid; *Feed*, that is, *govern my Sheep*, *animals*, which have no part or judgment in governing themſelves. Theſe things, that is, to be a Key-keeper, and a *Paſtour*, being perpetual Offices, muſt be conferred upon a perpetual perſon, that is, not upon the firſt only, but upon all his ſucceſſion. So the Biſhop of *Rome*, from *S. Peter* to the end of the world, is true and abſolute Monarch, with full and total power and juriſdiction, and the Church is ſubject unto him, as it was to *Chriſt*. And as when his Divine Majeſty did govern it, it could not be ſaid, that any of the faithful had any the leaſt power or juriſdiction, but meer, pure, and total ſubjection; ſo it muſt be ſaid, in all perpetuity of time, and ſo underſtood, that the Church is a Sheepfold, and a Kingdom; and that which Saint *Cyprian* ſaith, that there is but one Biſhoprick, and a part of it held by every Biſhop, is to be expounded, that the whole power is placed in one *Paſtor*, without diviſion, who doth impart and communicate it to his fellow Miniſters, as cauſe doth require. And in this ſenſe Saint *Cyprian* maketh the Apoſtolick See like unto a root, an head, a fountain, and the Sun; ſhewing, by theſe compariſons, that juriſdiction is eſſential in that alone, and in others by derivation or participation. And this is the meaning of the words, ſo much uſed by antiquity, that *Peter* and the Pope have fulneſs of power, and the others are of their charge. And that he is the only Paſtor, is plainly proved by the words of *Chriſt*, when he ſaid, he hath other Sheep which he will gather together, and ſo one Sheepfold ſhould be made, and one Shepheard. The Shepheard, meant in that place, cannot be *Chriſt*, becauſe he would not ſpeak in the future, that there ſhall be one Shepheard, himſelf then being a Shepheard, and therefore it muſt be underſtood of another Shepheard, which was to be conſtituted after him, which can be no other but *Peter*, and his Succeſſors. And here he noted that the precept, *Feed the flock*, is found but twice in the Scripture: once given by *Chriſt* to *Peter* only, *Feed my ſheep*: again by *Peter* to others, *Feed the flock allotted to you*. And if the Biſhops had received any juriſdiction from *Chriſt*, it would be equal in all, and no difference between Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops; neither could the Pope meddle with that Authority, to diminiſh or take it all away, as he cannot do in the power of *Order*, which is from *God*. Therefore he adviſed them to beware,

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left, by making the inſtitution of Biſhops, *de jure Divino*, they do not take away the *Hierarchy*, and bring in an *Oligarchy* or rather an *Anarchy*. He added alſo, that, to the end *Peter* might govern the Church well, ſo that the gates of Hell might not prevail againſt it, *Chriſt*, being near unto his death, prayed effectually that his faith might not fail, and gave him order to confirm the brethren, that is, he gave him a priviledge of Infallibility in judgment of faith, manners and Religion, binding all the Church to hear him, and to ſtand firmly in that which ſhould be determined by him. He concluded, that this was the ground of Chriſtian Doctrine, and the Rock upon which the Church was built. Then he cenſured thoſe who held there is any power in Biſhops received from *Chriſt*, becauſe it would take away the priviledge of the *Roman* Church, that the Pope is the Head of the Church and Vicar of *Chriſt*. And it is very well known what is conſtituted by the old Canon, *Omnes ſive Patriarchæ, &c.* that is, that he who taketh away the rights of other Churches committeth injuſtice, and he that taketh away the priviledges of the Church of *Rome* is an Heretick. He ſaid it was a meer contradiction to ſay the Pope is Head of the Church and the government Monarchical, and then ſay that there is a power or juriſdiction not derived from him, but received from others.

In reſolving the contrary arguments, he diſcourſed that, according to the order inſtituted by *Chriſt*, the Apoſtles were ordained Biſhops, not by *Chriſt*, but by Saint *Peter*, receiving juriſdiction from him only; and many Catholick Doctors do hold that this was obſerved: which opinion is very probable. But the others who ſay the Apoſtles were ordained Biſhops by *Chriſt*, do add, that his Divine Majeſty in ſo doing, did prevent the Office of *Peter*, by doing, for that one time, that which belonged to him, giving to the Apoſtles that power which they ought to receive from *Peter*, even as God took ſome of the ſpirit of *Moſes*, and divided it amongſt the ſeventy Judges. So that it is as much as if they had been ordained by, and received Authority from *Peter*; who therefore did remain ſubject unto him, in reſpect of the places where, and the manner how to exerciſe the ſame. And howſoever it is not read that *Peter* did correct them, yet this was not for want of power, but becauſe they did exerciſe their charge aright. And he that ſhall read the renowned and famous Canon, *Ita Dominus*, will aſſure himſelf, that every good Catholick ought to defend, that the Biſhops, ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles do receive all from *Peter*. He obſerved alſo, that the Biſhops are not ſucceſſors of the Apoſtles, but only becauſe they are in their places, as one Biſhop ſucceedeth another, not becauſe they have been ordained by them. To thoſe who inferred, that therefore the Pope might refuſe to make Biſhops, and ſo himſelf remain the only man, he anſwered, it was Gods ordination there ſhould be many Biſhops in the Church, to aſſiſt him, and therefore that he was bound to preſerve them: but there is a great difference, to ſay a thing is *de jure Divino*, or that it is ordained by God. Thoſe *de jure Divino* are perpetual, and depend on God alone, both in general, and in particular at all times. So Baptiſm, and all the Sacraments are *de jure Divino*, in every one of which *God* hath his particular work, and ſo the Pope is from *God*. For when one Pope doth die, the Keys do not remain to the Church, becauſe they are not given to it, but a new Pope being created, *God* doth immediatly give them unto him. Now it is not ſo in things of Divine Ordination, in which the general only proceedeth from *God* and the particulars are executed by men. So

Saint

Saint *Paul* ſaith, that *Princes and temporal Powers are ordained by God*, that is, that the general precept, that there ſhould be Princes, cometh only from him, but yet the particulars are made by the civil Laws. After the ſame manner, Biſhops are by Divine ordination, and Saint *Paul* ſaith they are placed by the Holy Ghoſt, to govern the Church, but not *de jure Divino*. Therefore the Pope cannot take away the general order of making Biſhops in the Church becauſe it is from God, but every particular Biſhop, being *de jure Canonico*, may be removed by the Popes Authority. To the oppoſition that then the Biſhops would be *Delegati*, and not *Ordinarii*, he anſwered that there was one juriſdiction fundamental, and another derived; and the derived is either delegate, or ordinary. In civil Common-wealths the fundamental is in the Prince, and the derived in all the Magiſtrates: neither are the Ordinaries different from the Delegates, becauſe they receive Authority from divers perſons, yea, all do equally derive from the Soveraignty, but the difference ſtandeth, becauſe the Ordinaries are by a perpetual Law, and ſucceſſion, and the others have a particular Authority, either in regard of the perſon, or the caſe. Therefore the Biſhops are Ordinaries, becauſe they are made by the Popes Law a dignity of perpetual ſucceſſion in the Church. He added, that thoſe places where Authority ſeemeth to be given to the Church by *Chriſt* (as theſe, that *it is a pillar and foundation of truth, that he who will not hear it, ſhall be eſteemed an Heathen and a Publican*) are all underſtood in regard of its Head, which is the Pope, and therefore the Church cannot err, becauſe he cannot, and ſo he that is ſeparated from him who is Head of the Church, is ſeparated alſo from the Church. To thoſe who ſaid the Council could not have Authority, if none of the Biſhops had it, he anſwered, that this was not inconvenient, but a very plain and neceſſary conſequence, yea if every particular Biſhop in Council may err, it cannot be denied that they may err all together; and if the Authority of the Council proceeded from the Authority of Biſhops, it could never be called general, becauſe the number of the aſſiſtants is alway's incomparably leſs than that of the abſent. He told them, that in this Council, under *Paul* the third, principal Articles were defined, concerning the Canonical Books, interpretations, parity of Traditions with the Scriptures, by a number of five, or a leſs; all which would fall to the ground if the multitude gave Authority. But as a number of Prelates, aſſembled by the Pope to make a general Council, be it how ſmall ſoever, hath the name and efficacy to be general from the Pope only, ſo alſo it hath its Authority; ſo that if it doth make Precepts or *Anathematiſmes*, neither of them are of force but by virtue of the Popes future confirmation. And when the Synod ſaith, that it is aſſembled in the Holy Ghoſt, it meaneth that the Fathers are congregated, according to the Popes intimation, to handle that, which, being approved by him, will be decreed by the Holy Ghoſt. Otherwiſe how could it be ſaid that a Decree was made by the Holy Ghoſt, and could be made to be of no force by the Popes Authority, or had need of greater confirmation. And therefore in the Councils, be they never ſo frequent, if the Pope be preſent, he only doth decree, neither doth the Council any thing but approve, that is, receive the Decrees; and therefore it hath always been ſaid, *Sacro approbante concilio*, yea, even in reſolutions of the greateſt weight (as was the diſpoſition of the Emperour *Fredric* the ſecond, in the general Council of *Lyons*) *Innocentius* the fourth, a moſt wiſe Pope, refuſed

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Ferdinand.
Elizabet.
Charles IX.
Philip II.

He proveth that the Pope is above the Council.

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refuſed the approbation of the Synod, that none might think it to be neceſſary, and thought it ſufficient to ſay, *Sacro præſente concilio.* And for all this the Council cannot be ſaid to be ſuperfluous, becauſe it is aſſembled for better inquiſition, for more eaſy perſwaſion, and to give ſatisfaction to men. And when it giveth ſentence, it doth it by virtue of the Popes Authority, derived from God. And for theſe reaſons, the good Doctors have ſubjected the Councils Authority to the Popes, as wholly depending on it, without which it hath not the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt, nor infallibility, nor power to binde the Church, but as it is granted by him alone, to whom *Chriſt* hath ſaid, *Feed my ſheep.*

The cenſure of this diſcourſe.

There was not any diſcourſe in this Council more praiſed and diſpraiſed according to the affections of the hearers. The Papalins ſaid it was moſt learned, reſolute, and ſubſtantial, others did condemn it of flattery, and ſome of Hereſy: and many made it known they were offended by his ſharp cenſure, and that they purpoſed in the Congregations following, to confute him upon all occaſions, and to note him of ignorance, and temerity. The Biſhop of *Paris*, who was ſick at home when he ſhould have given his voice, told every one that, when a Congregation was held, he would deliver his opinion againſt that Doctrine, without reſpect, which not being heard in former ages, was, within theſe fifty years, invented by *Cajetan*, to gain a Cap; that in thoſe times it was cenſured by the *Sorbone*; that, in ſtead of a Celeſtial Kingdom (for ſo the Church is called) it maketh it not a Kingdom, but a temporal tyranny; that it taketh from the Church the title of the *Spouſe* of *Chriſt*, and maketh it a ſervant, proſtituted to a man. He will have but one Biſhop inſtituted by *Chriſt*, and the others not to have any Authority but dependant from him, which is as much as to ſay, that there is but one Biſhop, and the others are his Vicars, to be removed at his pleaſure. He ſaid, this ſhould excite all the Council, to think how the Epiſcopal Authority, ſo much debaſed, might be kept alive, and that it may not come to nothing; becauſe every new Congregation of Regulars which doth ariſe, doth give it a great ſhake. The Biſhops have held their Authority intire until the year 1050. when it received a great blow by the *Cluniacenſian* and *Ciſtercienſian* Congregations, and others which aroſe in that age, becauſe many functions, proper and eſſential to Biſhops, were, by their means, reduced to *Rome.* But when the *Mendicants* began after the year one thouſand two hundred, almoſt all the exerciſe of Epiſcopal Authority was quite taken away, and given to them, by priviledge. Now this new Congregation, born but the other day, which is neither ſecular nor regular (as the Univerſity of *Paris* did well obſerve eight years ſince, knowing it was dangerous for matter of faith, a perturber of the Churches peace, and fit to deſtroy Monaſtical life) to go beyond their predeceſſours, doth labour to take away all juriſdiction of Biſhops, by ſaying it is not given them by *God*, and that they ought to acknowledge that they have received it precarily from men. The Biſhop having repeated theſe things to divers men, moved many to think of the matter, who before did not regard it. But thoſe that were ſeen in Hiſtories did ſpeak more of that obſervation, *Sacro præſente Concilio:* which being in all the Canonical Texts, ſeemed new unto them all, becauſe they had not marked it. And ſome approved the Jeſuites interpretation, and ſome, on the contrary, ſaid that the Council had refuſed to approve that ſentence. Some proceeding another way, ſaid, that the queſtion being

of

of a temporal matter, and worldly contentions, the buſineſs might paſs either one way or other; but that no conſequence could be drawn from hence, that the ſame might be done in matter of faith, or Eccleſiaſtical Rites, eſpecially it being obſerved, that, in the Council of the Apoſtles, which ought to be a rule and pattern, the Decree was not made by *Peter*, in preſence of the Council, nor by him with approbation, but the Epiſtle was intitled with the names of the three degrees, aſſiſting in that Congregation, Apoſtles, Elders, and Brothers, and *Peter* was included in the firſt, without prerogative. An example, which in regard of antiquity, and Divine Authority, is of more credit than all thoſe of the times following, yea than all together. And, for that day, in reſpect of theſe other points, the diſcourſe of the Jeſuit gave matter of talk throughout all *Trent*, and nothing elſe was ſpoken of. 1562 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX *Philip* II.

The Legates were not pleaſed that this remedy, applied for a medicine, did work a contrary effect, perceiving that, in the Congregations, the voices would be longer in giving; neither did they know how to hinder it. For that Father having ſpoken more than two hours, it did not appear how he that would contradict him could be interrupted, eſpecially it being in his own defence. And underſtanding that *Laynez* enlarged his diſcourſe, with purpoſe to publiſh it, they forbad him to impart it to any, that others might not take occaſion to write againſt it, obſerving what miſchief ſucceeded, becauſe *Catharinus* publiſhed his opinion concerning Reſidence, whence all the evil did ſpring, which ſtill continueth ſtronger than ever. But he could not forbear to give copies to ſome, as well to honour himſelf, and oblige the Papalins to his ſociety, then riſing, as alſo to moderate in writing ſome particulars, delivered with too much petulancy. Many did make preparation to write againſt him; and this motion continued until the *French men* came, who cauſed this difference to be forgotten, by bringing in others more conſiderable, and important. Yet the Papalins continued their counſels againſt the *Spaniards*, and their practices with the Prelates, whom they thought they might win. And a *Spaniſh* Doctor, called *Zanel*, did fitly offer himſelf to the Legates, and propoſed means to put the Prelates of that Nation upon their defence, and give them ſomething elſe to think on. And he propoſed to them thirteen points of reformation which did touch them at the quick. But they could not hence gather the fruit they expected, becauſe thoſe reformations required others alſo belonging to the Court, which made them deſiſt, leſt, according to the proverb, by taking one eye from their adverſaries, they might loſe both their own. The practices were ſo manifeſt, that, in a banquet of many Prelates in the houſe of the *French* Ambaſſadors, diſcourſing of the Cuſtom of ancient Councils, not obſerved in this, that the Preſidents of the Synod, and the Ambaſſadors of Princes delivered their voices, *Lanſac* ſaid aloud, that the Legates gave auricular voices; and was well underſtood by all that he meant their practices. The coming of the *French* did hinder the anſwering of it. The Legates have auricular voices.

When theſe Congregations were held, *Five Churches* preſented the Emperours Letters to the Legates; who wrote unto them, that, having ſatisfied themſelves in publiſhing the Canons of the ſacrifice of the *Maſs*, they would forbear to proceed in the Sacraments of *Order* and *Matrimony*, and handle the matter of Reformation in the mean while, referring to their wiſdom to handle what part pleaſed them beſt, of thoſe things which were propoſed to them, in his name. *Five* The Emperour deſireth that the Doctrine may be deferred, and only the reformation handled.

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Churches ſpake in conformity of the Letter, and made the ſame requeſt, that, the matter of *Order* being ſo far proceeded in, they would, at the leaſt, forbear to handle that of *Marriage*, that, in the mean ſpace, the Emperour might induce the *Germans* in the Diet to go and ſubmit themſelves to the Council. For ſo long as the *Dutch* and *French-men* continue in their reſolution, not to go to it, nor acknowledge it, the Fathers do in vain abide there, to their great coſt and incommodity; and when his Majeſty ſhall ſee they cannot be perſwaded, he will procure a ſuſpenſion of the Council, thinking it will be a greater ſervice to God, and benefit to the Church, to leave matters undecided, and in the ſtate they are, expecting a more fit time for the converſion of thoſe who are ſeparated, than by precipitating, (as hath been done until that time) the deciſion of controverſies, in abſence of thoſe who have put them in diſputation, to make the Proteſtants irreconcileable, without any benefit of the Catholicks; ſaying, that, in the mean while, they might treat of the Reformation, that the Eccleſiaſtical goods may be diſtributed to perſons of deſert, and all have part of them, and the revenues may be well diſpenſed, and the part belonging to the poor not uſurped by any; and ſuch other things. In the end, he demanded of them, whether, the Count of *Luna* coming with the title of the Emperours Ambaſſador, the difference between *Spain* and *France* for precedence will ceaſe. The Legates anſwered to this laſt, that they did not ſee what pretence the *French-men* could have to contend; and, for the reſt, they ſaid they could not forbear to handle the points of Doctrine, but that, with them, they would handle the Reformation effectually according to the order ſet down by the Synod. They commended the Emperours intention to deſire the Proteſtants to ſubmit, but added, that, for this hope, the Council ought not to be prolonged. For the Emperour *Charles*, in the Papacy of *Julius* the 3. made means for the ſame, and obtained it alſo; but the *Dutch-men* proceeded with diſſimulation, to the damage of the Church, and of the Emperour himſelf. Therefore it was not fit the Council ſhould change its pace, before the Emperour was aſſured of the intentions of the Princes and people, as well Catholick as Proteſtant, and what kind of obedience they will yield to the Decrees made already, and to be made in this Council and in the former, requiring the obſervation of the Synod with authentical *Mandats* of the Provinces and Princes, and obligation from them for the execution of the Decrees, that their coſt and labour may not be in vain, and laughed at. And in conformity hereof they anſwered the Emperour.

The Ambaſſador of *Polonia* is received.

A Congregation was held the 25. of *October*, to receive *Valentinus Erbutus*, Biſhop of *Premiſa*, Ambaſſador of *Polonia*, who made a ſhort ſpeech concerning the Kings devotion, the tumults of the Kingdom about Religion, the neceſſity of a good Reformation, the uſing of ſome remiſſion in yielding to the deſires of the people, in matters which are *de jure poſitivo*. The *Speaker* anſwered in the Synods name, thanking the King and the Ambaſſador, and offering to give aſſiſtance in all the occaſions of that Kingdom. The Legates did not permit that any thing elſe ſhould be handled in that Congregation, for the cauſe which ſhall be related.

The coming of the *French* Prelates doth much trouble the Pope and Court.

The Court in *Rome*, and the Popes Miniſters in *Trent*, were no leſs troubled with the *Spaniards*, and their adherents in Council, than with the expectation of the coming of *Lorain*, and of the *French-men*; with which they were not ſo much moved, ſo long as there was hope

that

that ſome rub might ſtop them, as after that certain news came that they would keep the day of *All-Saints* with the Duke of *Savoy*. The Cardinal, either vainly or of purpoſe, made it known at the *French* Court, before he parted, and in many places in the journey, that he would handle divers things in diminution of the Popes. Authority and commodities of the Court, which being reported divers ways, both in *Rome* and *Trent*, made an impreſſion in both places, that the general intention of the *French-men* was, to prolong the Council, and, according to occaſions, to diſcover, and put in practiſe their particular deſigns: and they had conjectures to make them believe, that it was not without the knowledge of the Emperour, and of other Princes and Lords of *Germany*. And howſoever they were aſſured, that the Catholick King held not full intelligence with them, yet they had ſtrong arguments to make them believe, that his deſign was to prolong the Council, or, at the leaſt, not to ſuffer it to end. To croſs this purpoſe, they determined to propoſe the abuſes of the Kingdom of *France*, and to let the Ambaſſadors underſtand that they would make proviſion for them; becauſe all Princes, who deſire a reformation in the Church, would not willingly endure any at all of themſelves, ſo that they thought, that if any matter of importance were handled to their prejudice, they would forbear, and make their Prelates forbear alſo to ſpeak of things prejudicial to the Apoſtolick See. Therefore after ſome Pacquets had paſſed between *Rome* and *Trent*, it being judged a good courſe, the abuſes were collected, which were ſaid to be principally in *France*, and partly in other Dominions. And hence the Reformation of Princes began, which, in the relation of the things that follow, will afford us much matter.

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How the reformation of Princes began.

Beſides, in *Rome* it was thought to be a good remedy, that the Legates ſhould bridle the tranſcendent boldneſs of the Prelates, uſing their Authority and ſuperiority, more than they had done. And, in *Trent*, it was thought to be a good courſe, to keep the Prelates, their adherents, united, well edified, and ſatisfied. For howſoever the voices of the contrary part might encreaſe, yet they ſhould ever exceed in number, and be Lords of the reſolutions. And they thought fit alſo to proceed to finiſh the Council, or ſuſpend, or tranſlate it. They wrote alſo, and made many of the Popiſh Prelates to write to their Friends and Patrons in *Rome*, that there could be no better reſolution or proviſion, than to give occaſion, (which might eaſily be done) that ſome Prince might deſire the *ſuſpenſion*, not ſuffering any to ſlip: and, for this end, they demanded divers *Briefs* to be ſent from *Rome*, in matter of *tranſlation*, *ſuſpenſion*, &c. that they might make uſe of them, as occaſion was offered. They counſelled the Pope alſo to go to *Bologna* in perſon. For beſides the receiving of more frequent and freſh advices, and the ſudden making of incident, and neceſſary proviſions, he might have a colourable reaſon to tranſlate the Council to that City, upon every ſmal occaſion, or to ſuſpend it; deſiring him that, as they had imparted nothing to the Card. *Madruccio*, ſo nothing might come to the ears of the Card. of *Trent*, his Uncle, who, for many reſpects, and particular intereſts would certainly uſe all means that it might not be transferred from *Trent*.

To quench the boiling heat in the Controverſie about the inſtitution of Biſhops, that it might not increaſe, by means of ſo many who were prepared to contradict *Laynez*, they would not hold any Congregation for many days. But this leiſure did ſtrengthen their opinions, and they ſpake of no matter but of this, in every corner, and almoſt every

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day three or four of them joined together, and went to ſome of the Legates, to renew the inſtance. And, one day, the Biſhop of *Gadici* with four more, having, after the propoſition made, added, that as they confeſſed that the juriſdiction belonged to the Pope, ſo they were content it ſhould be expreſſed in the Canon. The Legates believed that the *Spaniards*, acknowledging their errour, would confeſs that all juriſdiction was in the Pope, and derived from him: but, deſiring a further declaration, that Biſhop ſaid, that as a Prince doth inſtitute in a City a Judge of the firſt inſtance, and a Judge of appeal, who though he be ſuperior, yet cannot take Authority from the other; nor uſurp the cauſes belonging to him; ſo Chriſt, in the Church, hath inſtituted all Biſhops, and the Pope ſuperior, in whom the ſupreme Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction was, yet ſo, that others had theirs, depending on Chriſt alone. *Five Churches* complained to every one, that ſo much time was loſt without holding any Congregation, which might be profitably ſpent, but that the Legates did, according to their uſe, purpoſely ſuffer it to be ſpent in vain, that they might give forth the Articles of Reformation the laſt day, that there might not be time to conſider, much leſs to ſpeak of them. But the Legates were not idle, ſtill thinking how they might find a form for this *Canon*, which might be received, and changed it more than once a day: which forms going about, and ſhewing the heſitation of the Legates, the *Spaniards* were not only encouraged in their opinion, but ſpake alſo with more liberty; ſo that, in a meeting of many Prelates, *Segovia* was not afraid to ſay, that one word would be cauſe of the ruine of the Church.

Seven days being paſt without any Congregation, the 30. of *October*, the Legates being in conſultation, as in the days before, all the *Spaniards* with ſome others, required Audience, and made a new inſtance, that the inſtitution and ſuperiority of Biſhops *De jure Divino*, might be defined, ſaying, that if it were not done, they ſhould fail to do that which is juſt and neceſſary in theſe times, for clearing of the Catholick truth, and proteſting they would aſſiſt no more in Congregation or Seſſion. This being divulged, many *Italian* Prelates agreed together in the houſe of Cardinal *Simoneta*, in the Chamber of *Julius Simoneta*, Biſhop of *Peſcara*, and came to the Legates the next morning, three Patriarchs, ſix Archbiſhops, and eleven Biſhops with a requeſt, that it might not be put into the Canon, that the ſuperiority is *de jure Divino*, in regard it favoured of ambition, and was unſeemly that themſelves ſhould give ſentence in their own cauſe; and becauſe the greater part would not have it put in, the occaſion might not be given to ſpeak of the Popes Authority, which they would, and ought to confirm. When this was known in *Trent*, many did believe that this inſtance was procured by the Legates themſelves: whereupon after Evenſong, a greater number aſſembled themſelves in the Veſtry, in favour of the *Spaniſh* opinion, and others in the houſe of the B. of *Modena*, for the ſame end: and there were four other Aſſemblies in the houſes of the Archbiſhops of *Otranto*, *Taranto*, *Roſano*, and of the B. of *Parma*. The tumult proceeded ſo far, that the Legates were afraid of ſome ſcandal, and thought they could by no means hold the Seſſion at the time appointed, and that there was a neceſſity to diſcuſs ſome points of Doctrine, and propoſe ſome matter of Reformation, before they came to the reſolution of the Article which was the cauſe of ſo great a motion. And *Simoneta* complained often that he had little aſſiſtance from *Mantua* and *Seripando*, who howſoever they did ſomething, yet could not hide their thoughts, which did incline to the Adverſaries.

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Letters of credence came from the Marqueſs of *Peſcara*, to the principal *Spaniſh* Prelates, with commiſſion to his Secretary, to uſe the ſtrongeſt perſwaſions with them, and to adviſe them not to touch any thing in prejudice of the holy See, aſſuring them that the King would be diſpleaſed, and that great inconveniences in his Kingdoms would enſue; ſaying, it could not be expected from their wiſdom that they would reſolve in any particular, before they underſtood his Majeſties pleaſure. And he gave him order to adviſe whether any of the Prelates made ſmall account of this admonition, or were refractory in obeying, becauſe it was the Kings pleaſure that they ſhould ſtand united in the devotion of his Holineſs, and ſhould diſpatch expreſs Curriers: if there were occaſion. *Granata* anſwered, that he never meant to ſay any thing againſt the Pope, and thought that whatſoever was ſpoken for the Authority of Biſhops, was for the benefit of his Holineſs, being aſſured, that if their Authority were diminiſhed, the obedience to the holy See would decreaſe alſo, though by reaſon of his old age, he knew that it would not happen in his time; that his opinion was Catholick, for which he would be content to dye; that, ſeeing ſuch contrariety, he was not willing to remain in *Trent*, becauſe he expected but ſmall fruit, and therefore had demanded leave to depart of his Holineſs and his Majeſty, much deſiring to return; that at his departure out of *Spain*, he received no commandment from the King and his Miniſters, but to aim at the ſervice of God, and the quiet and reformation of the Church, which he had truly performed; that he thought he had not croſſed the Kings will, though he made not profeſſion to dive into it: but he knew that Princes, when they are requeſted, eſpecially by their Miniſters, do eaſily content them with general terms. *Segovia* anſwered, that his meaning never was to do the Pope any ill office, but that he could not gainſay his opinion, becauſe it was for the Catholick truth, nor could ſpeak more than he had ſpoken already, having never ſince ſeen or ſtudied any thing concerning this matter. Afterwards they retired all together, and ſent to the King a Doctor, of the Family of *Segovia*, with inſtruction, to inform his Majeſty that neither they, nor any other Prelates could be reprehended, if they knew not how to promote the projects of *Rome*, becauſe they could not propoſe any thing, but only deliver their opinion concerning that which was propoſed by the Legates, as his Majeſty did well know; that it would be hard to interrogate them, and bind them to anſwer againſt their conſcience; that they were aſſured they ſhould offend God and his Majeſty, if they ſhould do otherwiſe; that they could not be blamed for ſpeaking out of ſeaſon, becauſe they did not propoſe, but anſwer; that when they did commit any errour, they were ready to correct it, according to the commandment of his Majeſty; that they had ſpoken according to the Catholick Doctrine, in ſuch plain terms, that they were ſure he would approve all, beſeeching him to vouchſafe to hear them, before he did conceive any ſiniſter opinion of them.

The Letters of the Marqueſs of *Peſcara*.

The anſwer of the Archbiſh. of *Granata*.

The anſwer of *Segovia*.

Thoſe Prelates were not deceived in believing it did proceed rather from the Miniſters, than the King. *Simoneta* uſed perſwaſions, at the ſame time, to another *Spaniſh* Secretary of the Count of *Luna*, that the Count being to aſſiſt at the Council, it was neceſſary he ſhould come prepared, to keep thoſe Prelates within their bounds, otherwiſe there would enſue, not only prejudice to the Church of God, but to the Dominions of his Majeſty alſo, becauſe their principal intent was to

The Legates uſe means to curb the *Spaniſh* Prelates

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aſſume all Authority to themſelves, and to have free adminiſtration in their Churches. And he perſwaded the Secretary of *Peſcara* to meet *Luna* on the way, and to inform him of the deſigns, and boldneſs of thoſe Prelates, and to perſwade that it would be good ſervice for the King to repreſs them. In conformity whereof *Varmienſe* wrote a long Letter to *Petrus Caniſius* to the Emperours Court, that he would uſe the ſame perſwaſion to the Count.

The Doctrine collected out of the voices, delivered in the former Congregations, being given forth, they began again to ſpeak their opinions concerning it the third of *November*. But Cardinal *Simoneta* forewarned his Adherents to ſpeak reſervedly, and not to run out into words of provocation, becauſe that time did require that mens minds ſhould rather be pacified. Having ſpoken hereof three days, and returning often to the Controverſie, by reaſon of the connexion of the matter, the Legates thought it neceſſary to propoſe ſome matter of Reformation, eſpecially becauſe, the *French-men* approaching, the Biſhop of *Paris* ſaid publickly, that it was time to begin to give ſatisfaction to the *French*, and other Nations, deputing ſome Prelates of each, to conſider of the neceſſities of thoſe Countries, becauſe the *Italians*, neither in *Trent*, nor in *Rome*, could know them; that until then no Reformation had been made, becauſe that which was decreed was to no purpoſe. But the Legates being to propoſe ſome thing of Reformation, thought it neceſſary, that they might not give occaſion of many inconveniences, to begin with Reſidence.

It hath been related already what the Pope wrote in this buſineſs Afterwards, the Legates and their Adherents were in continual cogitation how to compoſe a Decree, that might ſatisfie his Holineſs, without prejudice of the promiſe which *Mantua* made to the Prelates. For to propoſe at the firſt, the reference of it to the Pope, ſeemed contrary to that promiſe; and there was great difficulty what Decree to propoſe, which not being accepted, might give them occaſion to return to the buſineſs of reference. They made a calculation of thoſe who might be drawn to their ſide, and of thoſe who were totally oppoſite, and found that the Council was divided into three parts, almoſt equal; that is, into theſe two, and a third, who deſired a definition to be made in Council, without offence of his Holineſs: of which there was hope to gain the major part, and ſo to overcome the Adverſaries. Therefore they divided themſelves, and perſwaded ſo effectually, that, beſides others they gained ſeven *Spaniards*, amongſt whom were *Aſtorga*, *Salamanca*, *Tortoſa*, *Patti*, and *Elma*, the Biſhop of *Macera* labouring ſtrongly herein.

Some Prelates are overcome by practices.

Four courſes were propoſed to come to the execution; one, to make a Decree, only with rewards and puniſhments; another, that many Prelates ſhould deſire the Legates, that the buſineſs might be remitted to the Pope, which requeſt ſhould be read in Congregation, hoping that by perſwaſions ſo many would come unto them, that their number would exceed the other, by one half; the third, that the Legates ſhould propoſe the remiſſion in Congregation; the fourth, that the Pope ſhould preſently make an effectual proviſion, which ſhould be printed immediately, and publiſhed every where before the Seſſion, that the oppoſites, being prevented, might be forced to yield. To the firſt was objected, that all thoſe who demanded the declaration *de jure Divino*, would be contrary, and think that rewards and puniſhments cannot be ſo effectual as the declaration, eſpecially there being already De-

Four courſes propoſed concerning Reſidence.

The Objections againſt them.

crees

crees of Councils and Popes, which have never been eſteemed: and there would be difference alſo concerning the rewards and puniſhments. That the Prelates will make impertinent demands; that, at the leaſt they will deſire the collation of Benefices with Cure. That they will demand the abolition of the Priviledges of the Regulars, and other exorbitant things; and that they ſhall ever be in danger of mutation after the Propoſition made, until it be paſſed in Seſſion, eſpecially when the *French-men* come, who may demand a retraction. It was oppoſed to the ſecond, that the Prelates could not be brought to make requeſt, without clamour; that thoſe who were not called, would diſdain and go to the adverſe part; that the Adverſaries alſo would make unions, and clamours, and complain of the practices. To the third was objected, that the oppoſites would ſay, that the conſent was not voluntary, but for fear of ſeeming to diſtruſt his Holineſs, and becauſe there was not liberty to ſpeak, and if it were refuſed, it were as much as to call the Popes Authority into queſtion: beſides it would be ſaid that this reference was deſired by his Holineſs. Againſt the fourth was ſaid, that the Popes Bull being not read in Council, occaſion was given to the Fathers to demand the definition, and if it were, it might be feared that ſome would demand a greater proviſion, and ſo all would ſucceed with ſmall reputation. Seeing ſo many difficulties they prolonged the buſineſs, which did not give ſatisfaction, becauſe it had been publiſhed, that the Fathers ſhould ſpeak of it. Finally, being forced to reſolve, the ſixth of *November*, embracing that courſe to propoſe a Decree with rewards and puniſhments, after that ſome of the Fathers had ſpoken concerning the buſineſs of that Congregation, the Cardinal of *Mantua* propoſed it in good terms, ſaying in ſubſtance; that it was a thing neceſſary, deſired by all Princes, and that the Emperour had often made requeſt for it, and complained that this point was not immediately diſpatched; and that, by troubling themſelves with vain queſtions, which be of no importance, the principal concluſion hath been deferred; that this is not a matter which needeth diſputation, but a means only remaineth to be found, to execute that which every one thinketh to be neceſſary; that the Catholick and moſt Chriſtian Kings had made inſtance for the ſame, and that all Chriſtendom did deſire to ſee the proviſion; that this matter was ſpoken of in the time of *Paul* the Third, and paſſed over by ſome, very impertinently, with ſuperfluous queſtions, which then were wiſely buried in ſilence; that it appeareth, by the ſame reaſons, that there is no need to handle any thing now but that which was propoſed in the Decree. And, amongſt other things, he ſaid, that they were confirmed by the ſpeech of the Ambaſſador *Lanſac*, who had often ſhewed by good reaſons, that nothing was to be required, but that Reſidence ſhould be executed, and that it was to no purpoſe to ſhew whence the obligation came. Amongſt other particles, there was in the Decree, that the Biſhops reſiding ſhould not be bound to pay Tenths, Subſidies, or any other Tax, impoſed by what Authority ſoever, though at the inſtance of Kings and Princes. This moved all the Ambaſſadors very much; but *Lanſac*, diſſembling, complained that the Cardinal of *Mantua* had named him, without telling him of it before, granting he had ſpoken ſo much unto him, but as a particular friend, not as an Ambaſſador. And to make his complaint the more grievous, he found fault alſo, that the Catholick King was named before the moſt Chriſtian. Of the Tenths

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Tenths he ſaid nothing, hoping that, by that which he had ſaid, and by ſome oppoſition, which the favourers of *Jus Divinum* would make, that Form of Decree would be hindred. *Five Churches* ſaid only, that he did not believe that the Emperours mind was as the Cardinal had propoſed. But the Secretary of the Marqueſs of *Peſcara* demanded openly, that the words might be amended, ſo that they might not prejudice the grace granted by the Pope to his Catholick Majeſty, for the Subſidy of the Gallies. The Legates did believe they had by this means gained the Prelates: but after they underſtood the exception for *Spain*, they began to ſay amongſt themſelves, that they were favoured in that which could not be granted. For in *Spain* and *France*, and under every other Prince they ſhould be forced to pay; and in the ſtate of the Church alſo, with a *Non obſtantibus*, the grace would be made of no force.

A difference between the Cardinal of *Mantua* and the Biſhop of *Segovia*.

The next day they paſſed from Reſidence, to Epiſcopal *Order*. And *Segovia* replyed, that the inſtitution of Biſhops *de jure Divino*, was handled, and reſolved, in the ſame Council under *Julius* the Third, with a general conſent, and that himſelf had delivered his opinion therein, and ſpecified the day and hour when it was. The Cardinal of *Mantua* cauſed the acts of that time to be ſearched, and that to be read by the Secretary which was then deſigned to be publiſhed, expounding them ſo, as that he concluded that it was neither decided, nor examined, nor propoſed in that manner, as it was ſaid by *Segovia*. The Biſhop anſwering, though reverently in appearance, there paſſed ſo many replies, that they were forced to break up the Congregation. And becauſe ſome will perhaps deſire to know which of them ſpake with moſt reaſon, it will be fit to recite here that which was then decided in the Congregations, though not publiſhed in Seſſion, by reaſon of the ſudden diſſolution of that Council, before related. Three heads of Doctrine were then compoſed, the third whereof was inſcribed, of the *Hierarchy*, and of the difference of Biſhops and Prieſts: and having ſpoken much of the *Hierarchy*, it ſaith thus afterwards, as it is tranſlated *verbatim* out of the Latine. *Beſides, the holy Synod doth teach, that thoſe are not to be hearkened unto, who ſay that Biſhops are not inſtituted jure divino, it appearing manifeſtly, by the words of the Goſpel, that* Chriſt *our Lord hath himſelf called the Apoſtles, and promoted them to the degree of the Apoſtleſhip, into whoſe place the Biſhops are ſubrogated; neither ought we to think that this, ſo eminent and neceſſary a degree, hath been brought into the Church by humane inſtitution; for ſo we ſhould detract from, and diſeſteem the divine providence, for failing in the moſt noble things.* Theſe were the words us'd in that point of Doctrin. There were noted alſo eight Canons; the laſt whereof ſaid thus: He that ſhall ſay that Biſhops are not inſtituted *jure Divino*, or are not ſuperior to Prieſts, or have not Authority to ordain, or that this doth belong to Prieſts, let him be *anathema*. Every one being prepoſſeſſed with an opinion, doth find it in all this that is read; and it is no wonder, if each of thoſe two Prelates did find his own in the ſame words, which the Papalins did interpret only of the power of *Order*, and the *Spaniards* of all, which containeth order and juriſdiction. Yet ſome of the Popiſh Prelates did believe that *Mantua*, ſtudying, feigning to think as they did, cauſed the old determination to be read not to confirm his own opinion, but the *Spaniſh*, which ſecretly he defended.

The Cardinal of *Loraine* being entred into *Italy*, the Pope could not deny the *French-men*, to cauſe that he ſhould be expected. And he

Wrote

wrote to *Trent*, that they ſhould prolong the Seſſion, yet not ſo as to paſs *November*. The Legates receiving advice that the Cardinal was upon the *Lago di Garda*, in the Congregation of the ninth of *November*, *Mantua* propoſed the deferring of the Seſſion until the 26. of the ſame Month, which *Loraine* not knowing, ſent *Carlo de Graſſi*, Biſhop of *Monte Fiaſcove*, and wrote Letters alſo to the Legates, that, if it would pleaſe them to tarry for him, he would be in *Trent* within a few days. And they reſolved to make no more Congregations until his coming, to give him the more ſatisfaction. The Biſhop related, that the Cardinal did ſhew a good intention in all his diſcourſes, and that he would ſend his opinions to his Holineſs, that he might ſee them; that the Prelates in his company came for the ſervice of God, and with a good mind toward the Apoſtolick See, and did hope that their coming would make a concord in the Council, and cauſe them to be diligent in making a fruitful Reformation, without any reſpect of their own intereſt; and many ſuch things he ſaid: which though they were teſtified by *Graſſi*, and confirmed by the Ambaſſador *de Ferrieres*, yet the Popiſh Prelates did believe them only in complement, and purpoſed to uſe all the remedies, deſigned both in *Trent* and *Rome*.

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Loraine entred *Trent*, and was met a mile on the way by Card. *Madruccio* and many Prelates, and by all the Legates at the Gate of the City; from which place he was accompanied to the Houſe where he was lodged. He rode between the Cardinals *Mantua* and *Seripando*, which honour they thought neceſſary to do unto him, becauſe the ſame was done unto him by *Monte*, and *Sancta Croce*, Legates in *Bolonia*, when the Council was held in that City, at the time when he went to *Rome* for the *Cap*. In the evening he went to viſit the Cardinal of *Mantua*, and had Audience the next day before the Legates, with the Ambaſſadors, *Lanſac* and *de Ferrieres*. He preſented the Kings Letters directed to the Council, and then made a long diſcourſe, to ſhew his inclination to ſerve the Apoſtolick See, promiſing to communicate all his deſign to the Pope, and to them the Legates, and not to deſire any thing, but to the good ſatisfaction of his Holineſs. He ſaid, he would not be curious in unprofitable queſtions, adding, that the two Controverſies, of the inſtitution of Biſhops, and of Reſidence, which were ſpoken of every where, had diminiſhed the Authority of the Council, and taken away the good opinion the world held of it. For his own part he profeſſed he was more inclined to the opinion which doth affirm them *de jure divino*, yet though it were certainly true, he ſaw no neceſſity, or opportunity to proceed to the declaration thereof; that the end of the Council ought to be to re-unite thoſe to the Church who were ſeparated; that himſelf had been at a parly with the Proteſtants, and had not found them ſo different, but that they may be reduced, if the abuſes were taken away; and that no time is more fit to win them than this, becauſe it is certain they were never ſo united to the Emperour, as now; that many of them, and in particular, the Duke of *Wittemberg*, was willing to aſſiſt in Council: but it was neceſſary to give him ſatisfaction, by a beginning of Reformation, in which the ſervice of God did require that their Excellencies ſhould employ their labour; he ſhewed the deſire of the King, that fit remedies might be applyed to the neceſſities of his people, ſeeing that, as he had War now with the *Hugonots*, ſo if the abuſes were not provided againſt, he ſhould have more to do with the Catholicks, whoſe obedience will be quite loſt; that theſe were the cauſes why his Majeſty had ſent him

The entry of the Cardinal of *Loraine* into *Trent*.

He viſiteth the Card. of *Mantua*, had audience the next day, and maketh a ſpeech.

to

1562 to the Council. He complained that, of all the money which the Pope promiſed to lend the King, he could receive but five and twenty thouſand Crowns, disburſed by the Cardinal of *Ferrara*, in regard of the limitations, put in the *Mandates*, becauſe they could not be exacted but upon certain conditions, to take away the Pragmaticks of all the Parliaments of the Kingdom, a thing of ſo great difficulty, that there was no hope ever to receive one penny. In the end he ſaid he had brought new inſtructions to the Ambaſſadors; and therefore when he had ſpoken to the Synod, in the Kings name, in the firſt Congregation, he would afterwards only deliver his ſuffrage as an Archbiſhop, not medling with the Affairs of the Kingdom, but leaving the care thereof to them.

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The anſwer of the Legates.

The Legates anſwered, without conſultation, as every one thought good, commending his piety and devotion towards the Apoſtolick See, and offering to impart all their Affairs unto him. They ſhewed what patience they uſed in ſuffering the liberty, or rather the licence of Prelates, in their ſpeeches, who went up and down, and moved new queſtions: but now, his excellency being joined with them, they doubted not but by his advice and aſſiſtance they might be able to repreſs this great boldneſs, and compoſe the differences riſen, and proceed hereafter in ſo comely a manner, that the world might receive edification, which before had conceived a bad opinion; that the evil will of the Proteſtants was too much known, who when they ſhew themſelves not averſe from concord, then it is to be doubted that they invent new occaſions of greater difference; that it is certain that they have demanded a Council, becauſe they thought it would be denyed them, and at the ſame time when they required it, they endeavoured by all means to hinder it, as now thoſe, who are aſſembled in *Francfort*, labour that it may not proceed, and uſe means to the Emperour to interpoſe ſome impediment; that they hate the very name of the Council, as much as of the Pope, neither have they formerly made any other uſe of it, than to cover and excuſe their apoſtaſie from the Apoſtolick See, that there was no hope of their converſion, and therefore means only was to be uſed to preſerve the good Catholicks in the true faith. They commended the piety and good intention of the King, and ſhewed the deſire of the Pope for Reformation, and what he had done to reform the Court, not regarding the diminution of his own Revenues, and that he had always written to the Council, that they would labour in the ſame buſineſs, whereunto themſelves the Legates were much inclined and diſpoſed, but were hindred by the contentions of the Prelates, which conſumed almoſt all the time; that if in *France* there be danger to loſe the obedience of the Catholicks, it is a matter to be treated of with his Holineſs. Concerning the loan of Money, they ſaid the paternal charity of the Pope towards the King and Kingdom was ſo great, that they might be aſſured that the conditions were put in for pure neceſſity. And after divers complements, they concluded that on *Monday* he ſhould be received in the general Congregation, to declare to the Fathers the occaſion of his coming, and to read unto them the Kings Letters.

The Legates were troubled with theſe words of the Cardinal, that he would not meddle with the Affairs of the Kingdom, but leave them to the Ambaſſadors, which were not conformable to thoſe which *Lanſac* and *de Ferrieres* had uttered a little before; ſaying, they were glad of the Cardinals coming, becauſe they ſhould be eaſed of all pains, all being (as they ſaid) to depend upon his Honourable Lordſhip.

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They concluded that they were to take heed of thoſe diſſimulations, and the rather, becauſe Cardinal *Simoneta* had received certain advice from *Milan*, that the *French* Abbots, lodged in Saint *Ambroſe*, ſaid, they would joyn with the *Spaniards*, *Dutchmen*, and *Ultramontanes*, and treat of matters which would not pleaſe the Court. Beſides, the *French-men* were heard to ſay in all their diſcourſes, that time was not to be loſt in queſtions, but the Reformation to be ſpoken of; that they ought to begin with taking away plurality of Benefices, and that the Cardinal would be the firſt to leave them, to give example; that diſpenſations are to be given *gratis*; that the *Annates*, *preventions* and ſmall *dates* ought to be removed, and only one proviſion made for a Benefice: amplifying alſo the matter, that the Pope had a moſt excellent occaſion to gain immortal glory, by making the aforeſaid proviſion, to ſatisfy Chriſtian people, and to unite, and appeaſe them by providing againſt theſe abuſes and inconveniences; and that in recompence they would pay unto his Holineſs an half Tenth; that they were come thither, reſolute not to depart, before they had attempted to make all theſe proviſions, how long ſoever they tarried there; that in caſe they ſaw they could not prevail, they would make no clamour, but return quietly into *France*, and make the ſame proviſions at home. The Legates alſo had notice, that the Cardinal held great intelligence with the Emperour, and (which was of more importance) with the King of *Bohemia*, who were manifeſtly inclined to give ſatisfaction to the Princes of *Germany*, who did undoubtedly hate the Council, and would be glad it might not proceed, but diſſolve in ſome advantagious manner for them, and diſhonourable for the Apoſtolick *See* and the Synod. They ſuſpected alſo the Catholick King in regard of an advice which came to the Secretary of the Count of *Luna*, that the inſtruction being already made in *Spain* for that Count, it was reſolved to ſend *Martin Gazdellone*, who had been Secretary to *Charles* the fifth, to bring him inſtruction by word of mouth, which they would not commit to writing, by reaſon of divers advices which lately had come unto them. And confronting this with another advice received out of *France*, that the Cardinal of *Lorain* had, before he departed, communicated to his Catholick Majeſty the petitions he purpoſed to handle in Council, and knowing aſſuredly that he had been ſolicited by *Germany*, to make inſtance for the Reformation, they doubted that the coming of that Cardinal might hatch ſome great novity, and were not pleaſed one jot with his ſpeech in the Audience, concerning the coming of the *Dutch-men* to the Council, conſidering the conference he had with the Duke of *Wittenberg*. In ſum, preſuppoſing that a perſon of ſo great Authority and wiſdom would not have come, without a ſure ground to build his deſignes upon, they reſolved to ſend preſently all theſe conſiderations to the Pope. And having obſerved that whenſoever any extraordinaries came to *Trent*, or departed, the Prelates took occaſion to talk, to ſeek out the cauſe, to whiſper, to make a noiſe, and to lay plots alſo, which, now that the Cardinal was come, might produce more dangerous effects, they diſpatched ſecretly, and wrote that order might be given to the Curriers to leave their guide and baggage at the next Poſt to *Trent*, and enter ſlowly into the City, with the diſpatch only.

The Cardinal went not into the Congregation at the day appointed by reaſon of a ſmall fever, which had ſeiſed on him: and therefore he

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he deſired they would proceed ſlowly, that he might be preſent before the reſolution. The Legates reſolved to give him ſatisfaction, and therefore they began the Congregation later than they were wont. In which the *French* Biſhops and Abbats being preſent, a general muſter was made (the number of the Prelates being found to be two hundred and eighteen) and a place aſſigned to every one. The next day, there being ſome difficulty about precedence, they made a new aſſignation of places, making all the Prelates to enter into the Congregation one by one, and conducting every one to his ſeat. In thoſe Congregations none of the *French-men* ſpake, either becauſe they expected the Cardinal to begin, or becauſe they were willing to ſee the manner firſt. The nineteenth of *November* the Archbiſhop of *Otranto* appointed a banquet at night for many Prelates, and he that had the charge to invite them, ſaying, that they ought not to fail, in regard of the ſervice they might do the Apoſtolick *See*, by coming thither, it was immediately publiſhed in *Trent*, that the Popiſh Prelates were aſſembled, to make a combination againſt the *French-men*. This diſtaſted them much, and the more, becauſe after the banquet, they were aſſured that ſuch diſcourſes had been uſed at the Table, and obſerving that ſince their coming, ſome new Prelate did arrive every day, they thought they were miſtruſted, and held to be oppoſites. Therefore the Legates, to make ſhew of all confidence, and reſpect of honour to the Cardinal, in the Viſitations which each of them made while he was ſick, they perſwaded him to take ſo good an occaſion to compoſe the controverſies which the queſtions have made; a thing which would be eaſy for him, and of great reputation, becauſe no man hath been able to effect it. The Cardinal ſeemed to be willing, and offered his endeavours.

Elizabeth. Charles IX. *Philip.* II.

The Legates deſired the order ſhould be given to the Curriers to enter ſecretly into *Trent*.

A factious banquet.

A plot of the *French* Ambaſſador when the Pope was ſick.

Troubleth his Holineſs.

And maketh him exclaim.

He ſendeth ſome Biſhops to *Trent*, and withholdeth others.

The Pope, who in thoſe days had been in ſome danger, by reaſon of a great unexpected accident, having recovered his health, received advices from the Legates, and from divers other places, by which the *French-men* had paſſed, all uniformly full of their deſignes. Beſides, when he was ſick, *Monſieur de l' Iſle* uſed practices, and laid plots, that, if he had died, the Pope might be created in *Trent* by Nations, and the *See* held vacant until the Reformation were made. For ſo the Council would be free, and the new Pope would accept the Reformation, which was eſtabliſhed before his creation. This moved him moſt of all, as well becauſe every man, and Princes eſpecially, are diſpleaſed when any thing is deſigned to be done after their death, as alſo becauſe he was by this moſt aſſured, that the *French-men* were reſolved to reform the Court, and the Popedom. Theſe things, and the differences in *Trent* about the inſtitution of Biſhops and reſidence cauſed him to hold a Congregation every day, and he could not forbear to tell every one, that he had no buſineſs more important, and dangerous to him than the Council. And relating in Conſiſtory the differences in *Trent* about the inſtitution, and the new propoſition of reſidence, he brake out into this exclamation, that all the Biſhops beneficed by him were his oppoſites, and that he maintained an Army of Enemies in *Trent*. There was an opinion that he ſecretly wiſhed ſome good ſucceſs to the *Hugonots* in *France*, and ſome advantage to the Proteſtants in the Diet of *Germany*, that the Council might be diſſolved, and not by his means. But, being wholly bent to provide remedies, he gave order to the Biſhops who were not parted from *Rome* as yet, to depart immediately, and cauſed *Marcus Antonius Boba*, Biſhop

of

of *Aſti*, Ambaſſador for the Duke of *Savoy*, reſiding with him, to go thither alſo. On the other ſide, he forbad the Archbiſhop of *Turris*, and the Biſhop of *Ceſena* to go thither; the former, becauſe he had defended reſidence to be *de jure divino*, with more conſtancy than the times did comport, in the Council under *Paul*; the other becauſe he was a familiar friend of the Cardinal of *Naples*, of whom he doubted much, by reaſon of the ſlaughter of his two Uncles, and of the executions made againſt his Perſon: and he feared, becauſe it was ſaid, that the Count of *Montebello*, Father of the Cardinal, had, in his cuſtody, an obligation under his hand, by which, being Cardinal in the *Conclave*, he promiſed a ſum of Money to the Cardinal of *Naples* for his voyce to be Pope. But howſoever his greateſt diffidence was in the *French-men*, yet he thought fit to diſſemble it. He ſent into *France* fourty thouſand Crowns, the reſidue of the hundred thouſand which he promiſed. And he cauſed *Sebaſtianus Gualterus*, Biſhop of *Viterbo*, and *Ludovicus Antinori* to go to *Trent*, who, having been in *France*, had ſome acquaintance with ſome of thoſe Prelates, and had made themſelves known to the Cardinal, under colour to honour him. And he wrote to this Cardinal and to *Lanſac* Letters full of complement, and confidence. Yet they thought that theſe men were ſent to diſcover the Cardinals intention, and to obſerve his proceedings; and the rather becauſe they had received advice from *Rome*, that the Biſhop had exhorted the Pope not to be ſo much afraid, in regard the Cardinal alſo would find difficulties and impediments, more than he believed he ſhould, and ſaid that himſelf would make more to ariſe.

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Fearing to be accuſed of Simony.

The 22. of *November*, the Cardinal reſolved to enter into the Congregation the day following: and it was agreed that the Kings Letters ſhould be read, and himſelf make a ſpeech. But *Lorain* propoſed alſo, that the Ambaſſador *de Ferrieres* ſhould make another. To this the Legates did not conſent, becauſe if this had been once permitted, both he and all other Ambaſſadors, would ſtill be deſirous to ſpeak, and propoſe, with danger of making greater confuſion; but, concealing this cauſe, they ſaid, that neither in this Council, nor under *Paul* or *Julius*, it was ever permitted to Ambaſſadors to ſpeak in Congregation, but only when they were firſt received; and that without the Popes conſent they could not yield to ſuch a novity. But *Lorain* anſwered, that the Kings Letter, and the inſtruction being new, it might be called a new Ambaſſage, and that, the firſt entrance. After many anſwers and replies, *Lorain* having given his word, that they ſhould not deſire to ſpeak any more, the Legates, to give him ſatisfaction, and that he might not have cauſe of open diſtaſte, were contented.

Therefore the next day, the Congregation being aſſembled, the Kings Letter was read, with this inſcription, To the moſt holy and moſt reverend Fathers, aſſembled in *Trent* to celebrate the ſacred Council. In which he ſaid, that, it having pleaſed God to call him to the Kingdom, it hath pleaſed him alſo to afflict him with many wars; but hath ſo opened his eyes, that, howſoever he be young, he knoweth that the principal cauſe of the evils is the diverſity of Religion. By means of which Divine illumination in the beginning of his Kingdom, he made inſtance for the celebration of the Council, in which they were then aſſembled, knowing that in them the ancient Fathers have found the moſt proper remedies to the like infirmities, and, that he was grieved, that being the firſt to procure ſo good a work, he had not been able to ſend his Prelates with the firſt; the cauſes whereof being notorious,

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rious, he thought he was ſufficiently excuſed; and the rather, becauſe the Cardinal of *Lorain* was now arrived; accompanied with other Prelates. That two principal cauſes hath moved him to ſend that Cardinal; the firſt, his own great and frequent inſtance, to have leave to ſatisfy his duty, in regard of the place he holdeth in the Church; the ſecond; becauſe, being of his Privily Council, and exerciſed from his youth, in the moſt important affairs of the Kingdom, he knoweth the neceſſity thereof, better than any other, and whence the occaſions do ariſe: ſo that he will be able to make a relation unto them, conformable to the charge which is given him, and demand in his name the remedies which are expected from their wiſdom, and fatherly affection, as well for the tranquillity of the Kingdom, as for the general good of all Chriſtendom. He beſeeched them to proceed herein with their wonted ſincerity, that they may come to an holy reformation, and that the Ancient luſtre of the Catholick Church may appear, in the union of all Chriſtendom in one Religion; which will be a work worthy of them, deſired by the whole world, recompenced by God, and commended by all Princes. In concluſion, for the particulars he referred himſelf to the Cardinal, praying them to believe him in whatſoever he ſhould ſay unto them on his part.

The ſpeech of the Cardinal of *Lorain.*

After this the Cardinal ſpake. In the beginning, he ſhewed the miſeries of the Kingdom, deplored the Wars, the demolitions of Churches, occiſions of religious perſons, conculcation of the Sacrament, burning of the Libraries, Images and Reliques of Saints, overthrowing of the monuments of Kings, Princes, and Biſhops, and expulſion of the true Paſtors. And paſſing to Civil matters, he ſhewed the contempt of the Kings Majeſty, uſurpation of his Rents, violation of the Laws, and ſeditions raiſed amongſt the people. He attributed the cauſe of all this to the corruption of manners, to the ruine of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and negligence in repreſſing Hereſy, and in uſing remedies inſtituted by God. Turning to the Ambaſſadors of Princes, he told them that that which they do now behold at leaſure in *France*, they ſhall find at home, when it will be too late to repent, if *France*, tumbling down with its own weight, ſhall fall upon places near unto it. He ſpake of the vertue and good diſpoſition of the King, the counſels of the Queen, and King of *Navar*, and of the other Princes, but ſaid, the principal matter was expected from the Synod, whence the peace of God, which paſſeth all underſtanding, ought to come. That the moſt Chriſtian King being aſſured hereof, in regard of his obſervance towards that Synod, and of his ſorrow for the differences of Religion, did demand two things of them. The firſt, that they would avoid new diſcords, new and unprofitable queſtions, and cauſe a ſuſpenſion of Arms amongſt all Princes and States, that ſcandal may not be given to the Proteſtants, and occaſion to believe, that the Synod doth more labour to incite Princes to War, and to make Confederations and Leagues, than to keep the unity of peace. That King *Henry* hath firſt eſtabliſhed it, and then *Francis* continued it, and that the preſent King under age, and his Mother, have always deſired it; which howſoever it hath unhappily ſucceeded, yet they might fear that the accidents of the War would be more unfortunate. For all the States of the Kingdom being in danger of ſhipwrack, one cannot help another. He therefore deſireth that ſome account may be held of thoſe who are gone aſtray from the Church, pardoning them as much as may be done without offending God, and holding them for friends, as much as is poſſible, even as far

as

as unto the Altars. The ſecond requeſt, common to the King with the Emperour and other Kings and Princes, was, that a Reformation of manners, and of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, ſhould be handled ſeriouſly; wherein the King did admoniſh and conjure them by *Chriſt* our *Lord*, who will come to judgment, that, if they meant to reſtore the Authority of the Church, and retain the Kingdom of *France*, they would not balance the incommodities of the *French-men* with their own. He ſaid he was glad, that *Italy* was all in peace, and that *Spain* did govern the Helm; but that *France* was fallen, and ſcarce held it with one finger. He added, that, if they will demand, who hath cauſed this tempeſt and fortune, he can ſay nothing but this, that this fortune is come by our own means, caſt us into the Sea. Therefore that there was need of boldneſs, and courage, to look unto themſelves, and the whole flock. In the end, he ſaid, he had ended his Legation, and, that the Ambaſſadors would ſay the reſt; but himſelf and the Prelates who came with him, did proteſt that, after God, they would be ſubject to the moſt bleſſed Pope *Pius*, acknowledging his Primacy on Earth, above all Churches, whoſe commands they will never refuſe; that they do reverence the Decrees of the Catholick Church, and of the general Synod, that they did honour the Legates, offer concord and union to the Biſhops, and were glad that the Ambaſſadors were witneſſes of what they ſaid, all for the honour of the divine Majeſty.

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Having made an end of ſpeaking, the Cardinal of *Mantua*, in few words, commending him for the pains he had taken for the ſervice of God, ſaid, that all the Synod was glad of his coming, made honourable mention of his Brothers, who in their profeſſion ſhewed no leſs readineſs in the ſervice of God and the Kingdom, and referred himſelf to the anſwer which the Archbiſhop of *Zara*, deputed hereunto, ſhould make, in the name of the Council. Who ſaid that the Synod was ſorry to hear of the ſeditions and differences of Religion in *France*, whoſe quiet and tranquillity was always dear unto them, and the more then, becauſe by the narration of his Excellency, they were ſo lively ſet before their eyes, but hoped that ſhortly the King, imitating the vertue of his predeceſſors, would be able to repreſs them, that the Synod will labour, by all means, to make the true worſhip of God known, to reform manners, and reſtore tranquillity to the Church, which end they might more eaſily attain, if they were aſſiſted by his Excellency, and the Prelates who came with him. He ſpake largely in commendation of the Cardinal, and concluded that the Synod thanked God for his coming, and gave him joy of it, and offered to give eare to whatſoever ſhould be delivered by the Ambaſſadors in fit time and place, not doubting, but that it would be for the glory of God, benefit of the Church, and great dignity of the Apoſtolick See.

The anſwer.

Afterwards the Ambaſſador *de Ferrieres* ſpake. He began with the commendation of the Kings diſpoſition, inclined to Religion, which appeared more by the coming and diſcourſe of the Cardinal; by whom it might be known, how great care *France* did take of the good of the Catholick Church, becauſe every one might ſee that moſt potent reaſons had induced the King to ſend him, in regard he had ever imployed him in his counſel, in the greateſt affairs of the Kingdom, that the King could appeaſe all the ſeditions in three days, and keep all his Subjects in their natural obedience, if he aimed only at his own good, and did not deſire to maintain the Catholick Church, and retain the dignity and Authority of the Pope in *France*; for which he expoſeth to danger the

The ſpeech of *de Ferrieres* the *French* Ambaſſador.

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the kingdom, his life, and the goods of all the Grandees and Nobles, And, deſcending to the requeſts, he added, that they would not be troubleſome, nor obſtinate in them, that they did demand nothing but that which all the Chriſtian world demandeth; that the moſt Chriſtian King doth requeſt that which *Conſtantine* the Great requeſted of the Fathers in the Council of *Nice*; that all his demands are contained in the holy Scripture, in the old Councils of the Catholick Church, and in the antient Conſtitutions, Decrees, and Canons of the Popes and Fathers; that the moſt Chriſtian King doth demand the reſtitution of the Catholick Church to its integrity, by means of them the Fathers, conſtituted by *Chriſt* as the chief Judges, not by a Decree with a general clauſe, but according to the form of the expreſs words of that perpetual and Divine Edict, againſt which, neither Uſurpation nor Preſcription can take place; ſo that thoſe good orders which the Devil hath taken away by force, and concealed along time, may be reſtored as it were, out of captivity to the holy City of God, and to the ſight of men. He exemplified in *Darius*, wo compoſed the tumults of *Judea*, not by Arms, but by executing the ancient Edict of *Cyrus*; in *Joſias*, who reformed Religion, by cauſing the Book of the Law to be read and obſerved, which had been concealed by the malice of men. Then he ſpake acutely, and ſaid, if they ſhall demand why *France* is not in peace, he could anſwer nothing, but that which *Jehu* ſaid to *Joram*; How can there be peace, there remaining; and concealed the words following, but added, you know the text. Then he ſaid, that if they do not ſeriouſly labour in the Reformation, the aſſiſtance of the King of *Spain*, of the Pope, and of other Princes, will be in vain, and the blood of thoſe who periſh, though juſtly, for their own ſins, will be required at the hands of them the Fathers. He concluded, that, before they would deſcend to the particulars which they meant to demand, they deſired that the things which they had begun to handle, might be diſpatched quickly, that they might, as ſoon as was poſſible, apply themſelves to other matters of more weight, and of greater neceſſity in that time. The biting liberty of this Ambaſſador did no leſs diſpleaſe, than that of his Colleague *Pibrac*, at their firſt coming to *Trent*; but the fear they had of the *French-men* made them forget all.

The next day the Congregations were continued, and the firſt was all ſpent by Fryar *Jaſpar* of *Caſal*, Biſhop of *Liria*: who, to inform the Cardinal of *Lorain* of all the reaſons of the *Spaniards*, did recapitulate, with great eloquence, whatſoever they had ſaid in this matter. He added beſides, that nothing was more in favour of the *Lutherans*, than to ſay that Biſhops are inſtituted by the law of man, that by this means, their novity is approved in making Preachers, Predicants, or Miniſters to govern the Church, in ſtead of Biſhops inſtituted by *Chriſt*. He ſaid that to him that readeth the Epiſtles of Saint *Gregory*, to *John* of *Conſtantinople*, and to others againſt him, for calling himſelf Univerſal Biſhop, it doth plainly appear, that it cannot be ſaid, that the inſtitution of the Pope is from Chriſt, if it be not ſaid that the inſtitution of Biſhops is from him alſo.

The Papalins are diſtaſted with the *French* Congregations.

The Cardinal of *Lorain* made a Congregation of Prelates and *French* Divines in his own houſe, to underſtand their opinion concerning the Juriſdiction of Biſhops; in which it was uniformly reſolved amongſt them, that they did receive it from *God*, and that it did belong unto them *Jure divino*. And this ſingularity of Congregation was uſed afterwards

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afterwards by the Cardinal in all occurrences, to the great diſtaſt of the Papalins, who ſaid, he held a Council apart, and feared that the *Spaniards* would imitate the example, which might in time make a manifeſt ſchiſm, as it happened in the firſt Council of *Epheſus*, by the Congregations which *Egyptians* and *Syrians* held apart. But the Papalins, had, amongſt the *Spaniards Barthomeus Sebaſtianus* Biſhop of *Patti*, who a *Spaniard* by Nation, becauſe he had a Biſhoprick in *Sicily*, had great intelligence in *Rome*, and had diſcovered all the *Spaniſh* practiſes and counſels. Amongſt the *French-men*, about the time when the Cardinal of *Lorain* put himſelf in order for the journey, the *Nuntio* in *France* did gain *Jacobus Hugonius*, a Franciſcan Fryer, a Divine of the *Sorbone*, elected by the Cardinal for his company; with whom he had ſome cauſe of acquaintance becauſe he was conſtituted Proctor of the Council, by *Johannes Urſinus*, Biſhop of *Triguier*, whereof he ſent news to *Rome*, and addreſſed him for correſpondence in *Trent*, with his Letters to *Lactantius Roverella* Biſhop of *Aſcoli*. But *Simoneta* was not willing to put ſuch confidence in that Biſhop, nor would ſuffer him to know the intelligence which was to be held with that Divine. Therefore when *Lorain* was near unto *Trent*, he cauſed the Biſhop of *Ventimiglia* to ſend another Fryer of S. *Francis*, called *Pergola*, to meet *Hugonius*, to tell him from him, that he was informed by the *Nuncio* of *France*, of a Letter which he brought to the Lord Biſhop of *Aſcoli*, who had written alſo unto him that he ſhould ſpeak with him before he did deliver it. *Pergola* did this buſineſs cunningly, ſo that the Divine promiſed to do ſo, and accordingly went to *Ventimiglia* a few dayes after he came to *Trent*; and after that they knew one another, and the tokens that they were to treat together; the Fryer made him a relation of the ſtate of all things, and ſaid, that the ruine of the Kingdom did eſpecially proceed from the Queen, who favoured the Hereticks, as himſelf ſaw plainly, in the diſputations which he often had with them in her preſence. Concerning the Ambaſſadors in *Trent*, he ſaid they were corrupted alſo. The Cardinal he held to be a good Catholick, but inclined to impertinent Reformations of Eccleſiaſtical Rites, of the uſe of the Cup, of taking away Images, of bringing in the vulgar tongue, and ſuch other things, whereunto he was perſwaded by the Duke of *Guiſe* his Brother, and others of his kindred, and that the Queen at his departure, had effectually perſwaded him to it, and given him twenty thouſand Crowns. He ſaid, that amongſt the Biſhops there were three of the ſame faction, but, above all, that the Biſhop of *Valence* held intelligence with the Queen, and was ſent expreſly by her, as the prime man to whom the Cardinal was to bear reſpect. In the end, they ſet down an order how to meet, and treat together. *Ventimiglia* gave him fifty Crowns in Gold, as the Legates had appointed, which at the firſt he refuſed to accept; but *Ventimiglia* perſwaded him with good terms to be content. Notwithſtanding himſelf did not take them, but called his ſervant, who was with him, and gave him order to keep them in the name of his Religion.

Jacobus Hugonius betrayeth the *French* Prelates.

I have often rehearſed, and continue ſtill, many particulars, which I am ſure many will think not worthy of mention, as I have thought my ſelf; but finding them preſerved, and noted in the memorials of thoſe who were preſent in the actions, I perſwade my ſelf, that for ſome reſpect, unknown to me, they have deemed them worthy of commemoration; and therefore, according to their judgment rather than

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mine own, I have thought fit to relate them. Perhaps ſome ſharp wit may diſcover in them ſome thing which is not penetrated by me, and thoſe who do not eſteem them will loſe but a little labour in reading them.

The ſix and twentieth of *November*, deſtinated for the Seſſion, Cardinal *Seripando* propoſed in Congregation, that it might be deferr'd, in regard the Decrees which they were to publiſh were not eſtabliſhed. And he admoniſhed the Prelates of their long diſcourſes, by means whereof they could not determine any certain day for the Seſſion, which therefore was neceſſarily to be deferred during pleaſure. He told them that many of them ſpake of abuſes, not remembring that to ſpend ſo much time, in vain diſputations without any fruit, was the greateſt abuſe of all, which was neceſſarily to be taken away, if they deſired to ſee the end of the Council, with edification. *Lorain* confirmed the ſame, and exhorted the Fathers to leave thoſe queſtions, which were nothing to the purpoſe in that time, and to be brief and diligent in diſpatching the things already propoſed, that they may come to things of more importance and neceſſity. Many of the Prelates did not conſent that the Seſſion ſhould be deferred during pleaſure, and required a determinate time. To whom it being replyed, that it was not poſſible, becauſe they knew not when they ſhould end the matter now in hand, which was ſo much controverſed amongſt them, it was concluded that the determinate time ſhould be ſet down within eight days.

The ſame day the Senator *Molines* arrived; ſent by the Marqueſs of *Peſcara*, to renew and give ſtrength to the perſwaſions, uſed to the *Spaniſh* Prelates, in favour of the Pope, which having been made by the Secretary reſident, had done no good. He brought new Letters of credence to them all from the Marqueſs, and laboured with great diligence. Which wrought a contrary effect. For the Prelates did interpret it to be a practiſe of the Cardinal of *Arragon*, Brother of the Marqueſs, without any expreſs Commiſſion from the King. It appearing now, that the further they proceeded about this point of the Inſtitution, the more difficulty did ariſe, the Ambaſſadors of *France* uſed means. that a temper might be found, that they might rid themſelves of thoſe ſuperfluities and come to the buſineſs of the Reformation, that they might know what they might hope for from the Council. And the Biſhop of *Niſmes* told them, when he gave his voice, that if the Fathers were delighted to decide a curioſity, which in concluſion will be nothing but words, yet they ought not to entertain others with it, but deferring it until another time, to handle that now which is moſt neceſſary. *Diego Covarruvias*, Biſhop of *Citta di Rodrigo*, who ſpake after him, excuſing the Fathers for ſpending time in that queſtion, ſaid that, it having been propoſed by the Lords the Legates, the Prelates could not chooſe but deliver their opinions. Wherewith Cardinal *Simoneta* being moved, did deny that the propoſition was made by them; and *Seripando* did ſecond him more fiercely, and ſaid, that themſelves aſſuming too much licence, did not think it ſufficient to diſcourſe of the ſuperiority of Biſhops which was propoſed, but had ſet on foot alſo the other of the inſtitution, and added *Jus Divinum* unto them both, and not contented with the patience uſed in ſuffering them to ſay what they will, they began alſo to lay the blame upon the Legates. He tharply reprehended their too much liberty in entring into theſe queſtions, and their boldneſs in treating of the Popes power, vainly and ſuperfluouſly repeating the ſame things, more than ten times, ſome alſo uſing frivolous reaſons,

Reaſons, and fooliſh, unworthy of that Aſſembly. And, in the progreſs of his Speech, perceiving he had been too bitter, he began to ſet them down a form how every Prelate ſhould give his voice in Council. Speaking of the queſtions propoſed, he ſhewed that both the oppoſite opinions were probable, and that in caſe that *de jure divino* had more probability, yet it was not a thing to be decided in Council. He could not by this means pacify the minds of many that were moved; neither did he abſolutely pleaſe the Cardinal of *Lorain*, who made all poſſible demonſtration to gain a good opinion. For he made means to know the men, and to inform himſelf what was poſſible to be done, that he might not undertake the buſineſs before he knew it would ſucceed; and he affected alſo to be the man who ſhould compoſe the differences, and be Judge of the Queſtion. For diſpatch of the matter, a propoſition was made to depute ſome Prelates of every Nation, as it were to compromiſe the reſolution by them. But it could not be done, becauſe the *French* and *Spaniards* deſired an even number of every Nation, and the *Italians* as they were more in number than the others, ſo they would have a greater number in this deputation. *Simoneta* was the firſt to oppoſe this Propoſition, for fear of reviving the Cuſtom of the Council of *Baſil*.

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At this time a new matter of contention was prepared. For the Count of *Luna* gave the Legates to underſtand, that he was to come to *Trent* Ambaſſador of the King of *Spain*, and not of the Emperour, but would firſt know what place would be allowed him. The Legates called the *French* Ambaſſadors, and told them of it, deſiring them to find ſome means to compoſe the difference for precedence. They anſwered that they were not ſent to compoſe differences, but to hold the place due, and alwayes granted to their King: that they meant not to prejudice the King of *Spain* in any thing belonging to him, but to do him all honour and ſervice, as being a Couſin, and a Friend to their King, and that they had charge, if their place was not given unto them to make proteſtation of the nullity of the acts of the Council, and to depaatt with all the *French* Prelates. The Cardinal of *Mantua* propoſed this courſe, to make the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador ſit apart from the others over againſt the Legates, or under the eccleſiaſtical Ambaſſadors, or under the Secular Ambaſſadors. But the *French-men* were contented with none of theſe courſes, ſaying that by all means he ſhould have his place after them, and no where elſe.

A queſtion about precedence between *France* and *Spain*.

In the Congregation of the firſt of *December*, *Melchior Avoſmediano*, Biſhop of *Guadice*, ſpeaking of that part of the laſt Canon, where it was determined that Biſhops, called by the Pope, are true and lawful, ſaid, that the manner of expreſſing it did not pleaſe him, becauſe there were alſo Biſhops not called by the Pope, nor confirmed by him, who notwithſtanding were true and lawful. For example he brought four Suffragans, elected and ordained by the Archbiſhop of *Salzburg*, who take no confirmation from the Pope. Cardinal *Simoneta* did not ſuffer him to proceed, ſaying, that whatſoever the Biſhop of *Salzburg* or other Primates did, was all by the Popes authority. Fryar *Thomas Caſtello*, Biſhop of *Cava*, and the Patriarch of *Venice* ſtood up both at once, and ſaid that he ought to be put out of the Council, as a Schiſmatick. And *Egidius Falceta*, Biſhop of *Caurle*, cryed aloud, Out with the Schiſmatick. And there followed a great noiſe amongſt the Prelates as well of wiſpering, as of feet, partly in offence of the Prelate that gave his voice, and partly in defence: which gave but ſmall ſatisfaction

The Biſhop of *Guadice* cauſeth a great ſtir in the Council.

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to the Prelates beyond the Mountains. The Cardinal of *Lorain* was diſpleaſed, but made no demonſtration of it; and the Legates did hardly appeaſe the ſtir, by making others proceed who were to ſpeak in that Congregation; which being ended, the Cardinal of *Lorain* ſaid, in preſence of many of the Popiſh Prelates, that the inſolency had been great, that the Biſhop of *Guadice* had not ſpoken ill, and that, if he had been a *Frenchman*, he would have appealed to another Council more free, and that in caſe proviſion were not made that all might ſpeak freely, the *Frenchmen* would return, to make a National Council in *France*. And indeed it was found that the Biſhop had not ſpoken ill, and the Canon was corrected; for whereas it ſaid, the Biſhops called by the Pope of *Rome*, it was altered thus, the Biſhops aſſumed by authority of the Pope of *Rome*.

The Card. of *Lorain* ſaith the Council was not free.

The next day, in which they were to determine the juſt time for the Seſſion, the Cardinal of *Mantua* propoſed, that it might be prorogued untill the ſeventeenth; and if, in the mean while, the Decrees of Reformation, belonging to the matter which was handled, could not be put in order, it ſhould be deferred until the next Seſſion. The Cardinal of *Lorain* conſented for that day, but with condition, that the whole matter might be handled, and nothing deferred untill the next Seſſion, in which it was neceſſary to begin the general Reformation. The Archbiſhop of *Prague*, *Five Churches*, and the Orator of *Polonia*, agreed in the ſame opinion. And, after much contention, between thoſe, who (as the Biſhop of *Niſmes* had ſaid) would have thoſe queſtions deferred untill another time, and others, who would have them decided, it was reſolved to appoint the Seſſion for the day aforeſaid, with order, that, to diſpatch all the matter, they ſhould hold two Congregations every day, and if they would not decide all, yet they ſhould publiſh thoſe Decrees which could be made by that time, deferring the undecided points untill another, handling the Reformation in the next Seſſion, before they entered into matter of Doctrine. *Mantua* did alſo reprehend the Noiſe made with feet and words, the day before, concluding that, if hereafter they would not ſpeak with that reſpect and reverence which might beſeem their own dignity, the preſence of them the Legates who repreſent his Holineſs, and of the Cardinals and Ambaſſadors, who repreſent the Princes, they would go out of the Congregations, that they might not endure ſo great diſorders. The Cardinal of *Lorain* commended the admonition, and ſaid, that as the Legates ought not to go out of the Congregation for any occaſion whatſoever, ſo it was moſt juſt that the perturbers of it ſhould be baniſhed. The Biſhop of *Cava* would neither excuſe himſelf for that which he had ſaid, nor receive the admonition with ſilence, though it was in general, but ſaid, that the cauſes ought to be removed that the effects might ceaſe; that if the words of the Biſhop of *Guadice* had offended his own perſon, he would have endured it for Chriſtian Charity, which as it requireth patience in wrongs committed againſt ones ſelf, ſo it makes men ſenſible of the injuries done unto *Chriſt*, whoſe Divine Majeſty is offended, when the Authority of his Vicar is touched, that he had ſpoken well, yea, as well as might be, and confirmed the ſame with other words of the ſame ſence, which were generally condemned of petulancy.

The ſuffrage of the Biſhop of *Aliffe* concerning the inſtitution of Biſhops.

Jacobus Gilbertus, of *Nogueras*, Biſhop of *Aliffe*, in delivering his voice, ſaid, that, concerning the inſtitution of Biſhops, one could not ſpeak with better ground, than conſidering well and underſtanding the

the words of Saint *Paul* to the *Epheſians*. For as it is moſt true that *Chriſt* did rule the Church with an abſolute Government, while he lived in mortal fleſh, as others had judiciouſly ſaid, ſo it was a great untruth which was added, that is, that, being in Heaven, he hath abandoned the ſame Government, yea, he doth exerciſe it rather more than before. And this is it which he ſpake to his Apoſtles, at his departure; *I am with you until the end of the world*; adding alſo the aſſiſtance of the Holy Ghoſt; ſo that now alſo not only the inward influence of graces cometh from *Chriſt*, as from the Head, but an external aſſiſtance alſo, though inviſible to us, which doth miniſter occaſions of ſalvation to the faithful, and driveth away the temptations of the World. Notwithſtanding, beſides all theſe things, he hath inſtituted alſo ſome members of the Church for Apoſtles, Paſtors, &c. to defend the faithful from errors, and to direct them to the unity of Faith, and knowledge of *God*. And upon theſe he hath beſtowed a gift, neceſſary for the exerciſing of this holy office, which is the power of juriſdiction, which is not equal in all, but ſo much as every one hath, is given him immediately by *Chriſt*. Nothing is more contrary to Saint *Paul*, than to ſay, that it was given to one only, to impart it to whom he liſted. It is true that it is not equal in all, but according to the divine diſtribution, which, as Saint *Cyprian* ſaith, that the unity of the Church might be preſerved, did ordain, that the ſupreme ſhould be in *Peter* and his Succeſſors; not that it ſhould be abſolute; and, according to the Proverb, that the Will may be a Law, but, as Saint *Paul* ſaith, for edification of the Church only, not for deſtruction: ſo that it cannot be extended to abrogate Laws, and Canons, made by the Church, for a foundation of Government. And here he began to alledge the Canons cited by *Gratian*, in which the ancient Popes do confeſs themſelves to be Subject to the Decrees of the Fathers, and to the conſtitutions of their Predeceſſors.

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The Cardinal *Varmienſe* interrupted him, and ſaid, that the ſubject to ſpeak on was the ſuperiority of Biſhops; ſo that this diſcourſe was beſide the matter. The Biſhop anſwered, that the authority of Biſhops being handled, it was neceſſary to ſpeak of that of the Pope. And *Granata* ſtood up, and ſaid, that others had ſpoken of it ſuperfluouſly, not to ſay perniciouſly, meaning *Laynez*, and therefore that *Aliſſe* might ſpeak of it likewiſe. The Biſhop of *Cava* ſtood up, and ſaid, that others had ſpoken of it, but not in that manner; and whiſperings beginning to ariſe amongſt the Prelates, *Simoneta* made a ſign to *Cava* to hold his peace, and admoniſhing *Aliſſe* to ſpeak to the point, he quieted the noiſe. But he continuing to alledge the Canons, as he had begun, *Varmienſe* interrupted him again, not ſpeaking unto him, but making a formal diſcourſe to the Fathers, concerning that matter. He ſaid the Hereticks pretend to prove, that Biſhops, elected by the Pope, are not true and lawful, and that this is the opinion which ought to be condemned, but whether true Biſhops, are inſtituted *jure Divino*, or not, there is no difference between the Hereticks and the Catholicks, and therefore the queſtion doth not belong to the Synod, which is congregated only to condemn the Hereſies. He adviſed the Fathers to abſtain from ſpeaking things which might give occaſion of ſcandal, and exhorted them to leave theſe queſtions. *Aliſſe* deſired to reply; but *Simoneta* with the aſſiſtance of ſome other Prelates, did paciſie him, though with ſome difficulty. And after him ſpake *Antonius Maria Salviati*, Biſhop of Saint *Papulo*; who ſaid, that all were aſſembled for the ſervice of *God*, and proceeded with a good intention, though ſome one way, and ſome another.

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another. And, having ſaid many things which ſerved partly to accord the opinions, but principally to reconcile their minds, was a cauſe that the Congregation did quietly end, and that words of humanity and reverence did paſs between the Cardinal and the Biſhop.

The fuffrage of the Card. of *Lorain.*

The fourth of *December*, the Cardinal of *Loraine* delivered his opinion concerning the ſame matter, and ſpake at large, ſaying, that juriſdiction was given by God immediately to the Church. He alledged the place of Saint *Auſtine*, that the Keys are given to *Peter*, not unto one perſon, but unto the unity, and, that *Peter*, when *Chriſt* promiſed him the Keys, did repreſent all the Church, who if he had not been a Sacrament, that is, repreſenting the Church, *Chriſt* would not have given them unto him. And he ſhewed a great memory in reciting the places word by word. Then he ſaid, that that part of juriſdiction which is joyned with Epiſcopal order, the Biſhops do receive immediately from God; and declaring in what it doth conſiſt, amongſt other things, he ſpecified, that power of excommunication is contained in it, enlarging himſelf much in the expoſition of that place of Saint *Matthew*, in which *Chriſt* doth preſcribe the manner of brotherly correction, and judicial of the Church, with Authority to ſeparate the diſobedient from the body thereof. Then he diſputed againſt that opinion, alledging divers reaſons taken out of the words of *Chriſt*, ſpoken to Saint *Peter*, and from the expoſition which Saint *Leo* the Pope doth give unto them in many places. He exemplified in many Biſhops who had acknowledged all their juriſdiction to come from the Apoſtolick See, and ſpake with ſo much eloquence, and in ſuch ſort, that it could not clearly be diſcovered, what his opinion was. Afterwards he ſaid, that Councils had Authority immediately from God; alledging the words of *Chriſt*, *Where two or three ſhall be aſſembled in my name, I will be in the midſt of them*, and the Council of the Apoſtles, which aſcribeth the reſolution to the Holy Ghoſt; and the ſtile of all Councils, in ſaying they are congregated in the Holy Ghoſt; and, in particular of that of *Conſtance*, which ſaith plainly, that it hath Authority immediately from *Chriſt*. But he added, that ſpeaking of all Councils, his meaning was that the head ſhould be joined with it, and that nothing was of more ſervice for the union of the Church, than to confirm well the Popes Authority; that himſelf would never conſent to determine any thing in diminution thereof, and that all the Prelates and Clergy of *France* were of the ſame opinion. And returning to the inſtitution of Biſhops, and ſpeaking ſtill with the ſame ambiguity, he concluded in the end, that the queſtion was boundleſs. Afterwards exhorted the Fathers to leave it, and himſelf gave a form to the Canon, in which the words *jure Divino*, were omitted; and, inſtead of them, it was ſaid, *inſtituted by Chriſt.*

The *French* Prelates, who ſpake then after *Lorain*, and the days following, uſed not the ſame ambiguity, nor the ſame reſpect towards the Apoſtolick See, but maintained openly, that the Authority of Biſhops was *de jure Divino*, alledging the reaſons, delivered by the Cardinal, and expounding them; who howſoever, while they ſpake, leaned his head upon his hand, as if he had been diſpleaſed, yet they noted him for ambition, as if he had purpoſely procured a Comment to be made upon his opinion. But the *Spaniards* were not ſatisfied with the *French-men*, though they did openly defend their opinion, as well becauſe the Cardinal had ſpoken ambiguouſly,

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as for that he and the other Prelates did not hold the inſtitution and ſuperiority of Biſhops *de jure Divino* to be neceſſary to be determined in Council, but rather that it ought to be omitted. And they were more diſpleaſed with the form of the Canon, propoſed by the Cardinal, in which the words, *de jure Divino*, were left out, howſoever, more for their ſatisfaction, than for any other reſpect, theſe words were put in, that they are inſtituted by *Chriſt*. 1562 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip* II.

The *French-men* and *Spaniards* had the ſame end, to provide againſt the ambition and avarice of the Court, which did domineer at their pleaſure, with precepts, unprofitable, and of no fruit, and drew a great quantity of money from Chriſtian Nations, by collation of Benefices, and Diſpenſations. But the *Spaniards* judged, in regard of the devotion which the people of their Country bear to the Pope, and of the inclination of the King, and of his Council, abhorring novities, if this had been done directly, and openly, it would have raiſed a ſcandal, and could not have been effected, and that the Pope would eaſily have interpoſed ſo many difficulties with the Princes, that they ſhould never have been able to come to the declaration thereof; but that according to the Cuſtom of that Nation, they ought to take their aim afar off, and, by declaring that juriſdiction and reſidence are from *Chriſt*, and *de jure Divino*, to put that order in reputation with the people, to withſtand the violent courſes which the Court of *Rome* might take againſt their perſons, that ſo in progreſs of time, they might have means to reform the Churches, for the ſervice of God, and tranquillity of the people, reſtoring the liberty uſurped by the *Romans*.

But the *French-men*, who by nature do proceed openly, and with paſſion, eſteem theſe Arts vain. They ſaid, there would not want means at *Rome* to make them unprofitable, and that they required ſo much time before they could be brought to effect, that no good hope could be conceived of them; that the true means was, without art, directly and plainly to ruſh down the abuſes, which are too clear and manifeſt, and that there was no greater difficulty to obtain this, which was the principal end, than there was to obtain the pretence, which being obtained, would be as much as nothing. And their counſels were no leſs different in another particular alſo. They all agreed, in judging it neceſſary that the execution of the Decrees of the Council ſhould be ſo firm and ſtable, that it might not be altered. But there was ſome difference between the *French-men* and *Spaniards*, about the manner how to order that the Decrees of that Council might neither be derogated from, nor altered by the Pope, by *Diſpenſations*, *non obſtantia's*, and ſuch other clauſes of *Rome*. And therefore the *French-men* deſigned that the ſuperiority of the Council above the Pope ſhould be decided, or a conſtitution made, that the Decrees thereof could neither be derogated from, nor diſpenſed with, which would be an abſolute remedy. The *Spaniards* thought it a hard point, and therefore not to be attempted, becauſe the Pope would always be favoured by Princes, when he ſhould complain that his Authority was diminiſhed, and would be aſſiſted by the greater part of the *Italian* Prelates, in regard of the Dignity of their Country, and for many private intereſts. And for themſelves, they thought it ſufficient that the Council ſhould make the Decrees, purpoſing afterward to obtain a *Pragmatick* from the King upon them, by which means they would ſo be eſtabliſhed, that the Popes Diſpenſations to the contrary could not enter into *Spain*.

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The Legates diſpatched an expreſs Currier, with a Copy of the propoſition of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and of the animadverſion of ſome Canoniſts made upon it, ſhewing that the Papal authority was in queſtion, demanding that order ſhould be ſent them what to do. Whereof the Cardinal, when he knew it, was very ſenſible and complained that having given the Copy before he ſpake in the Congregation, and the Legates ſeeming to be pleaſed, they had afterwards ſhewed ſo much diſtruſt of him. He ſaid he thought it ſtrange, that fear was apprehended by every thing that either himſelf, or any of the *French* Prelates ſaid, or did. He complained that his Nation was wronged by the *Italians*, affirming, that, with his own ears, he had heard ſome *Italian* Prelates ſcornfully uſe that ſcurrile Proverb, which was already made common throughout all *Trent*, that is, That *from the Spaniſh Scab, we are fallen into the French Pox:* of which the other *Frenchmen* did complain upon every occaſion, and the *Spaniards* alſo. Whoſe complaints, as the cuſtome is, did more incite the curious; and the ſuſpicions and diffidences between the Nations, did with very great danger, encreaſe: neithey were the Legates and wiſer ſort of Prelates able to ſtop the motion, though they oppoſed both with authority and with perſwaſions.

The Legates ſend the propoſition of the Card. of *Lorain* to *Rome*. Wherewith he is diſpleaſed.

A diſgraceful Proverb in *Trent*.

The *French*-*men*, being provoked, did reſolve to make proof of their liberty, and agreed, that in the Congregation of the ſeventh day, the Cardinal of *Lorain* ſhould not be preſent, and that their Prelates who were to ſpeak ſhould uſe freedom, and that, if they were reprehended, their Ambaſſadors ſhould proteſt; and *Lanſac*, that they might know it and beware, in preſence of many of them, ſaid to *Antonius Lecius*, Biſhop of *Orange*, one of the Speakers, that he ought to ſpeak freely, and without fear, and that the Kings protection was ſufficient to maintain him. This being reported to the Legates was a cauſe that they were heard with much patience, though they ſaid that the inſtitution and jurisdiction of Biſhops was *de jure divino*, as well as that of the Pope, and that there was no difference, but in degree of ſuperiority, and that the Popes authority is confined within the limits of the Canons, relating, and commending the ſtile of the Parliaments of *France*; that, when any Popes Bull is preſented which containeth any thing contary to the Canons received in *France*, they pronounce it to be abuſive, and forbid the execution. This liberty made the Papalins uſe more reſpect in their ſpeeches, though the Proverb pleaſed them ſo well, that ſometimes ſome of the merry Prelates could not forbear to uſe it.

The *French* opinion concerning the Popes authority.

The pretence for the abſence of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, was the advice of the death of the King of *Navarre*, which came to *Trent* that day. This Prince, wounded with a Bullet at the ſiege of *Roan*, in *September*, was never well cured, and at the laſt, dyed. Near unto his death, he received the Communion after the Catholick manner, at the perſwaſion of his Phyſician *Viſentius Laurus*, and afterwards wavered towards the Doctrine of the Proteſtants, and ſo dyed the tenth of *November*. This accident made a great mutation in the Council; and *Lorain* did ſuddenly change all his deſigns. For that King had a principal hand in the Commiſſions given to the Cardinal at his departure, ſo that he was uncertain whether, after his death, the Queen and others would continue in the ſame heat. Beſides he ſaw a manifeſt change in the whole Government, and therefore deſired to be in *France*, that himſelf might bear part of it alſo. For the Prince of *Conde* being in

The death of the King of *Navar* made a great change in *Trent*, and in *France*.

in open dissention, distrusting the Queen and those who had power with her, the Cardinal of *Bourbon* uncapable, *Montpensier* in small credit, the *Constable* old, of whom many also were emulous, he had a great conceit that his Brother might be the chief for Arms, and him elf for Counsel. And he ruminated these things in his mind, thinking but little of the Council, and of *Trent* where he was. The other *French men* said openly, they ought to thank God for the death of the King, because he began to waver, and to joyn his own interests with those of his Brother, and of the other *Hugonots*.

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The next day, being the eighth of *December*, was all spent in Ceremonies, for the Election of *Maximilian* King of the *Romans*. The Archbishop of *Prague* sang the Mass of the Holy Ghost, with the assistance of the whole Council: the Bishop of *Tininia* made a Sermon, in commendation of the Prince, and the Cardinals and Ambassadors were invited by *Prague*.

So soon as the Diet was assembled in *Francfort*, the Prince of *Conde* sent, not only to demand assistance from the Protestant Princes, but also to treat an union of the *Hugonots*, with those of the Confession of *Ausburg*; and in particular, to make a joint demand for a free new Council, in which the resolutions of *Trent* might be examined, the *French-men* of the old Catholick Religion giving hope also that they would agree unto it, because it had been promised to the Ambassador of *France*, (who afterwards was created Cardinal *della Bordissiera*) that it should be done. But the *Dutch* Protestants were most averse from the Council, so long as *Germany* might be in peace without it. And therefore a Book was printed in *Francfort*, full of excuses, and reasons, why they neither would, nor could come to *Trent*, with protestation of the nullity of all that was, and would be done in that place.

The Coronation of the King of *Bohemia*.

The King was first anointed, and crowned King of *Bohemia*, in *Prague*, in presence of his Father, the Emperour, by that Archbishop who went from *Trent* into *Bohemia*, to perform that Ceremony, that the King might have a voice in the Imperial Diet. Being come to *Francfort*, they were forced to expect until the Canons of *Colen* had elected their Archbishop, because that See was then void; so that the Princes had much time to handle many matters, expecting still in that place; that the number of seven might be full, by the Coronation in *Bohemia*, and the election in *Colen*. They were troubled in *Rome* with these things, and afraid, that the Diet would send to *Trent*, to protest, and that some new form would be used in the Coronation, and the old abolished, which would shew an inclination to depart from the ancient Rites; or that some promise would be made, by the new King, prejudicial to the Popes Authority. But the Emperour, and the King used much art to divert the handling of points of Religion before the Election, which was made the 24. of *November*, and the Coronation the last of that Month. In which the Electors, and other Protestant Princes stood at the *Mass* until the Gospel was read, and then they went forth. This only was new. But the Popes *Nuncio* took place above the Electors and Ambassadors. The Coronation being past, the Emperour began to practise with some of the Protestants, that they would adhere to the Council of *Trent*; who, not to be prevented, assembling themselves together, presented to the Emperour the answer promised 20 Months before to his Ambassadors, in the Assembly at *Namburg*, which was deferred until then. In which having declared the causes why they had, in many Imperial Diets, appealed and did

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appeal again unto a free Council, they added the conditions, which they held to be neceſſary, with which they offered to aſſiſt in a future general Council. 1. That it ſhould be celebrated in *Germany*. 2. That it ſhould not be intimated by the Pope. 3. That he ſhould not preſide, but be part of the Council, ſubject to the determinations thereof. 4. That the Biſhops and other Prelates ſhould be freed from their Oath given to the Pope, that they may freely, and without impediment, deliver their opinions. 5. That the holy Scripture might be Judge in the Council, and all Humane Authority excluded. 6. That the Divines of the States of the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*, ſent to the Council, might not only have a conſulting, but deciding voice alſo, and might have a ſafe-conduct, both for their perſons, and for the exerciſe of their Religion. 7. That the deciſions in Council, ſhould not be made, as in Secular matters, by plurality of voices, but the more ſound opinions preferred, that is, thoſe which were regulated by the word of God. 8. That the acts of the Council of *Trent* ſhould be made void, becauſe it is partial, celebrated by one part only, and not governed according to promiſe. 9. That if a concord in Religion cannot be concluded in the Council, the conditions of *Paſſau* may remain inviolable, as alſo the peace of Religion, made in *Ausburg*, in the year 1555. may continue in ſtrength and force, and every one bound to obſerve it. 10. That, concerning the foreſaid conditions, a fit and ſufficient caution be given. The Emperour, having received the writing, promiſed to labour for concord, and to uſe means that the Council may be celebrated, where they cannot refuſe, with Reaſon, to aſſiſt, ſo that on their part they would lay aſide hatred and paſſion, which are contrary to Chriſtian Peace. And, to this end, he offered to go in perſon to *Trent*, and reſolved to paſs to *Iſpruc*, ſo ſoon as the Diet was ended, where being diſtant from *Trent* but four ſmall days journey, he might in a ſhort time effect whatſoever was neceſſary.

Conditions required by the Proteſtants of *Germany*, before they would aſſiſt the Council.

But in Council the Prelates having made an end of giving voices concerning the Inſtitution, ſo much diſcuſſed: no reſolution was made, becauſe the Legates did expect it from *Rome*: But they gave forth the Canon of Reſidence, having firſt imparted it to the Cardinal of *Lorain*, which was, as was ſaid before, without the declaration whether it was *de jure Divino*, or no, but with Rewards and Penalties. And *Lorain* giving his voice firſt, ſaid it was neceſſary to grant power to the Biſhops to abſolve from caſes reſerved *In cœna Domini*: which he proteſted he ſpake, not to diminiſh the Authority of his Holineſs, but becauſe, having ſeen in *France* that no Tranſgreſſor thereof did care to go or ſend to *Rome* for abſolution, he thought it worſe, both for the ſouls of the People, and for the dignity of the Apoſtolick See, to leave them in thoſe cenſures. He added alſo that he thought it not fit ſo to tye Biſhops to Reſidence, that they might not be abſent for juſt cauſes, which were to be referred to the judgment of his Holineſs. He ſaid moreover, that the publick Employments in the Affairs of Kingdoms, and Republicks, were to be accepted, becauſe they ſeem not to be aliene from the Epiſcopal charge, eſpecially in Kingdoms, where the Eccleſiaſtical Order is a member of the State, as in *France*, and the Kingdoms of *Spain* alſo. The Cardinal was very prolix; and howſoever he repeated often that Reſidence was neceſſary, and that it was fit to make Proviſion for it, yet he interpoſed ſo many exceptions, and excuſes, that, in the end, no man could judge whether he would have any conſtitution to be made for it or no.

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The Legates imparted the Articles of Reformation for the future Seſſion to the Ambaſſadors alſo, according to promiſe, before they were propoſed in Congregation; which were all for remedies of the abuſes in the Sacrament of *Order*. And therefore the *French* Ambaſſadors and Biſhops met in the Houſe of *Lorain*, to conſider of them, and deputed four Biſhops to examine whether any thing was contained in them prejudicial to the priviledges of the *French* Church, or whether any thing might be added for the ſervice of their Country, and withal they gave order to the Ambaſſador *de Ferrieres*, to collect, in Congregation of the ſame Biſhops, all the Reformations, formerly propoſed in *Trent*, under *Paulus* and *Julius*, and in the preſent Council alſo, and in the Congregation of *Poiſi*, to make an abſtract of them, and, adding unto them thoſe which were contained in the Kings inſtructions, and whatſoever ſeemed good unto them beſides, ſhould compoſe Articles for all Chriſtendom, and *France* eſpecially. 1562

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But the Imperialiſts, ſeeing that none of the Reformations mentioned by them were propoſed, called together all the Ambaſſadors. *Prague* ſpake unto them, and told them, that much time was conſumed in Council with doing of nothing; that the Legates had often promiſed to handle Reformation, and yet they were entertained with ſpeculations, or with proviſions againſt ſmall abuſes; that it was time to make an effectual inſtance that they would begin to handle important and urgent matters, and that if all would joyn in requeſting the execution of ſo many promiſes, made by the Pope and the Legates, there might be hope to obtain. All conſented; but when they came to particulars, they were ſo different, that they could not agree but in the general, only to demand a Reformation. Whereupon it was reſolved, that *Prague*, in delivering his voice, ſhould deſire it, in the name of all; and ſo he did.

And, in the matter of Reſidence, he ſaid in few words, that the entertainments being taken from the Prelates, which they enjoy in the Courts of *Rome*, and other Princes, any Decree would ſuffice. The opinion of the Archbiſhop of *Otranto* was, that the Decree of the ſaid Council under *Paul* the Third was ſufficient, adding only they Popes Bull, dated the fourth of *September* 1560. Others demanded that the cauſes of Abſence, which the Synod deemeth to be lawful, ſhould be expreſſed, becauſe the greateſt difficulty is like to ariſe upon this point. The Bull, named by *Otranto*, did contain a command of perſonal Reſidence, under the penalties, declared by the Council, and four graces to thoſe which reſide. That is, that they may not be cited to the Court, but with Commiſſion ſigned by the Pope. That they ſhall be free from all impoſitions, ordinary and extraordinary, though impoſed at the petition of Princes. That they may exerciſe juriſdiction againſt every Secular Clerk, or Regular, dwelling out of his Cloyſter. That no appeal may lye from their ſentences, but only from the definitive. Others were content with the Decree; as it was propoſed by the Legates, but with ſome alteration, all fit for their own reſpects, which were as many as there were perſons. Some required that the declaration *de jure Divino*, might be made. And there was a fourth opinion, that although it be *de jure Divino*, yet it was not fit to make declaration thereof.

The Cardinal of *Lorain* aſſembled the *French* Prelates to diſpute upon this point; who concluded uniformly, that it was *de jure Divino*. The Biſhop of *Angiu*, was the firſt that gave his opinion ſo, and all the reſt did follow him. But in the general Congregation of the Synod,

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the Prelates were unſpeakably tedious; whereof the Cardinal of *Lorain* complained to the Legates, deſiring to have thoſe matters diſpatched, that they might come to the Reformation, repeating the words ſo often uſed, that if ſatisfaction be not given them in *Trent* they will take it at home.

The ſuffrage of the Biſhop of *Veglia* concerning Reſidence.

Fryer *Albertus Duimius* Biſhop of *Veglia*, alledging that the point of Reſidence was diſcuſſed in the Council under *Paul* the Third, and the deciſſion deferred until another time, ſaid, that therefore it was neceſſary to ſee the Reaſons then alledged by the Prelates; that now they had given their voices without alledging Reaſons, which himſelf would not do, eſteeming Reaſons more than authority and multitude of Opinions. And then he began to recite all the Reaſons for proof that it is *de jure Divino*, and to reſolve the contrary. He inſiſteth much upon the ſaying of *Chriſt*, *A good Shepherd goeth before the Flock, calleth every Sheep by name, runneth through the deſart to ſeek that which is loſt, and layeth down his life for them.* He ſheweth that this was underſtood of all thoſe whom *Chriſt* hath inſtituted *Paſtors*; which are all thoſe who have cure of Souls, eſpecially the Biſhops, as St. *Paul* ſaid and wrote to the *Epheſians*; that whoſoever did hold himſelf not to be bound by the Decree of *Chriſt* to perform theſe Offices, or was more fit for the Affairs of Kingdoms, or Common-wealths, ought to leave the charge of a *Paſtor*, and apply himſelf to thoſe matters only; that it is very much to perform one charge well, but to perform two, which be contrary, is impoſſible. His prolixity did not pleaſe the Cardinals, becauſe he was the firſt that diſputed, that matter with Reaſon. He ſpake with great vehemency, uſing many phraſes and words, taken out of Saint *Hierom*. *Simoneta* would willingly have interrupted, but forbare, in regard of the occurrence of the Biſhop of *Guadice*. But he called him, in the preſence of many Prelates, and reprehended him ſharply for ſpeaking againſt the Pope. The Biſhop defended himſelf humbly and with Reaſons: and a few dayes after, alledging indiſpoſition, asked leave to depart, and had it, and departed the one and twentieth of the Month.

Who quitteth *Trent* for fear.

The Prelates are terrified with the popes authority.

After this time the Controverſy about Reſidence changed ſtate, and thoſe who did abhor it, did labour no more to demonſtrate by Reaſons or Authority, as untill then they had done, that it was of the Law of man, but began to terrify thoſe of the contrary opinion, by ſaying, that to maintain that it was *de jure Divino*, was to diminiſh the Popes Authority; becauſe it would follow that he could not enlarge or diminiſh, divide or unite, change or transfer Epiſcopal Sees, nor leave them vacant, or give them an adminiſtration, or *commenda*; that he could not reſtrain, much leſs take away the authority to abſolve; that, by this determination, all diſpenſations granted by Popes, were condemned at once, and power taken away to grant them hereafter. The other part, who ſaw the neceſſity of thoſe conſequences, which they thought were not unfit, but that it was the truth, and the lawful uſe of the ancient Church, & that the declaration was propoſed for no other end than to remove thoſe inconveniences, themſelves alſo omitting to uſe Reaſons and Authority, to prove it to be *de jure divino*, began to ſhew, that Reſidence being reſtored by that declaration, it would turn to the inlargement of the Popes power, and increaſe the reverence towards the Clergy, and eſpecially towards the Pope, who hath loſt authority in ſo many Provinces, becauſe Biſhops, not reſiding, but governing by unable Vicars, have left a way open for the ſowing of new Doctrines,

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which, with ſo much detriment of the Popes Authority, have taken root. If Biſhops do reſide, his Authority will be preached every where and confirmed where it is acknowledged as yet, and reſtored where it hath been ſhaken. Neither of the parties could ſpeak with ſuch terms, but that their diſſimulation was perceived on both ſides, and their inward thoughts, which they would have concealed, were but too manifeſt. They were all masked, and yet all known. Being aſſembled again the ſixteenth of *December*, one half of the Prelates having not as yet given their voices, Cardinal *Seripando* propoſed the prorogation of the Seſſion; and being not able then to foreſee when they could diſpatch, they reſolved to prefix a certain time, within fifteen days. And the Cardinal admoniſhed the Prelates of their great prolixity, in giving their voices, which did aim only at oſtentation, took away the reputation of the Council, and did prolong it, to the great incommodity of them all.

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The Pope was much afflicted with the death of *Frederick Boromeo* his Nephew, which happened in the end of the laſt Month; upon whom thinking to confer all the greatneſs of his Houſe, he had married him to a Daughter of the Duke of *Urbin*, made him general Governour of the Church, and purpoſed alſo to give him the Dukedom of *Camerino*, and becauſe he was old, and oppreſſed with grief, he fell into a dangerous ſickneſs; out of which being recovered, he applyed his mind to the affairs of the Council. He held divers Congregations, to find a temper concerning the two Canons, of the Inſtitution, and of Reſidence, which were thought by all the Court to be very dangerous for the Popes Authority; as alſo to make ſome proviſion againſt the prolixity of the Prelates, in delivering their opinions, becauſe it did prolong the Council, and left a Gate open for all thoſe to enter, who would attempt any thing againſt his dignity. Above all, that which was deſigned by the *French-men* did trouble him, eſpecially, becauſe he did never receive Letters from *Trent*, in which it was not ſaid, that either the Cardinal of *Lorain*, or ſome of the Ambaſſadors did make requeſt for Reformation, with this addition, that if they could not obtain thoſe proviſions they demanded, they would make them at home, making mention often of providing againſt the *annats*, *preventions*, and other things properly belonging to the Pope of *Rome*. He reſolved to deal plainly with the *French-men*; and to thoſe which were in *Rome* he ſaid, that, having ſo often offered to treat with the King concerning his own rights, and to come to a friendly compoſition, and ſeeing that his Miniſters in the Council do always make ſhew that they will ſpeak of them in the Synod, he was reſolute to ſee whether he would break out into an open diſſention with him. He gave order, by an expreſs Currier, to his *Nuncio* in *France* to ſpeak hereof; and wrote to the Cardinal of *Lorain*, that thoſe matters could not be propoſed in Council, without breach of the Kings promiſes, expreſly made unto him, by *Monſieur d' Auxerres*. He complained in Conſiſtory of the impertinency of the Biſhops in *Trent*, in making every thing long, to no purpoſe. He exhorted the Cardinals to write to their Friends, and himſelf wrote to the Legates, to uſe threats and authority, ſeeing that perſwaſions did no good. Concerning the Articles of the Inſtitution he wrote, that to make the inſtitution of Biſhops abſolutely *de jure Divino*, was a falſe opinion, and erroneous; becauſe the power of *Order* was from *Chriſt*, but of juriſdiction from the Pope, which, in this reſpect may be ſaid to be from *Chriſt*, becauſe the Papal Authority cometh from his Divine Majeſty, ſo that whatſoever the Pope

1562 doth, *Chriſt* doth by him. And for a reſolution, he wrote, that either the words *de jure Divino*, ſhould be quite omitted, or they ſhould be uſed in that form which he ſent, in which it was ſaid that *Chriſt* did inſtitute Biſhops to be created by the Pope, who may diſtribute to them what and how much Authority it pleaſed him to give them, for the benefit of the Church, having abſolute power to reſtrain and amplifie that which is given, as ſeemeth good unto him. Then he wrote, that, in the particular of Reſidence, it being a clear caſe that the Pope hath power to diſpenſe, they ſhould, by all good caution of words, reſerve his Authority in the Decree, in which the words *de jure Divino*, could by no means be put; as *Catharinus* had well proved, from whoſe opinion, being Catholick, they ought not to depart. For holding the Seſſion, he wrote confuſedly, that it ſhould not be deferred above fifteen days, nor celebrated before the matter were in order, that the envious might not take occaſion to calumniate.

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The Duke of *Bavaria* ſendeth Ambaſſadors to *Rome*.

A Solemn Ambaſſage from the Duke of *Bavaria* paſſed by *Trent* to go to *Rome*, to obtain of the Pope the Communion of the Cup. They had Audience with the Legate, and ſecret conference with the Cardinal of *Lorain*. This wakened the Controverſie in that matter, which was aſleep; and the *Spaniards*, and many *Italians*, (howſoever the matter was referred to the Pope by the major part) ſaid it would be a prejudice to the Council, if, while that laſted, that uſe ſhould be permitted. And all the Fathers were in a hurly-burly, becauſe Letters came from *Rome* to divers Prelates, that the Council ſhould be ſuſpended, which report was confirmed by *Don John Manriques* who paſſed by *Trent*, from *Germany* to *Rome*. But the Legates, having received the Popes Letters, thought it impoſſible to execute the orders he had ſent, and that it was neceſſary to give him a more particular account of the occurrences, than could be done by writing, and make him underſtand that the Council cannot be governed as at *Rome* they think it can, that they might receive a more plain inſtruction from his Holineſs what they ſhould do. And it being neceſſary to ſend a man of judgment, well informed, and of credit with the Pope, they found none better than the Biſhop of *Ventimiglia*, whom they reſolved to diſpatch with ſpeed. The Holy-days of *Chriſtmaſs* approaching gave them fit occaſion firſt to proceed ſlowly, and afterwards to intermit the Congregations and ſo to have leiſure to make that diſpatch; which was done the ſix and twentieth of *December*.

The Legates ſend the B. of *Ventimiglia* to the Pope.

The Battel & other troubles in *France*.

The eight and twentyeth, news came to *Trent* of the Battel in *France*, which happened the ſeventeenth of the Month, in which the Prince of *Conde* was taken Priſoner. That Kingdom was very turbulent all that year, for the differences of Religion, which gave a beginning firſt unto a gentle, and afterwards unto a furious War. For the *Huguenots* encreaſing in *Paris*, to the great diſcontent of the Catholicks, who are many in the City, and adhering to the Prince of *Conde*, the *Conſtable*, with his Sons, and the Houſe of *Guiſe*, with ſome others, to hinder the greatneſs unto which that Prince did aſpire, made a League, and deſigned to make themſelves Leaders of the People of *Paris*, and to chaſe, by their means, from that City and the Court, the Prince and his Followers. Each of them departing from his Houſe, to go towards *Paris*, and in the journey ſlaying and diſperſing the *Hugonots*, whom they found aſſembled in divers places, they entred into *Paris*; and, having drawn the King of *Navarre* to their ſide, and cauſed the City to Arm in their favour, the Queen was conſtrained to join with them. Hereupon

upon the Prince going out of *Paris*, and retiring, with his Adherents, to *Orlience*, *Manifeſts* and Writings paſſed on both ſides, each proteſting they did nothing but for the Liberty and Service of the King. But the *Conſtable* and *Guiſe* waxing every day ſtronger, in *April* the Prince wrote to all the Reformed Churches of *France*, demanding Souldiers and Money, and declaring War againſt the Defenders of the Catholick party, calling them perturbers of the publick quiet, and violaters of the Kings Edict, publiſhed in favour of the Reformatiſts. The Princes Letters were accompanied with others of the Miniſters of *Orleans*, and of ſome other Cities, which cauſed thoſe of that Religion to arm. And there fell out an accident which did incite them more. For at the ſame time the Edict of *January* (whereof we have already made mention) was publiſhed again in *Paris*, with an addition, that neither in the Suburbs of the City, nor within the ſpace of a League any Aſſembly of Religion ſhould be held, or Sacraments adminiſtred but after the old *Rite*. And in the end of *May* the King of *Navarre* made all the Reformatiſts go out of *Paris*; but proceeded with ſuch moderation, that none of them were offended.

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War brake forth in all Provinces of *France*, between theſe parties, and that Summer there were at the leaſt fourteen formal Armies, all at one time, in divers parts of the Kingdom. The Sons fought againſt their Fathers, Brothers againſt Brothers, and even Women took Arms on both ſides, for defence of their Religion. There was almoſt no part in *Dolphiny*, *Languedoc*, and *Gaſcoigne*, which was not vexed oftentimes, the Catholicks, remaining Conquerors in ſome places, and the Reformatiſts in others, with ſuch variety of accidents, that it would be tedious to repeat them, and beſides our purpoſe, which requireth that nothing ſhould be related by us but concerning *Trent*, except thoſe which have a connexion with the Council, as the things following have. Where the *Hugonots* overcame, the Images were beaten down, the Altars deſtroyed, the Churches ſpoiled, and the Ornaments of Gold and Silver melted, to make Money for Souldiers pay; where the Catholicks were Conquerors, they burned the Bibles in the vulgar tongue, re-baptized Children, and re-married thoſe who had been married according to the New Ceremonies. And the condition of the Clergy on both ſides was moſt miſerable, who, whenſoever they were taken, were cruelly murthered, without all humanity. In *July* the Parliament of *Paris* made a Decree, that it ſhould be lawful to ſlay all the *Hugonots*, which, by publick order, was read every *Sunday* in every Pariſh. Afterwards they added another, declaring them Rebels, Publick Enemies, themſelves infamous, and all their poſterity, and the goods of thoſe who took Arms in *Orliens* confiſcated, except *Conde*, upon pretence that they held him by force. And how ſoever there were many Treaties between the parties, and a verbal Conference alſo between the Queen Mother, and the Prince, yet ſuch was the ambition of the Grandees, that it was impoſſible to find out any means of compoſition.

A Bloody Decree made by the Parliament of *Paris*.

But the King of *Navarre* being dead, who perhaps would not have ſuffered them to proceed to an open War, the Queen reſolving to regain obedience with Arms, demanded aid of all the Princes. And becauſe the people of the Low Countries did learn, by this Example, to be more contumacious, and obſtinate, the Kings Authority diminiſhed every day, and could not be repaired by the Governors. And the King refuſed to go thither to oppoſe his perſon againſt the ill diſpoſition of the people, and the deſigns of the Grandees, as *Granuel*, the chief

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chief in that Government, had given him counſel. For that wiſe King knew how dangerous it was to be contemned to his face, and doubted that, inſtead of gaining *Flanders* he ſhould make it more contumacious, and, in the mean while, loſe *Spain*. But he thought by ſubduing the *French-men*, who rebelled againſt their King, he might make an abſolute proviſion againſt the contumacy of his own ſubjects. And therefore he offered the Queen great aſſiſtance of men and money, ſufficient to ſubject the whole Kingdom unto her. But the Queen refuſed the men and demanded the money, knowing that if ſhe had received a *Spaniſh* Army, ſhe ſhould have been forced to govern *France*, not according to her own intereſts, but of the King of *Spain*. Yet taking a middle courſe, ſhe received ſix thouſand men, with which, and with her own Forces, conducted by the *Conſtable*, and the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Battel was made the ſeventeenth day aforeſaid, in which three thouſand *Hugonots*, and five thouſand Catholicks were ſlain, and the Generals on both ſides, *Conde* and the *Conſtable*, taken Priſoners. Neither of the Armies was diſcomfited, by vertue of the Lieutenants on both ſides, *Guiſe* for the Catholicks, and *Colignie* for the *Hugonots*. The Queen did make *Guiſe* the General, which did not deter *Coligne* from maintaining his Army, preſerving the Places he poſſeſſed, and making ſome progreſs alſo.

The Queen Mother refuſeth the *Spaniſh* Army.

Solemnities are uſed in *Trent* for the victory in *France*.

For this Victory (for ſo it was called, though it deſerved not the name) thanks were given to God in *Trent*, by all the Fathers aſſembled together, making a Proceſſion and ſinging a *Maſs*. *Franciſcus Belcarrus*, Biſhop of *Metz*, made an oration alſo, in which, relating all the ſtory of the confuſions of *France*, ſince the death of *Francis* the Second, and the ſucceſs of the laſt War, he gave the praiſe of all that was well done to the Duke of *Guiſe* only. He ſaid *Martin Luther* was the cauſe of all thoſe troubles, who, though but a little ſpark, had raiſed a great fire, firſt in *Germany* and afterwards in all the Provinces of Chriſtendom, except *Italy* and *Spain*. He exhorted the Fathers to aſſiſt the Chriſtian Common-wealth, becauſe they only were able to extinguiſh that flame. He told them that this was the ſix and twentieth year ſince *Paul* the Third began to heal this diſeaſe, by intimating the Council there; which was firſt deferred, then diſſembled, and finally celebrated with divers Factions, until it was transferred to *Bolonia*, where there were many dilations, and greater contentions, and more bitter Factions than before. Afterwards it was recalled to *Trent*, and, by reaſon of the Wars, diſſolved. Now that they were come to the laſt, there was no more place for diſſimulation, becauſe the Council would either reconcile the whole world, or caſt it headlong into an infallible ruin. Therefore it was fit that the Fathers ſhould not regard their private intereſts, nor have particular deſigns, nor ſpeak in favour of others, in regard the cauſe of Religion was in queſtion, which will be utterly overthrown, if they caſt their Eye upon any thing beſides. This liberty of ſpeech he tempered with flattery, firſt towards the Pope, then towards the Emperor, Kings of the *Romans*, and of *Polonia*. He paſſed to the commendations of the Queen Mother of *France*, and of the King of *Portugal*, and, in the end, exhorted them to reform the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline.

The Cardinal of *Lorain*, having received News of the impriſonment of the Prince, was very glad, particularly for the honour of his Brother, and deſired the more to return quickly into *France*, to aſſiſt him in the Court and in the Kings Council, and to raiſe himſelf alſo one degree higher

higher, in regard *Navarre* and the Conſtable, to whom he was neceſſarily to yield, were both taken away. 1562

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The Pope is troubled that the Emperour will go to *Iſpruc.*

The Pope was full of ſuſpicion for the journey to *Iſpruc*, which the Emperour had publiſhed, thinking he would not go thither without great deſigns, and without aſſurance to effect them. He believed he had ſecret intelligence with *France* and *Spain*, but knew not to what end, but only in general, that it was a plot againſt him. Therefore he reſolved to go in perſon to *Bolonia*, to ſend eight or ten Cardinals to *Trent*, to make greater aliance with the *Italian* Princes, and to confirm the Prelates his adherents in Council, until he could find ſome occaſion to diſſolve or ſuſpend it. And, to hinder all Treaties in *Trent* of reforming the Court, he laboured much himſelf in that buſineſs. He reformed the *Rota*; publiſhing a *Brief*, dated the ſeven and twentyeth of *December*, in which he ordained, that no *Auditor* ſhould proceed to a definitive, howſoever the caſe might be plain, before he made the propoſition to the whole College, without conſent of the parties; that the ſentences pronounced in Writing, ſhould be produced within fifteen days; that the cauſes of the *Auditors* themſelves, or of their Kinsfolk unto the ſecond Degree, or of any of their Family, ſhall not be heard in the *Rota*; that the parties ſhall not be forced to receive an Advocate; that no deciſion ſhall be made againſt thoſe which be printed, except two thirds of the voices do conſent: that they ſhall be bound to remit every cauſe which ſeemeth to be criminal. In the ſame Bull he made alſo a Tax for moderation of Fees. He reformed likewiſe by other Bulls, publiſhed the firſt of the next *January*, the ſignature of juſtice, the Tribunals of *Rome*, the Office of the Fiſcal Advocate, ordaining what Fees they ſhould have, But the uſual extorſions were ſo far from being redreſſed by theſe Proviſions, that by tranſgreſſing the new Orders, they learned to violate the old which were in ſome uſe.

The Courtiers in *Rome* thinking the Catholicks in *France* had gotten an abſolute victory, and that the *Hugonots* were reduced to nothing, were exceeding glad. For believing that *France* had obtained that by Arms which it expected from the Synod, and there being no further regard to be had of *Germany*, which proteſted againſt it, they thought that all cauſes of holding the Council were ceaſed, ſo that it might be ſuſpended or deferred, and themſelves delivered from fear, which had increaſed every week, by reaſon of the novities which happened in *Trent*. But the Pope made no great matter of it. For being informed that the Catholick Forces were not augmented, nor the *Hugonot* diminiſhed, and that this Battel would give occaſion to treat a Peace, which could not be without his prejudice, nor without giving matter of more novities in *Trent*, he was more afraid and troubled than before. And the year 1562. ended thus; a Congregation in *Trent* having been held the thirtyeth of the Month, in which it was reſolved to prolong the Seſſion, and appoint a day for it within fifteen days.

The year 1563. began in Council with the preſentation of the Articles of Reformation made by the *French* Ambaſſadors, which ſeemed very hard to the Legates, and all the Papalins; eſpecially in thoſe particulars in which they would have the *Rites* of the *Roman* Church alter'd, and in which the Emoluments and Profits, which the Apoſtolick *See* receiveth from other Churches, were touched. The Ambaſſadors added the uſual *Appendix*, not to call it a proteſtation, that, if their 1563.

The Articles of Reformation.

propo-

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propoſitions were not embraced, they would provide for their neceſſities in *France*. The Legates were ſure the Pope would be vexed herewith, in regard of the promiſe made unto him, that they would not treat in Council of the *Annats*, and other pecuniary *Rites*, but friendly compoſe the matter with him. Therefore they thought it neceſſary to ſend them to him by a Prelate, and to inform his Holineſs. And they elected the Biſhop of *Viterbo*, as being well inſtructed in the Affairs of *France*, where he had been *Nuncio* many years, and in the deſigns of the Cardinal and *French* Prelates of the Council, with whom he had converſed ſince their arrival. The Cardinal of *Lorain*, informed hereof, perſwaded them to do ſo, and himſelf gave him inſtructions, to ſpeak with the Pope, The Biſhop was ſo nimble, that howſoever the Cardinal held that he was ſent unto him for a Spy, and an Obſerver, yet he carried himſelf ſo well, that he gained the confidence of him and the Ambaſſadors, without loſing that which the Pope and Legates had in him. This Prelate went with inſtruction to repreſent to the Pope all the difficulties which the Legates found, and to bring back a reſolution how they ſhould govern themſelves in every particular, He had inſtructions from *Lorain*, to deſire his Holineſs to take in good part that which was deſired by the King for the neceſſity of his Kingdom, and by them to execute the Commands of his Majeſty, and to offer his endeavours to accommodate the differences of the Inſtitution of Biſhops, and of Reſidence, which held the Council employed in ſmall matters.

The Biſhop of *Viterbo* is ſent to the Pope.

The Emperours Miniſters, ſeeing the Reformation of the *Frenchmen*, and conſidering the Proheme, thought they were noted to have but ſmall Authority. They complained to the Legates that the Articles of Reformation, mentioned by the Emperour and by them, had not been propoſed, though they had given Copies of them, ſent them to *Rome*, and ſpread them throughout *Trent*; deſiring they may be put together with thoſe of the *French-men*. The Legates excuſed themſelves, in regard of the liberty which the Emperour by Letters, and themſelves by word of mouth had given them, to propoſe and omit what ſeemed them good, adding, that they did expect a fit time, and that indeed the *French-men* had not found a good conjecture, while the difference of the two Canons doth continue; which giveth much trouble to his Holineſs. The Ambaſſadors were not ſo ſatisfied, ſaying, there was a great difference between omitting all, and a part, and between deferring, whiles in the mean ſpace things are concealed with due reſpect, and divulging them, and putting them in diſcuſſion. And *Simoneta* replying, that it was hard to diſcern which were fit to be propoſed, but eaſie to know which were to be omitted, in the end they were content to expect what the Pope would ſay to the *French* Propoſitions, ſo that afterwards theirs might be propoſed. The *French* Prelates had conſented, in general terms, to the Articles belonging to *Rites*, and to the grievances of Biſhops, which in their ſecret thoughts they did not approve, becauſe they believed that, in the diſcuſſion of them, they ſhould have the *Spaniards*, and many of the *Italians* their oppoſites; but ſeeing they were ſent to *Rome*, they were afraid that the Pope oppoſing thoſe which touched his Revenues, would yield to the others, and by compoſition be content to give way to thoſe which were prejudicial to them, to avoid others which concerned his own intereſt. For this cauſe they made ſecret practiſes with the other Prelates, perſwading a moderation; which being done after the *French* faſhion,

faſhion, without much caution, was known to the Ambaſſadors. Therefore *Lanſac* aſſembled them all, and reprehended them ſharply, for daring to oppoſe the will of the King, Queen, of the whole Council, and of the Kingdom. He exhorted them, not only not to labour againſt, but to promote the Kings determination. And the admonition was very rigorous. 1563 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip* II.

But before we relate the negotiation in *Rome*, it will not be amiſs to declare the ſubſtance of the *French* propoſition, which preſently was printed in *Ripa* and *Padua*, and contained: That the Ambaſſadors had determined long ſince, in performance of the Kings command, to propoſe to the Council the things contained in that writing; but the Emperour having propoſed almoſt the ſame things, not to importune the Fathers, they had expected to ſee what the Pope would reſolve concerning the propoſitions of his Imperial Majeſty. Now having received a new commandment from the King, and ſeeing the inſtance of the Emperour deferred longer than they thought, they reſolved not to make any more delay, not deſiring any thing ſingular, or ſeparate from the reſidue of Chriſtendom; and that the King, expecting that eſteem ſhould be held of his propoſitions, doth notwithſtanding refer the judgment and knowledge of them all to the Fathers. The points were four and thirty. 1. That Prieſts ſhould not be ordained before they were old, and had a good teſtimony of the people, that they had lived well, and that their carnalities and tranſgreſſions ſhould be puniſhed according to the Canons. 2. That holy *Orders* ſhould not be conferred at the ſame time when the inferiour were, but that every one ſhould be approved in theſe, before he aſcended to thoſe. 3. That a Prieſt ſhould not be ordained before he had a Benefice, or Miniſtery, according to the Council of *Chalcedon*, at which time a Presbyteral title without an Office was not heard of. 4. That the due function ſhould be reſtored to Deacons, and other holy Orders, that they may not ſeem to be bare names, and for ceremony only. 5. That the Prieſts, and other Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters ſhould attend to their vocation, not meddling in any Office, but in the Divine Miniſtery. 6. That a Biſhop ſhould not be made but of a lawful age, manners, and Doctrine, that he may teach, and give example to the people. 7. That no Pariſh Prieſt ſhould be made but of approved honeſty, able to inſtruct the people, celebrate the ſacrifice, adminiſter the Sacraments, and teach the uſe and effect of them to the receivers. 8. That no Abbat or Conventual Prior ſhould be created who hath not ſtudied Divinity in ſome famous Univerſity, and obtained the degree of Maſter, or ſome other. 9. That the Biſhop, by himſelf, or by other preachers, as many as are ſufficient, according to the proportion of the Dioceſs, ſhould preach every Sunday and Holy-day, and in Lent, on faſting days and in Advent, and as often as it ſhall be fit. 10. That the Pariſh Prieſt ſhould do the ſame as often as he hath auditors. 11. That the Abbat and Conventual Prior ſhall read the holy Scripture, and inſtitute an Hoſpital, ſo that the ancient Schools and Hoſpitality may be reſtored to the Monaſteries. 12. That Biſhops, Pariſh Prieſts, Abbats, and other Eccleſiaſtiques, unable to perform their charge, ſhall receive *Coadjutors*, or leave their Benefices. 13. That concerning the Catechiſm, and ſummary inſtruction of Chriſtian Doctrine, that ſhould be ordained which the Emperour hath propoſed to the Council. 14. That no man ſhould have more than

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one benefice, taking away the difference of the quality of perſons, and of benefices compatible and incompatible, a new diviſion not heard of in the ancient Decrees, and a cauſe of many troubles in the Catholick Church; and that the regular benefices ſhould be given to regulars, and ſecular to ſeculars. 15. That he who now hath two or more, ſhall retain that only which he ſhall chooſe within a ſhort time, or ſhall incur the penalty of the ancient Canons. 16. That to take away all note of avarice from the Clergy, nothing be taken, upon any pretence whatſoever, for the adminiſtration of holy things, but that proviſion be made that the Curates, with two Clerks or more, may have whereon to live and maintain hoſpitality, which may be done by the Biſhops by uniting benefices or aſſigning tenths unto them, or, where that cannot be done, the Prince may provide for them by ſubvention, or collections, impoſed upon the Pariſhes. 17. That in Pariſh *Maſſes*, the Goſpel be expounded clearly, according to the capacity of the people, and that the prayers which the pariſh Prieſt maketh together with the people be in the vulgar tongue, and that, the ſacrifices being ended in Latine, publick prayers be made in the vulgar tongue likewiſe, and that at the ſame time, or in other hours, ſpiritual Hymns or Pſalms of *David*, approved by the Biſhop, may be ſung in the ſame language. 18. That the ancient Decree of *Leo* and *Gelaſius*, for the Communion under both kinds, be renewed. 19. That before the adminiſtration of every Sacrament, an expoſition be made in the vulgar, ſo that the ignorant may underſtand their uſe and efficacy. 20. That according to the ancient Canons, benefices may not be conferred by the Vicars, but by the Biſhops themſelves, within the term of ſix months, otherwiſe that the collation may be devolved to the next Superiour, and by degrees to the Pope. 21. That the Mandates of proviſion, *expectatives*, *regreſſes*, *reſignations* in confidence and *commendaes* be revoked, and baniſhed out of the Church, as contrary to the Decrees. 22. That the reſignations in favour be wholly exterminated from the Court of *Rome*, it being as it were an election of ones ſelf, or a demanding of a ſucceſſor, a thing prohibited by the Canons. 23. That ſimple Priories from which the cure of ſouls is taken away, contrary to the foundation, and aſſigned to a perpetual Vicar, with a ſmall portion of tithes, or of other revenue, be reſtored to their former ſtate at the firſt vacancy. 24. That benefices, unto which no office of preaching, adminiſtring the Sacraments, or any other Eccleſiaſtical charge is annexed, may have ſome ſpiritual cure impoſed upon them, by the Biſhop, with the counſel of the Chapter, or be united to the next pariſhes, becauſe no benefice ought or can be without an office. 25. That penſions be not impoſed upon benefices, and thoſe abolished which are impoſed already, that the Eccleſiaſtical revenues may be ſpent in maintaining the Paſtors, and poor, and in other works of piety. 26. That Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction throughout the whole Dioceſs be reſtored to the Biſhops, all exemptions being taken away, but of the chief Governours of the Orders and Monaſteries ſubject unto them, and thoſe who make general Chapters, to whom exemptions are granted by a lawful title, but yet with proviſion that they be not exempted from correction. 27. That the Biſhop may not uſe juriſdiction, and handle matters of great weight concerning the Dioceſs, without the counſel of the Chapter; and that the Canons may reſide continually in the Churches, be of good converſation, learned, and at the leaſt 25 years of age, in regard the Laws, not giving them the free

diſpoſition

diſpoſition of their goods before that time, they ought not to be made counſellours to Biſhops. 28. That the degrees of affinity, conſanguinity, and ſpiritual kindred be obſerved, or reformed, and that it may not be lawful to diſpenſe therein, but with Kings and Princes, for the publick good. 29. That, in regard many troubles have riſen by means of Images, the Synod would make proviſion, that the people may be taught what they ought to believe concerning them, and that the abuſes and ſuperſtitions, if any be uſed in the worſhip of them, may be taken away: and that the ſame be done concerning *indulgences*, *pilgrimages*, *reliques* of Saints, and of companies or confraternities. 30. That the publick and ancient penance in the Catholick Church, for grievous and publick offences, be reſtored and brought into uſe, as alſo faſtings, and other exerciſes of ſorrow, and publick prayers to appeaſe the wrath of God. 31. That excommunication be not decreed for every ſort of offence, or contumacy, but only for the greateſt, and in which the offender doth perſevere after admonition. 32. That, to abbreviate or quite take away ſuits of Law for benefices, by which the whole Clergy is blemiſhed, the diſtinction of *petitory* and *poſſeſſory*, newly invented in thoſe cauſes, may be taken away, nominations of Univerſities aboliſhed, and a commandment given to Biſhops, to give benefices not to thoſe that ſeek them, but to thoſe that avoid them, and are worthy of them: and their merit will be known, if, after their degree received in the Univerſity, they ſhall have ſpent ſome time in preaching, with the conſent of the Biſhop, and approbation of the people. 33. That there being a ſuit for a benefice, an *Oeconomick* may be created, and arbitrators elected by the litigants; which in caſe they refuſe to do, that the Biſhop may nominate, and that theſe may determine the controverſy within ſix months, and that no appeal may lie from them. 34. That the Epiſcopal Synods may be held once a year at the leaſt, and the Provincial once in every three years, and the General, if there be no impediment, every tenth year.

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The negotiation of the Biſhop of *Vintimiglia* in *Rome.*

The first of *January*, *Vintimiglia* arrived in *Rome*, having made the journey in ſeven dayes. He preſented the Letters to the Pope, and declared his credence, relating the cogitations and divers ends and humours which were in the Council, and in what ſort the Legates and other good ſervants of his Holineſs thought the difficulties ought to be managed. The Pope held a Congregation the third day, and gave account of the relation of *Vintimiglia*, ſhewed he was ſatisfied with the diligence and wiſdom of the Legates, and comended the good will of *Lorain*, and gave order that they ſhould conſult upon the point of the inſtitution of Biſhops, which did then eſpecially preſs them. The ſixth day, being the *anniverſary* of his Coronation, he held another Congregation, in which he publiſhed Cardinals *Ferdinando de Medici*, and *Frederico Gonzaga*; the former to conſolate his Father for the miſerable death of another Son, who was Cardinal alſo; and the other to gratify the Legate *Mantua*, and others of the Family, nearly allied to him, by a Marriage of the Legates Nephew to a Siſter of the Cardinal *Barromeo*. Yet the Pope did not omit to aſſiſt at the Conſultation concerning the affairs of the Council; and reſolved to write to the Legates, that the Canon of the inſtitution of Biſhops ſhould be thus compoſed: That the Biſhops do hold the principal place in the Church, depending of the Pope of *Rome*, and that they are by him aſſumed, *in partem ſollicitudinis.* And in the Canon concerning the Popes power, that it ſhould be ſaid; that he hath Authority to feed and govern the Univerſal Church,

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in place of Chriſt, from whom all Authority hath been communicated to him, as General Vicar: but in the Decree of Doctrine they ſhould enlarge the words of the Council of *Florence*; which are, that the holy Apoſtolick *See*, and Pope of *Rome* hath the Primacy in all the world, and is Succeſſor of Saint *Peter* Prince of the *Apoſtles*, the true *Vicar* of *Chriſt*, the Head of all Churches, Father and Maſter of all Chriſtians, to whom, in Saint *Peter*, by *Chriſt* our *Lord*, hath been given full power to feed, rule, and govern the Univerſal Church: adding, that by no means they ſhould depart from that form, which he was certain would be received. For the ſubſtance of it being taken out of a general Council, he that ſhould oppoſe, would ſhew himſelf to be a Schiſmatick, and fall into the cenſures, which, by the providence of God, having always been inflicted upon the contumacious, with the greater exaltation of the Apoſtolick *See*, he was confident that the cauſe of the Church would not be abandoned by the Divine Majeſty, nor by the good Catholicks; and he hoped that in the mean ſpace *Vintimiglia* would be returned, whom he meant to diſpatch ſhortly, with more ample inſtructions. He reſolved to go to *Bolonia*, that he might be near, and ſo the better imbrace all occaſions of finiſhing or tranſlating the Council, which, before they could be adviſed to *Rome*, did vaniſh. He cauſed a *Bull* to be made, that in caſe he ſhould die before his return, the Election ſhould be made in *Rome* by the Colledge of Cardinals.

The negotiation of the Biſhop of *Viterbo.*

The Currier was not ſo ſoon diſpatched for *Trent* with theſe Letters, but *Viterbo* arrived with the *French* Reformation, and revived his trouble. The Pope, when he heard it firſt read, was extreamly impatient, and brake out into theſe words, That the end of it was to take away the *Datary*, the *Rota*, the *Signatures*, and finally all the Apoſtolick Authority. But afterwards he was much pacified by the Biſhops, who told that his Holineſs might be able to divert ſome things, and moderate others, granting ſome few of them. He delivered to him the inſtruction of *Lorain*; which was; that Princes demand many things, to obtain thoſe of which they have moſt need; which do not much concern the Apoſtolick See; as the uſe of the Cup, uſe of the vulgar tongue, and marriage of Prieſts, in which if his Holineſs would give ſatisfaction, it would be eaſy for him to receive honour from the Council, and to obtain his wiſhed end. He ſhewed that many of thoſe Articles did not pleaſe the *French* Biſhops themſelves, who endeavoured to croſs them. The Pope underſtanding theſe things, gave order that the Articles ſhould be diſcuſſed in Congregation, and that *Viterbo* and *Vintimiglia* ſhould be preſent, to inform the occurrences at large; in which it was reſolved, that the Divines and Canoniſts ſhould write concerning thoſe propoſitions, and every one deliver his opinion in paper; And to make ſome diverſion in *France* he gave order to *Ferrara* to releaſe thoſe forty thouſand Crowns to the King, without any condition, and to tell him that the Propoſitions of his Ambaſſadors in *Trent*, were fit in many parts for the Reformation of the Church, which he deſired not only to have Decreed, but to be put in execution alſo, yet ſo, as that he did not approve them all, becauſe ſome were to the diminution of the Kings Authority, who will be deprived of the collation of Abbies, which is a great help to his Majeſty to reward his good ſervants; that the ancient Kings, having their Biſhops too potent, in regard of their great Authority, and contumacious againſt the Regal power, did deſire the Popes to moderate it; but now the

Ambaſſadors

Ambaſſadors by their Propoſitions, would reſtore that Licence, which the Predeceſſors of his Majeſty did wiſely procure to be curbed. Concerning the Popes authority, that it could not to be taken away, becauſe it was given by *Chriſt*, by whom Saint *Peter* and his ſucceſſors were made *Paſtors* of the univerſal Church, and Adminiſtrators of all Eccleſiaſtical goods, that, by taking away the penſions, he ſhall not have power to give Almes, which is one of the moſt principal charges which the Pope hath throughout all the world; that faculty to confer ſome benefices hath been by favour granted to Biſhops, as Ordinaries, which is not fit to be extended to the prejudice of the Univerſal Ordinary, which is the Pope, that as Tithes are due to the Church *de jure Divino*, ſo the tenth of the Tithes of all Churches is due to the Pope; that, for more commodity, this hath been changed into *Annats*; that in caſe they were incommodious for the Kingdom of *France*, he did not refuſe to find a temper, ſo that the right of the Apoſtolick *See* were, in ſome convenient manner, preſerved; but that, as he had often given him to underſtand, this could not be handled in Council, nor by any but himſelf. In the end he gave the Cardinal charge, that having put all theſe things to the Kings conſideration, he ſhould exhort him to give new Commiſſions to his Ambaſſadors. 1563 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip* II.

The Pope ſent alſo to *Trent* the cenſures concerning thoſe Articles, made by divers Cardinals, Prelates, Divines, and Canoniſts of *Rome*, with order that they ſhould defer to ſpeak of them as long as was poſſible; that the Article of Reſidence, and the abuſes concerning the Sacrament of *Order*, might entertain them many days: that when there was neceſſity to propoſe them, they ſhould begin with thoſe which were leaſt prejudicial, as thoſe which appertain to manners, and Doctrine, deferring to treat of thoſe which concern *Rites*, and Benefices; that, in caſe they were forced to propoſe them, impacting the objections to the Prelates their adherents, they ſhould put the [illegible] diſcuſſion and controverſy, and that, in the mean while, he would give order for that which he had reſolved beſides. And this he wrote to the Legates. The Pope writeth again to the Prelates.

In the end of the month, he delivered in Conſiſtory, that the greateſt Princes of Chriſtendom did demand Reformation, which could not be denied them, neither by true reaſons, nor by pretences: and therefore that he was reſolved to give a good example, and, not to fail of his duty, to begin with himſelf, providing againſt the abuſes of the *Datary*, taking away the *coadjutories*, *regreſſes*, *reſignations* in favour, and that the Cardinals ought not only to conſent to it, but to publiſh it to all. The good intention of his Holineſs was generally commended. But ſome conſidered that thoſe uſes were brought in to take away great abuſes of manifeſt Simony, and unlawful bargains, and that they were to take care, that, removing thoſe tolerable inconveniences, which indeed are but againſt the Law of man, a gate be not opened for the return of thoſe which are againſt the Law of *God*. The Cardinal of *Trent* ſaid, that it would be a great prejudice to take away the *Coadjutories* in *Germany*, becauſe thoſe Biſhopricks being annexed to principalities, if coadjutories could not be had for both together, they muſt be had for the principality alone, and ſo the temporal would be divided from the ſpiritual, which would be the utter overthrow of the Church. The Cardinal *Navaggiero* oppoſed the making of *Germany* different, ſaying, that the *Dutch-men* being the firſt that demanded Reformation, they ought to be comprehended at the leaſt. Afterwards the

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the Pope related how many enterpriſes were uſed in Council againſt the priviledges of the *Roman* Church, and ſpake of *Annats Reſervations*, and *preventions*. He ſaid they were neceſſary Subſidies, to maintain the Pope, and Colledge of Cardinals, whereof as themſelves were partakers, ſo it was fit they ſhould labour to defend them, and that he would ſend a number of them to *Trent*, for this ſervice.

The Canons ſent from *Rome*,

In which place, the next day after the arrival of the Currier, who brought from *Rome* the Canons of the inſtitution, which was the fifteenth of *January*, a day appointed to reſolve on the certain time of celebrating the Seſſion, a Congregation was held, and a reſolution made to defer the determination until the fourteenth of *February*. And a Copy was given of the Decrees of the Inſtitution, with order that the Congregations ſhould begin, in which they ſhould be diſcuſſed. And the care of reforming the Decree of Reſidence was committed to *Lorain* and *Madruccio*, together with thoſe Fathers whom they pleaſed to take unto them. In the Congregations following, the forms which came from *Rome* were, with facility, approved by the Patriarchs, and the moſt ancient Archbiſhops, but many difficulties were alledged againſt them by the *Spaniards*, and more by the *Frenchmen*. This paſſage (*That Biſhops do hold the principal place depending of the Pope*) was queſtioned, becauſe the form of ſpeech was ambiguous, which ought to have been plain. After long diſcuſſion, they were content to admit that it ſhould be ſaid, Chief under the Pope, but not dependent. Some alſo oppugned thoſe words, that Biſhops were aſſumed by the Pope into part of the Charge, but would have it ſaid, That they were appointed by *Chriſt*, to take part of the cure: alledging the place of Saint *Cyprian*: *There is but one Biſhoprick, of which every one holdeth a part in ſolidum.* And for the point of the authority to feed, and to govern the Church univerſal, they ſaid that the Church was the firſt tribunal under *Chriſt*, to which every one ought to be ſubject, and that *Peter* was addreſſed to it, as unto a Judge, by the words of *Chriſt*, *Go, tell it to the Church, and he that will not hear the Church, let him be accounted an Heathen, and a Publican.* And they were content it ſhould be ſaid that the Pope had authority to feed, and govern all the Churches, but not the Church univerſal; wherein there was ſmall difference in the *Latin*, between *Univerſalem Eccleſiam*, and *Eccleſias univerſas*. And *Granata* ſaid, I am Biſhop of *Granata*, and the Pope Archbiſhop of the ſame City; inferring that the Pope hath the ſuperintendency of the particular Churches, as the Archbiſhop hath of the Churches of his Suffragans. And it being alledged, that this word, Church Univerſal, was uſed in the Council of *Florence*, it was replyed, that the Council of *Conſtance*, and *Martin* the fifth, in condemning the Articles of *John Wiglif*, doth condemn the Article againſt the Supremacy of the Apoſtolick See, only for ſaying, that it is not ſet over all particular Churches. And here a diſputation began between the *French-men* and the *Italians*, theſe ſaying that the Council of *Florence* was general, that of *Conſtance* partly approved, and partly not, and that other of *Baſil* Schiſmatical; and the others maintaining that thoſe of *Conſtance* and *Baſil* were general Councils, and that this name could not agree to that of *Florence*, celebrated only by ſome few *Italians*, and four *Grecians*. Neither did they grant that the Pope had all the authority from *Chriſt*, no not with the reſtrictions and limitations, as he was a man, and in the time of his mortality; but they were content it ſhould be ſaid, that he had authority equal to that of Saint *Peter*.

Do not abſolutely pleaſe the Fathers.

A difference between the *Italians* and the *French-men* about the Councils of *Conſtance*, *Baſil*, & *Florence*.

Peter. This maner of speech was suspected by the Papalins, who saw they would make the life and actions of Saint *Peter* a pattern for the Pope, which would, as they said, reduce the Apostolick See to nothing; which they defended to have an unlimited power, to be able to give a rule for all emergents, as the times do require, though contrary to the actions of all his Predecessors, and of Saint *Peter* himself. And the contentions were like to proceed further. But the Legates, to give some intermission, to have time to send the Pope the corrections of the *Ultramontans*, and receive his command how to govern themselves in the business, that they might set another matter on foot which might make this to be forgotten, returned to the point of Residence; concerning which, *Lorain* and *Madruccio* had composed a form, and presented it some days before to the Legates, who, without considering of it, did approve it, upon the first sight. Afterward, having consulted with the Canonists, they disliked one part, in which it was said, that Bishops are bound by the commandment of God, to attend and watch over the flock, personally: and doubting that those words would not please in *Rome*, they changed them, and so proposed the form in Congregation. *Lorain* and *Madruccio* were much offended with this mutation, and thought they were disparaged: and *Lorain* said, that hereafter he would take no more care in those things, nor treat with the Prelates, but only give his voice with modesty, and serve the Legates out of his love, in any honest work, as far as he was able. And *Madruccio* did not forbear to say, that there was a secret Council within the Council, which did arrogate more Authority. The Legates perceiving that every thing turned against them, caused the Congregations to be omitted. Neither was this sufficient. For the Prelates made private Congregations amongst themselves, and the Legates continual consultations. The Archbishop of *Otranto*, and others, who aimed at the Cardinality, of which they thought themselves assured if the Council were separated, agreed together to oppose every thing to make some tumult arise, and went passionately about, even in the night also, making practices, and causing men to set their hand to papers. Which, though in effect, it pleased the Legates, yet, for the manner, it displeased the most of them, as being of bad example, which might give scandal. And, on the contrary side, there wanted not those who desired a dissolution. But each party expected an occasion that the cause of it might be attributed to the other: so that the suspicions did encrease on both sides.

1563 Pius IV. Ferdinand. Lib. [illegible] Chap. IX. Phil. II.

The Cardinals of *Lorain* and *Trent* are offended with the Legates.

A Council within the Council.

Practices to dissolve the Council.

The Cardinal of *Lorain* complained to all, that plots were laid to dissolve the Synod, and especially to the Ambassadors of Princes, desiring them to write to their Masters, to perswade the Pope that the Council may be continued, that the practices might be moderated, and the Fathers left to their liberty; saying, that otherwise a composition would be made in *France*, that every one might live as he would until a free Council, as this was not, in which nothing could be resolved but as pleased the Legates, nor by the Legates, but as the Pope listed; that he would be patient until the next Session, and then, if he saw not things go better, he would make his protestations, and together with the Ambassadors and Prelates, return into *France*, to make a National Council, in which perhaps *Germany* would concur with them; a thing which would be displeasing unto himself, in regard of the danger that the Apostolick See would not be acknowledged any more. In those days many Curriers passed between *Rome* and *Trent*, For the Legates

Of which the Card. of *Lorain* complaineth.

And of the want of liberty in Council.

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Legates adviſed the frequent contradictions, and the Pope ſollicited the propoſing of the Canons which he ſent. And the *French-men* in *Rome* made the ſame complaint to the Pope, which *Lorain* had done in *Trent*, and uſed the ſame threats of a National Council, and the aſſiſtance of *Germany*. But the Pope, who had been uſed to theſe things, ſaid he was not daunted with words, was not afraid of National Synods, did know that the *French* Biſhops were Catholicks, and that *Germany* would not ſubject it ſelf to their Councils. He ſaid that the Council was not only free, but might be called licentious; that the practices of the *Italians* in *Trent* were not with his knowledge, but did ariſe becauſe the *Ultramontans* would tread the Popes Authority under their feet; that he hath had three good occaſions to diſſolve the Council, but was willing it ſhould continue, hoping that *God* would not abandon his Church, and that every attempt againſt it would turn upon the head of the Innovators. *Five Churches* departed, and went to the Emperours Court, in the time of theſe confuſions, to give his Majeſty an account of the ſtate of the Council and of the combination of the *Italian* Prelates; and it was diſcovered that *Granata*, and his adherents, had deſired him to perſwade the Emperour to write to the Catholick King concerning the Reformation and Reſidence, that both in thoſe, and in other occaſions they might ſpeak freely, according to their conſcience; all which the Legates did believe to proceed from *Lorain*. And therefore, for a counterpoiſe, themſelves alſo, a few days after, ſent the Biſhop *Commendone* to the Emperour, upon pretence to excuſe, and render the cauſes why the demands of his Majeſty could not as yet be propoſed. And they gave him commiſſion to exhort the Emperour to be content not to demand of the Council, but of the Pope himſelf, thoſe points of his petition which concern his Authority; as alſo other inſtructions, ſuch as ſeemed them good.

As did alſo the *French-men* in *Rome*.

The Pope anſwereth reſolutely.

But *Martinus Cramerus*, Biſhop of *Varmia*, Ambaſſador of the King of *Polonia* to the Emperour, being come to *Trent*, upon pretence to viſit the Cardinal of *Varmia*, his ancient and inward friend, there was a great ſuſpicion that he was ſent by the Emperor, to be an eye-witneſs of the proceedings in Council, and to relate them to him. All theſe things made the Legates doubt that the Council would be diſſolved, in ſome manner diſhonourable to the Pope, and themſelves, obſerving that it was deſired by many, even by ſome of the Papalins themſelves, and that diſorders were purpoſely procured by others, to juſtify themſelves, in caſe it ſhould happen. They ſent unto all the Ambaſſadors a writing, which contained the preſent difficulties, and deſired their counſel. But the *French* Ambaſſadors anſwered, upon this occaſion, that which they deſired to ſay many dayes before; that as the Council was aſſembled to remedy abuſes, ſo ſome were willing to make uſe of it to encreaſe them; that before any thing elſe were done, it was fit to withſtand ſuch manifeſt practices; that they were intolerable; that if they were removed, and every man had liberty to ſpeak freely what he thought, a good accord would eaſily be made; that the Pope was Head of the Church, but not above it; that he was to govern and direct the other members, but not to domineer over the body; that to remedy the differences, it was neceſſary to follow the Council of *Conſtance*, which having found the Church moſt diſorderly by means of theſe opinions, did reduce it into tolerable terms. They ſaid that one cauſe of diſcord was, becauſe the Secretary did not ſet down their voices

A free ſpeech uſed by the *French* Ambaſſadors.

voices faithfully, ſo that the greater part ſeemed in the acts to be the leſſer, and that could not be taken for a reſolution which was concluded by the common opinion; and therefore that it was fit to join another with him. The *Imperialiſts* ſaid almoſt the ſame things, and were more earneſt for another Secretary. The other Ambaſſadors ſtood upon general terms, deſiring a continuation of the Council, and an union of minds. 1563 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip* II.

Things ſtanding thus, *Ventimiglia*, rediſpatched by the Pope, returned to *Trent* the nine and twentieth of *January*, who made a relation of his credence to the Legates, and, by their advice, ſought to remove two opinions ſpread in the Council: one, that the Pope could not live long; the other, that he deſired a diſſolution of the Council. He teſtified the deſire of his Holineſs, that laying aſide all contentions, they would labour for the ſervice of God, and to end the Council quickly. He ſpake of Bulls, of Offices, and Benefices, conferred upon ſome of the kinſmen of ſome Prelates; and a *Referendarieſhip* to the Secretary of the *Portugal* Ambaſſador, and a very great penſion to the Son of the *Spaniſh* Secretary, and divers promiſes to others, according to their pretenſions. But to the Cardinal of *Lorain* he made great complements, in the Popes name, ſhewing that he had confidence in him only, for a ſudden and a good end of the Council. Seconded by the *Imperialiſts*. The B. of *Ventimiglia* returneth to *Trent*.

The coming of the Biſhop of *Aſti*, the Ambaſſador of the Duke of *Savoy*, gave a fit occaſion to re-aſſume the Congregations: in which the Legates deſigning, after they had received him, to renew the propoſition of the Canons, they ſent the Biſhop of *Sinigaglia* to the Cardinal of *Lorain*, to pray him to find a means that the *French-men* might be ſatisfyed. The Biſhop ſhewed him, that theſe words (*to govern the Church Univerſal*) were uſed in many Councils; that the other (that they were aſſumed into part of the care) were uſed by S. *Bernard*, a writer much commended by his excellency. The Cardinal anſwered, that the whole world was a ſpectator of the actions of the Council; that the opinions and voices of every one were known; that one ought to beware what he ſaith; that writings had been ſent out of *France*, againſt the opinions maintained in *Trent* in the queſtions that were handled; that many complained of him that he proceeded with too much reſpect, eſpecially in that matter, and in that other of reſidence, that he hath not been ſo earneſt as he ought for the declaration that they are *de jure divino*; that by a word uſed by an Author one cannot preſently conclude what his meaning was, becauſe the antecedents and conſequents muſt be conſidered, which may infer a contrary ſence; that the words do not trouble him, but the ſence, which they would canonize; that to ſay the Pope hath authority to govern the Church univerſal, could not be admitted by the *French-men* by any means; that if it were propoſed again, the Ambaſſadors would proteſt in the name of the King, and of the twenty *French* Prelates, from whom they ſhould always have authority to do it; that this would be a prejudice to the opinion which is generally held in *France*, that the Council is above the Pope. *Sinigaglia* relating theſe things to the Legates, in preſence of many *Italian* Prelates, aſſembled to conſult upon this matter, made them fear that it was impoſſible to reduce the *French-men*. The Legates uſe perſwaſions to the Card. of *Lorain* by the B. of *Sinigaglia*. Who anſwereth. The *French* opinion is that the Council is above the Pope.

The coming of *Martin Guzdellun* of whom we ſpake before, which happened at the ſame time, gave great courage to the *Spaniards*; who, having ſeen the paſſages of one day, ſaid, he underſtood plainly that the Council was not free. He praiſed *Granata*, and ſaid the King had *Martin Guzdellun* complaineth that the Council is not free.

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a very good opinion of him, and that if the Biſhoprick of *Toledo* were void, he would beſtow it upon him. Things being thus managed, Sunday, the laſt of *January* came, when the general Congregation was intimated, to receive the Ambaſſador of *Savoy*, who made a ſhort ſpeech, to ſhew the dangers in which the ſtate of his Prince was by the vicinity of the Hereticks, and what charge he was put unto; he exhorted them to finiſh the Council quickly, and to think of ſome means to make the contumacious receive the Decrees thereof, and offered all the Forces of his Maſter. In the anſwer made, the piety and wiſdom of that Duke was commended, and joy given the Ambaſſador of his coming. As the Congregations continued, ſo the diſſentions increaſed, and many demanded that the Decree of reſidence, compoſed by the two Cardinals, ſhould be propoſed. But the Legates, ſeeing ſuch variety of opinons, after long conſultation amongſt themſelves, and with the Prelates their friends, reſolved it was not a time to make any deciſion, but neceſſary to interpoſe ſo great a delay, that the humours might cool of themſelves, or ſome means might be found to compoſe the differences, by prolonging the time of the Seſſion. And to make *Lorain* agree to it, they went all to his houſe, to impart their purpoſe unto him, and to demand his counſel and aſſiſtance. He complained of the Conventicles, and that they ſought by unlawful means, to give the Pope that which belongeth not unto him, and to take from Biſhops that which is given them by *Chriſt*: he ſaid he did not like the deferring of the Seſſion ſo long, though he was content to yield unto them; but prayed them, that, in regard this was done to moderate mens minds, they would endeavour effectually to curb thoſe who were unquiet and ambitious.

The Ambaſſador of *Savoy* received in congregation.

In the Congregation of the third of *February Mantua* propoſed, that, in regard Lent was near, and that the holy days and feaſts of Eaſter would follow quickly, they would defer the Seſſion, untill after that time, and, in the mean while, in the Congregations, handle the Reformation belonginging to holy *Order*; and the matter of the Sacrament of Marriage. But the propoſition had much contradiction. The *French* and *Spaniards*, almoſt all, were earneſt that a ſhort prorogation ſhould be determined, and the matter of *Order*, together with its Reformation, defined, before they treated of *Matrimony*; to which opinion alſo ſome *Italians* did adhere. Others deſired that the Seſſion ſhould be held with the things decided already, and in particular, that the Decree of Reſidence, compoſed by the Cardinals, ſhould be eſtabliſhed: and ſome added that it was a great indignity to the Council, to have the Seſſion ſo often deferred, ſhewing there was a deſire to violence the Fathers by wearineſs, to conſent to thoſe opinions, which they did not believe in their conſcience; and therefore that it ought to be held, and matters to be reſolved by the major part. Some did not forbear to ſay, that the diſtinction of Seſſion and general Congregation was not real, and that, in regard the perſons, and the ſame number were in both, that ought be to held for decided in the one which was determined in the other. After great contention, the dilation until the two and twentieth of *April* was concluded by the major part, the others ſtill contradicting. The Cardinal of *Lorain*, howſoever he ſeemed to conſent only to content the Legates, yet he was willing, in regard of his own intereſt; and that for four cauſes. To know whether the Pope would recover his health. To have commodity to treat with the Emperour. To underſtand the Catholick Kings mind. And to ſee the ſucceſs

No real difference between a Seſſion and general Congregation.

of

of the affairs of *France*, that he might reſolve what to do, upon better ground. 1563

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The next day the *French* Ambaſſadors made a great and long inſtance to the Legates, to handle the Reformation, and to propoſe their petitions, before they began to treat of Matrimony. They anſwered, that the Synod was not to receive Laws from others; that if things convenient be propoſed by Princes, conſideration is to be had of them, at ſuch times as the Preſident ſhall think fit; that if, in their petitions, any thing be found belonging to *Order*, they will propoſe it together, and afterwards the other things in their time. This anſwer not contenting the Ambaſſadors, they deſired, that if they would not make the propoſition, they would be content that themſelves might do it, or elſe give them a plain negative; adding, as it were in form of a proteſtation, that if they continued to give theſe ambiguous anſwers, they would hold them to be equivalent to a ſcornful negative. The Legates took three days time to give a more preciſe anſwer, and, in the mean while, deſired *Lorain* to pacify them, and to make them contented to expect until they had received an anſwer from *Rome* concerning the Articles which they had ſent thither.

The Articles to be diſputed

The next day the Articles of *Matrimony* were given forth, to be diſcuſſed by the Divines the week following; in which a diſpute preſently aroſe between the *French* and *Spaniards*, about precedence, which could not be compoſed to the ſatisfaction of both parties, but by changing the order obſerved until then, and by giving precedence according to promotion unto the Doctorſhip. The Popes Divines oppoſed, ſaying, that, the difficulty being between the *French* and *Spaniards*, the proviſion ſhould be made for them alone, and their place not altered, which was undoubtedly the firſt. The Legates, ſaying they had reaſon, concluded that the firſt rank, in which the Papalins were, ſhould ſpeak as formerly they had done, and the other three according to the order of promotion: wherewith the *Frenchmen* were not content, except one of them were put into the firſt rank. The *Spaniſh* Secretary deſired that a publick inſtrument might be made of the decree, that it might appear, that if any *French-men* ſpake before the *Spaniards*, it was not by reaſon of precedence of the Kingdom. In concluſion, to give ſatisfaction to all, an inſtrument was made, and a grant to the *French-men* that, after *Salmeron*, the firſt of the Popiſh Divines, the Dean of *Paris* ſhould ſpeak, and the others of the firſt rank ſhould proceed according to promotion.

A queſtion of precedence between the *French* and *Spaniſh* Prelates.

The Articles were Eight, upon which they were to diſpute whether they were heretical, and ought to be condemned. 1. That Matrimony is not a Sacrament inſtituted by God, but an humane introduction in the Church, and that it hath no promiſe of grace. 2. That the Parents may make void ſecret Marriages, and that thoſe which are ſo contracted are not true Marriages, yea, that it is expedient that hereafter they ſhould be made void in the Church. 3. That it is lawful, in caſe the Wife be divorced for cauſe of fornication, to marry another, in the life time of the former, and that it is an error to make a divorce for any cauſe but fornication. 4. That it is lawful for Chriſtians to have many wives, and that the prohibition for Marriage in certain times of the year, is a tyranny, which proceeded from the ſuperſtition of the Gentiles. 5. That Matrimony ought to be preferred before chaſtity, and that God giveth more grace to

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those that are married than to others. 6. That the Priests of the West may lawfully contract Matrimony, notwithstanding the vow or Ecclesiastical Law, and that to say the contrary is to condemn Matrimony, and that all those that have not the gift of chastity, may marry. 7. That the degrees of consanguinity, and affinity, mentioned in the eighteenth of *Leviticus*, ought to be kept, and neither more nor less. 8. That inability to carnal copulation, and ignorance in the contract of marriage are only causes to dissolve Matrimony contracted, and that the causes of Matrimony do belong to Secular Princes. Of which Articles that they might briefly speak, they were divided into four parts, according to the four ranks of Divines, and two appointed for each.

The Bishop of *Renes*, Ambassador of *France* to the Emperor, arrived in *Trent*; who, having treated with *Lorain*, that Cardinal went to the Legates, and told them, that, ever since his departure out of *France*, he hath had Commission from the King to go to the Emperour, which he would do within a few dayes, because he would be in *Ispruc*, and because *Renes* was come to fetch him. He gave an account also of the journey to the Pope by Letters, in which he touched the manner of the proceeding of the *Italians* in Council; adding, that if they so continued, he would pray God that he might do some thing for his holy service. they had talked of this journey a month before, and therefore when it was published, the suspicions were not so great as if it had not been foreseen. All men assured themselves, that it was to make a combination concerning the Council, and, particularly, to bring in the use of the Cup: and the rather, because the Cardinal had said to many Prelates, upon diverse occasions, that the Emperour, Kings of the *Romans*, and of *France*, would never leave to make petitions for Reformation, until they had obtained the use of the Chalice, though they were to remain two years in Council; but that favour being granted, they would easily be quieted, and that to give satisfaction to those Princes, was the best means to retain those Kingdoms in obedience; that it was impossible to obtain it of the Pope, in regard of the opposition of the Cardinals, who abhorred the grant; that it was not hitherto obtained in Council, because the business was not well managed, and that there was hope, that, using good means, it might be gained. But those who did more attentively mark the Cardinals proceedings, observed a great variety in his speeches. For sometimes he said, that, in case matters were not resolved he should be forced to depart at *Easter*, or at *Whitsontide*; sometimes that he would remain in *Trent* two years; sometimes proposing means to dispatch the Council, and sometimes taking courses to make it everlasting; manifest arguments, that as yet he knew not his own intention. And they suspected his cautelous proceeding, which did argue a desire to justify his reasons by Art, and make his cause honest. And considering that in *Ispruc* would be the King of the *Romans*, the Duke of *Bavaria*, the Archbishop of *Salzburg*, and the Arch-duke *Ferdinand*, it was thought that this conference must needs produce some novities; especially in regard of the small satisfaction which the Council had hitherto given the Emperour, and of the union in all matters between *France* and him. And it might be thought also that the King of *Spain*, so near unto him in Blood, would adhere to that party; and the rather, because it was divulged, that by his Letters of the eighth of *June*, he had given commission to the Count of *Luna* to hold intelligence with the

Discourses about the Cardinal of *Lorain* his going to *Ispruc*.

the Emperour, and the King of *France*, in matters of Reformation and liberty of the Council. In theſe dayes Fryer *Felicianus Ninguarda*, Proctor of the Archbiſhop of *Sulzburg*, preſented the Letters of that Prince, and made inſtance, that the Proctors of the Biſhops of *Germany* might give voice in Congregations; affirming, that, if it were granted, other Biſhops of *Germany* would ſend Proctors, if otherwiſe, both himſelf and others would depart, becauſe they would not be idle. It was anſwered, that conſideration ſhould be had of it, and a reſolution taken according to right. And they gave an account hereof to *Rome*, and would not reſolve ſo much as this ſmall particular without advice from thence. But in regard of greater buſineſſes in both places, there was no more ſpeech of it. 1563 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip* II.

The ninth of *February* the firſt Congregation of Divines was held, to diſpute of Matrimony. *Salmeron* ſpake in a very lofty ſtile; and concerning the firſt Article, delivered the uſual ſayings of the Schoolmen. For the ſecond, he alledged the determination of the Council of *Florence*, that Matrimony receiveth perfection only by the conſent of the contractors, neither hath the Father, or any other, any authority over it. He defended, that they ought to be condemned for hereticks, who attribute power to the Father to make it void; that the authority of the Church was very great concerning the matter of Sacraments; that it can alter whatſoever is not of the eſſence; that the condition of publick and ſecret being accidental, the Church had power therein. He ſhewed the great inconveniences of ſecret marriages, and innumerable adulteries which follow; and concluded that it was expedient to uſe a remedy, by making them void. He inſiſted much upon this inextricable caſe; if, after Matrimoy contracted and conſummated in ſecret, one doth contract in publick with another, from which being deſirous to depart, and return to the firſt lawful wife, is forced by cenſures to remain in the publick contract; the poor man is intangled on both ſides, either in perpetual adultery, or in cenſures, with ſcandal of his neighbour.

The next day the Dean of *Paris* followed; who ſpake copiouſly, out of ſchool Doctrine, of the Inſtitution of marriage, of the grace which is received in it, and of condemning him that doth affirm it to be an humane invention. But upon the Article of clandeſtine Matrimony having diſputed, that they were true marriages and Sacraments, he put a doubt whether the Church hath power to make them void. He contradicted the opinion, that there is authority in the Church over the matter of Sacraments; he diſcourſed that the Church cannot make any Sacrament which is now lawful, to be of no force for hereafter; he exemplified in the conſecration of the Euchariſt, and went through all the Sacraments. He ſaid the Eccleſiaſtical power was not ſuch, as to be able to hinder all ſins; that the Chriſtian Church hath been 1500. years ſubject to that which is now deſcribed to be intollerable, and, (which is of no leſs importance) ſecret marriages have been accounted good even from the beginning of the world, and no man hath ever thought to make a nullity in them, howſoever a publick contract hath often followed them; that it ſeemeth to be inſoluble, though it hath inconveniences on both ſides; that the marriage of *Adam* and *Eve*, a pattern for all other, was without witneſſes. The opinion of the Doctor was not diſlikeemed; but the *Italian* Prelates were well pleaſed, that, having once named the Pope, he gave him his Epithet, with the expoſitions following, *Governour and Moderator of the Roman Church.*

1563 *Church*, that is, *of the Univerſal*. And this did miniſter much diſcourſe. For the Papalins concluded, that it might likewiſe be ſaid in the Canon of the Inſtitution, that the Pope hath power to govern the Univerſal Church. But the *French-men* anſwered, that there was great difference between ſaying abſolutely the Church Univerſal, by which is underſtood the Univerſality of the faithful, and ſaying the Roman Church, that is the Univerſal, where the word of Roman doth declare the word Univerſal, inferring that he is Head of the Univerſal, and that all places, in which authority is given to the Pope over all the Church, are underſtood disjunctively, not conjunctively, that is, over every part of the Church, not over all together.

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Letters from the *French* K. are preſented in Congregation.

The eleventh of *February*, the *French-men* preſented, in Congregation, a Letter from their King, of the eighteenth of *January*; in which he ſaid, that howſoever he was aſſured that the Cardinal of *Lorain* had imparted to the Synod, the happy victory againſt the enemies of Religion, whoſe boldneſs he hath and doth daily oppoſe without reſpect of difficulty, or danger, even expoſing his own life, as becometh the eldeſt and moſt Chriſtian Son of the Church; yet himſelf was willing to make them partakers of the ſame joy alſo, knowing that the wholſom remedies for the evils which do afflict Chriſtian Provinces, have always been expected from Councils. He deſired of them, in the name of *Chriſt*, an Emendation and Reformation, anſwerable to the expectation the world hath conceived of them; and that as himſelf, and ſo many beſides, have conſecrated life and blood to God in thoſe Wars, ſo they, in reſpect of their charge, would, with ſincerity of conſcience, be careful of the buſineſs for which they are aſſembled. The Letters being read, the Ambaſſador *de Ferrieres* ſpake to the Fathers in this ſubſtance: That they having underſtood by the Kings Letters, and before by the Orations of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and Biſhop of *Mentz* the deſolation of *France*, and ſome victories of the King, he would not relate them again, but only ſay, that the laſt, in regard of the Forces of the Enemy, was miraculous; whereof this is an argument, that being overcome, yet he doth live, and committeth ſpoils, running through the very bowels of *France*. But he ſaid, he would turn his ſpeech to them only, who are the only refuge of the miſeries, without whom *France* will not be able to preſerve the tables of ſhipwrack. He exemplified in the Army of *Iſrael*, which had not been able to overcome *Amalec*, if the hands of *Moyſes*, lifted up to God, underpropped by *Aaron* and *Ur*, had not aſſiſted the combatants; that the King of *France* doth not want Forces, a valiant Captain the Duke of *Guiſe*, the Queen Mother, to manage the affairs of War and peace; that there is no other *Aaron* and *Ur* but themſelves, to hold up the hands of the Chriſtian King, with Decrees of the Synod, without which the enemies will never be reconciled, nor the Catholicks preſerved in the faith; that the humour of Chriſtians now, is not the ſame as it was fifty years ſince; that all Catholicks are now like to the *Samaritans*, who did not believe the womans relation of Chriſt, until they had inquired, and informed themſelves; that a great part of Chriſtendom doth ſtudy the Scriptures, and that the moſt Chriſtian King, had given no inſtructions to his Ambaſſadors, but conformable to them, which they have preſented to the Legates, who preſently will propoſe them, as they have promiſed, to them the Fathers, to whom the moſt Chriſtian King doth principally ſend them, expecting their judgment upon them; that *France* doth not demand any ſingular

And *de Ferrieres* maketh a ſpeech.

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thing, but common to all the Catholick Church; that if any marvel that the moſt neceſſary things are omitted in the propoſitions, he may aſſure himſelf that they begin with the ſmaller matters, that they may propoſe the other of more weight in their fit time, as alſo to give an eaſy execution to thoſe; which if they the Fathers will not begin before they depart from *Trent*, the Catholicks will cry out, the adverſaries will laugh, and will both ſay, that the Fathers of *Trent* do not want knowledge, but a will to do good, and that they have conſtituted good laws, without touching them ſo much as with one of their fingers, but leaving the obſervation of them to their poſterity. And if, in the demands exhibited, any do think that ſomething is contained conformable to the Books of the adverſaries, he holdeth them unworthy of anſwer: to thoſe who hold them immoderate, he will ſay nothing but that of *Cicero*, that it is an abſurdity to deſire temperance of mediocrity in the beſt things, which are ſo much the better, by how much the bigger they are. He ſaid the holy Ghoſt did ſay to lukewarm moderators, that he would caſt them out of the body; that they ſhould conſider the ſmall good the Church had, by the moderate Reformation of the Council of *Conſtance*, and of the next, which he would not nominate, for fear of offending the ears of ſome, and likewiſe of the Councils of *Ferrara*, *Florence* the *Lateran*, and the firſt of *Trent*, and how many ſorts of men, how many Provinces, Kingdoms, and Nations, have ſince departed from the Church. He turned his ſpeech to the *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Fathers, that a ſerious emendation of Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline was more for the good of them, than of the Biſhop of *Rome*, the chief Vicar of *Chriſt*, and ſucceſſor of *Peter*, who hath the higheſt authority in the Church of God, that their life and honour was in queſtion, and therefore that he would ſay no more.

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In the anſwer to the Letters and the Ambaſſadors Oration, the King was commended for his pious and noble acts, and exhorted, as if he had been preſent, to imitate his predeceſſors, turning all his cogitations to the defence of the Apoſtolick *See*, and preſervation of the ancient Faith, and to give ear to thoſe who preach unto him the Kingdom of God, and not to thoſe who preach a preſent utility and an imaginary tranquillity, which will never be a true peace; adding, that the King would ſurely do ſo by the help of *God*, and in regard of the goodneſs of his diſpoſition, of the Counſel of the Queen Mother, and of the Nobility of *France*, that the Synod will labour to define things neceſſary for the Reformation of the Church univerſal, and for the good and intereſts of the particular of the Kingdom of *France*. In the end of the Congregation, the Cardinal of *Mantua* propoſed, that, to make a more quick diſpatch, the Congregations of the Divines might be held twice a day, and Prelates deputed to propoſe the correction of the abuſes, in the matter of *Order*; and ſo it was decreed. The anſwer

The biting ſpeech of the Ambaſſador did pierce the minds of the Papalins; and particularly, when he ſaid, that the Articles were addreſſed principally to the Synod: which words they thought were contrary to the Decree, that the Legates only ſhould propoſe, a principal ſecret to preſerve the Popes authority. But they were moved more, that he ſaid that he had deferred the propoſition of more important matters, untill another time; whence they drew great conſequences, eſpecially having always feared, that they had not as yet diſcovered their deſigns, and that they did plot greater matters. As alſo to ſpeak

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1563 unto the *Italian* and *Spaniſh* Fathers, as if they had other intereſts than the Pope, ſeemed a ſeditious manner of treating. The Ambaſſador gave a Copy of his Oration; and by thoſe words which he ſpake of the Pope, *That he hath ſupream authority in the Church of God*, ſome Popiſh Prelates noted, that, in reciting them, he had ſaid, who hath full power in the Church univerſal; drawing them to the favour of their opinion, and diſputing that it was as much to have full power in the Church univerſal, as to govern the Church univerſal, which the *French-men* did ſo much abhor, in the Decree of the inſtitution. But himſelf and the other *French-men* affirmed that he had pronounced them as they were written.

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The Card. of *Lorain* goeth to *Iſpruc.*

The next day *Lorain* went to *Iſpruc*, to viſit the Emperour and King of the *Romans*, accompanied with nine Prelates and four Divines of the moſt learned amongſt them. He had firſt a promiſe from the Legates, that, while he was abſent, the Article of the Marriage of Prieſts ſhould not be handled, which he did inſtantly deſire, that nothing might be determined, or preconceived contrary to the Commiſſion which he had from the King, to obtain of the Council a diſpenſation for the Cardinal of *Bourbon* to marry. Cardinal *Altemps* alſo went to *Rome*, recalled by the Pope, to be General of the Souldiers, which he purpoſed to raiſe for his own ſecurity. For underſtanding that Levies were made in *Germany*, by the Duke of *Saxony* and *Wittenburg*, and by the *Landgrave* of *Haſſia*, howſoever it was generally believed, that all was done to aſſiſt the *Hugonots* of *France*, yet conſidering that the Count of *Luna* had written that the *Dutch-men* had a great deſire to invade *Rome*, and did remember the Sack ſix and thirty years ſince, he thought it was wiſdom not to be unprovided, and, for the ſame cauſe, revived the treaty of making a combination with all the *Italian* Princes, for the defence of Religion.

A deſpenſation to marry for the Card. of *Bourbon*. Card. *Altemps* is to be General of the Popes Army.

In the Congregations, the Divines of the firſt rank did uniformly agree in condemning the firſt Article, and every part thereof, as heretical; as alſo the ſecond, ſaying that ſecret marriages were true marriages. But there was the difference before mentioned between *Salmeron* and the Dean of *Paris*, whether the Church hath power to make them void. Thoſe who held the negative, ſtood upon that ground, that the matter, form, miniſter, and receiver, are eſſential in every Sacrament, in which, as being inſtituted by God, no Eccleſiaſtical power hath any thing to do. They ſaid that the Council of *Florence* having declared, that the conſent of the parties only is neceſſary to Matrimony, he that would infer the word, Publick, for a neceſſary condition, doth infer, that the conſent only is not ſufficient, and that the Council of *Florence* hath failed in a neceſſary declaration. That *Chriſt* ſaid in general of Matrimony, that man cannot ſeparate that which *God* hath joyned, meaning both the publick and the ſecret conjunction. That in the Sacraments nothing ought to be affirmed without authority of the Scriptures, or tradition, neither of which do allow this authority to the Church; yea by tradition we find the contrary, becauſe all Churches, in all nations throughout the world are uniform, in not pretending any power herein. On the contrary, it was ſaid to be a clear caſe, that the Church hath power to make any man uncapable of marriage, becauſe many degrees of conſanguinity and affinity are made hindrances by the Eccleſiaſtical Law only; and likewiſe the impediment of a ſolemn vow was made by the Popes Laws; and therefore ſecrecy may be likewiſe made an impediment, by the ſame authority.

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The other part anſwered, that the prohibition by reaſon of kindred, is *de jure divino*, as Saint *Gregory* the Pope, and many of his Succeſſours have determined: that matrimony cannot be contracted between two, until it be known in what degree of kindred they are joyned, and if other Popes have reſtrained this univerſality to the ſeventh degree, and afterwards to the fourth, this was a general diſpenſation, as divorce was to the Jews, and that a ſolemn vow doth hinder *de jure divino*, not by the Popes Authority. 1563 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip* II.

But *Camillus Campeggius*, a Dominican Fryer, agreeing with the others, that no humane power is extended to the Sacraments, added, that whoſoever can deſtroy the eſſence of the matter, can alſo make it uncapable of the Sacrament; that no man can make water not to be the matter of *Baptiſm*, or ſome bread of wheat not to be the matter of the *Euchariſt*; but he that ſhall deſtroy the water, turning it into air, or ſhall burn the bread, turning it into aſhes, ſhall make thoſe matters not to be capable of the form of the Sacraments. So in matrimony, the civil nuptial contract is the matter of matrimonial Sacrament, by Divine inſtitution; which being deſtroyed, and made of no force, can no more be the matter of it. Therefore it cannot be ſaid that the Church can make a nullity in the ſecret marriage, for ſo it would have Authority over the Sacraments, but it is true that the Church can nullify a ſecret nuptial contract, which, as being void, cannot receive the form of a Sacrament. This Doctrine did much pleaſe the generality of the Fathers, becauſe it was plain, eaſy, and reſolved all the difficulties. But *Antonius Soliſius*, who ſpake after him, did contradict, ſaying, the ſpeculation was true, but could not be applied to this purpoſe. For the reaſon, as it is meant of Baptiſm and the Euchariſt, that whoſoever doth deſtroy the water and the bread, doth make them uncapable of the forms of thoſe Sacraments, doth not argue an Eccleſiaſtical power, but a natural, ſo that whoſoever hath vertue to deſtroy the water, may, by this means, hinder the Sacrament; whereby it would follow, that he that can nullify a civil nuptial contract, may hinder Matrimony, but the annullation of ſuch contracts belongeth to the civil Laws, and to ſecular Magiſtrates; therefore they muſt take heed, leſt while they would give Authority to the Church to make void ſecret marriages, it be not rather given to the ſecular power.

Amongſt thoſe who attributed this power to the Church, it was diſputed whether it were fit that the Church ſhould uſe it. And there were two opinions. One, to make void all the ſecret, in regard of the inconveniences which enſue. The other, that the publick, made without conſent of parents, in whoſe power they are, ſhould be made void alſo. And theſe alledged two reaſons; one, that as great inconveniences did follow by theſe, in reſpect of the ruines which happen to families, by marriages unadviſedly contracted by young men: the other, that the Law of *God*, commanding obedience to parents, doth include this caſe, as principal. That the Law of *God* doth give this particular Authority to the Father, to give his daughter in marriage, as it plainly appeareth in Saint *Paul* and *Exodus*. That there are examples of the Patriarchs in the old teſtament, all married by their Fathers. That the humane civil Laws have eſteemed the marriages void, which have been contracted without the Father. That as then it was judged expedient to nullify ſecret marriages, ſo now, ſeeing that the Popes prohibition is not ſufficient, which hath forbidden them without

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addition of nullity, there is more reaſon, in regard the malice of man will not obey the Law of *God*, which forbiddeth to marry without conſent of Parents, that the Synod ſhould add unto it a nullity alſo; not becauſe the Fathers have authority to make void the Marriages of Children, which is hereſy to affirm, but becauſe the Church hath authority to nullify both theſe and other contracts, prohibited by Divine or humane Laws. This opinion, as honeſt, pious, and as well grounded as the other, pleaſed many of the Fathers. And ſo was the Decree framed, howſoever the publication was omitted, for cauſes which ſhall be related hereafter.

But the Prelates did not forbear to diſcuſs the controverſies about the Popes Authority, and inſtitution of Biſhops. And the *French-men* did perſevere in their reſolution, not to admit the words, *Church Univerſal*, leſt they ſhould prejudice the opinion held in *France*, of the ſuperiority of the Council; and if it had been propoſed, would have made proteſtation of the nullity, and departed. The Pope wrote it ſhould be propoſed, whatſoever did follow. But the Legates fearing that every little ſtir would be much out of ſeaſon now the Emperour was ſo near, wrote back, that it was better to defer it until the Article of Matrimony was finiſhed.

The Legates dare not propoſe the article of the inſtitution of Biſhops.

The ſeventeenth of *February* Father *Soto* was the firſt that ſpake in the ſecond rank; who, upon the Article of divorce, did firſt diſtinguiſh the matrimonial conjunction into three parts: the bond, the cohabitation, and the carnal copulation: inferring that there were as many ſeparations alſo. He ſhewed at large that the Eccleſiaſtical Prelate had Authority to ſeparate the married, or to give them a divorce, in reſpect of cohabitation, and carnal copulation, for all cauſes which they ſhall judge expedient and reaſonable, the matrimonial bond ſtill ſtanding ſure, ſo that neither can marry again; ſaying, that this was it which was bound by *God*, and could not be looſed by any. He was much troubled with the words of S. *Paul*, who granteth to the faithful husband if the unbelieving wife will not dwell with him, to remain ſeparated. He was not contented with the common expoſition, that the Matrimony of the unbelievers is not inſoluble, alledging, that the inſolubility is by the Law of Nature, as alſo the words of *Adam*, expounded by our *Saviour*, and the uſe of the Church, that married unbelievers, after they have been baptized, are not married again; and that their matrimony is not different from that of the faithful. And he reſolved to approve the expoſition of *Cajetan*, that the ſeparation, mentioned by S. *Paul*, of the faithful from the unbeliever, is not underſtood of the matrimonial bond, and that it was a thing worthy to be conſidered by the holy Synod. For Fornication he ſaid, that it ought not to be a cauſe of ſeparation from the bond, but from copulation, and cohabitation only. But he found himſelf much intangled, becauſe he had ſaid firſt that divorce might be granted in many reſpects, and for many cauſes, whereas the Goſpel doth admit but one, which is Fornication, which muſt needs be underſtood in reſpect of the bond, becauſe divorce in the other two reſpects may have many cauſes. He gave many expoſitions of that place of the Goſpel, without approving or diſproving any of them; and concluded that the Article ought to be condemned, becauſe the contrary is made an Article of faith, by Apoſtolical tradition, howbeit the words of the Goſpel are not ſo plain as that they are ſufficient to convince the *Lutherans*.

Concerning the fourth Article of *Polygamy*, he ſaid it was againſt the

the Law of Nature, nor could be permitted, ſo much as to infidels, who are ſubject to Chriſtians. He ſaid the ancient Fathers had many Wives by diſpenſation, and the others, who were not diſpenſed with by *God*, did live in perpetual ſin. For the prohibition of Marriages at certain times, he briefly alledged the Authority of the Church, and the diſconvenience of Marriage with ſome times: and took this occaſion to ſay, that no man had reaſon to be grieved, becauſe the Biſhop might diſpence. He returned to the cauſes of Divorce, and concluded that the world would not complain of any of theſe things, if the Prelates did uſe their Authority with wiſdom and charity. But the cauſe of all the evils is, becauſe they do not reſide, but give the government to a Vicar, and, oftentimes, without convenient maintenance, ſo that Juſtice is ill adminiſtred, and *graces* not well beſtowed. And here he ſpake at large of Reſidence, ſaying, that if it were not declared to be *de jure divino*, it was impoſſible to remove thoſe and other abuſes, and to ſtop the mouths of Hereticks, who not obſerving that the evil cometh from the bad execution, lay the blame upon the Popes conſtitutions; and therefore the Popes Authority will never be defended well, but by Reſidence well eſtabliſhed; nor that well executed without the declaration, *de jure Divino*; and that they did notoriouſly err, who thought it prejudicial to the Authority of the Pope, whereas it is the only foundation to uphold and preſerve it. He concluded, that the Council was bound to determine the truth, and ſpake with ſuch efficacy that he was willingly heard by the *Ultramontans*, but did diſpleaſe the *Papalins*, who thought the time impertinent to touch that matter. And it gave occaſion to both parties to renew their practices.

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In the Congregation of the twentyeth of *February*, *John Ramirez*, a Franciſcan Fryer, after he had ſpoken upon the ſame Articles, according to the common opinion of Divines, of the inſolubility of Marriage, ſaid that the ſame reaſons which are between man and wife, are alſo between the Biſhop and the Church, and that as the man ought not to depart from his wife, ſo ought not the Biſhop to depart from his Church, and that this ſpiritual bond was of no leſs force than the other which was corporal. He alledged *Innocence* the third, who decreed that a Biſhop could not be transferred but by Divine Authority, becauſe the matrimonial bond which is leſs (ſaid the Pope) cannot be diſſolved by any power of man. And he was copious in ſhewing that the Popes Authority was rather encreaſed than diminiſhed hereby, who, as a general Vicar, might make uſe of Biſhops in another place, where there was more need: as the Prince may employ married men for publick occaſions, ſending them to other places, without diſſolving the matrimonial bond. And he laboured to reſolve the contrary reaſons with much prolixity.

In the Congregation of that afternoon, Doctor *Corniſius* ſaid, that both theſe Articles, the third and fourth, were Heretical, becauſe they were condemned by many *Decretals* of Popes, and exalted the Authority of the Apoſtolick See in many words, ſaying, that all ancient Councils, in the determinations of faith, did perpetually follow the authority and will of the Pope. He exemplified in the Council of *Conſtantinople* in *Trullus*, which followed the inſtruction ſent by Pope *Agathone*; the Council of *Chalcedon*, which did not only follow, but worſhip the ſentence of S. *Leo* the Pope, calling him alſo Ecumenical, and Paſtor of the Univerſal Church. And after he had alledged many authorities and reaſons, to ſhew that the words of *Chriſt*, ſpoken to

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Saint *Peter* (*Feeed my ſheep*) do ſignify as much as if he had ſaid, rule and govern the Church Univerſal, he amplified very much the Popes authority in diſpenſations, and others things alſo. He brought the authority of the Canoniſts, that the Pope may diſpence againſt the Canons, againſt the Apoſtles, and in all the Law of *God*, except the Articles of faith. In the end, he alledged the Chapter, *Si Papa*, that every one ought to acknowledge that his ſalvation doth depend, after *God*, upon the holineſs of the Pope; amplifying theſe words, Becauſe they proceed from a Saint, and a Martyr, of whom no man can ſay that he did reſpect any thing but the truth.

The relation of *Commendone* returned from the Emperour.

At this time *Commendone* returned from the Emperour, whoſe negotiation had not that ſucceſs as the Legates deſired. For the Emperour, hearing his propoſitions, anſwered, that he muſt have time to think on them becauſe of their importance, and that he would conſider of them, and anſwer the Council by his Ambaſſador. He preſently gave an account hereof by Letters, adding, that he found the Emperour was grieved, and had an ill conceit of the actions of the Council. Being now returned, he ſaid further, that, by the words of his Majeſty, and by that which he had underſtood by his Councellors, and obſerved by their proceedings, he thought he knew that he was ſo firm in that bad opinion, that he feared ſome diſorder would inſue. That, as far as he could comprehend, the cogitations of his Majeſty where wholly bent to obtain a great Reformation, with ſuch proviſions as that it might be obſerved; and that he could certainly affirm, that he would not be content that the Council ſhould be finiſhed. That he had underſtood, that *Delphinus*, the *Nuncio* reſident, having named ſuſpenſion or tranſlation, the Emperour was offended. Then he related that there was an opinion in that Court that the Catholick King held intelligence with the Emperour concerning the affairs of the Council, which he did believe, becauſe he was aſſured that the *Spaniſh* Prelates had ſent Letters to him, in which were complaints againſt the proceedings of the *Italians*, and many Articles of Reformation; which 'tis like they would not dare to do, except they knew their Kings mind. He ſaid alſo, that the Count of *Luna*, when the Popes Miniſters had ſpoken of the too much licence of the *Spaniſh* Prelates in their ſpeeches, anſwered thus; what could be done if thoſe Prelates ſhould ſay that they ſpake as they thought in their Conſcience? He ſaid moreover, that in the conference he will have with the Cardinal of *Lorain*, he was of opinion that they would conclude to make their petitions to be propoſed by the Ambaſſadors; and that his Majeſty had cauſed his Divines to conſult upon them, and upon other conciliary affairs; and that howſoever himſelf and the *Nuncio Delphinus* had uſed much diligence, yet they were not able to learn the particulars.

Points conſulted on in the Emperours Court.

But within a ſhort time they came to light. For the Jeſuite *Caniſius* wrote to the General *Laynez*, that the Emperour was ill affected towards the Council, and made many points to be conſulted on, that he might reſolve how to proceed, in caſe the Pope did perſevere in refuſing to propoſe the Reformation, or in giving words contrary to his deeds. One point was, what the Emperours Authority might be in Council; and that *Fredericus Staphilus*, Confeſſor to the Queen of *Bohemia*, was the chief man in the conſultation. *Caniſius* deſired that one of the Society might be ſent unto him, whom he might bring into the conſultation, and by him diſcover all. Whereupon *Laynez* having conferred with Cardinal *Simoneta*, they reſolved to ſend Father *Natalis*,

by

by whom all was diſcovered. And the Articles conſulted on were ſeventeen. 1. Whether a general Council, lawfully aſſembled by the favour of Princes, may change the order determined by the Pope to be obſerved in handling the matters, and bring in a new manner. 2. Whether it be profitable for the Church that the Council ſhould handle matters, and determine them as it is directed by the Pope or Court of *Rome*, ſo that it may not do otherwiſe. 3. Whether, if the Pope die in time of the Council, the Fathers thereof ought to chooſe another. 4. What the Emperours power is, the *See* of *Rome* being void, and the Council open. 5. Whether, when matters are handled concerning the peace and tranquility of the Chriſtian common-wealth, the Ambaſſadors of Princes ought to have a deciding voice, howſoever they have it not concerning matters of faith. 6. Whether Princes may recal their Orators and Prelates from the Council, without imparting it to the Legates. 7. Whether the Pope may diſſolve or ſuſpend the Council without the participation of Princes, and eſpecially of the Emperour. 8. Whether it be fit that Princes ſhould interpoſe, to cauſe more neceſſary and expedient matters to be handled in Council. 9. Whether the Orators of Princes may expound to the Fathers in perſon, thoſe things which the Princes commit unto them, to be expounded. 10. Whether a means may be found, that the Fathers, ſent by the Pope and Princes, may be free in giving their voices in Council. 11. What courſe may be taken, that the Pope and Court of *Rome* may not interpoſe in ordaining that which is to be handled in Council, that the liberty of the Fathers may not be hindered. 12. Whether a means may be found that no fraud, violence, or extortion be uſed in delivering the opinions of the Fathers. 13. Whether any thing may be handled, be it point of Doctrine, or Reformation of the Church, before it be diſcuſſed by the learned. 14. What remedy may be found, if the *Italian* Prelates do continue their obſtinacy in not ſuffering matters to be reſolved. 15. What remedy may be uſed to hinder the combining of the *Italian* Prelates, when the Popes Authority is in queſtion. 16. How the practices may be removed which hinder the determination of the point of reſidency. 17. Whether it be ſeemly that the Emperour ſhould perſonally aſſiſt in Council.

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But a long and ſerious conſultation was held in *Rome*, whether the petitions of the *French-men* ought to be propoſed? and they conſidered not ſo much the weight of the things themſelves, as the conſequences thereof. For obſerving what *de Ferrieres* had ſaid in his Oration, that the petitions exhibited were of the lighter ſort, and that others remained of more weight, they conjectured that the *French-men*, having not made thoſe demands becauſe they deſired to obtain them, they aimed to make entrance by that way, to propoſe others which they had in their minde, and that, by theſe which they call light, the gate being opened, paſſage might not be denied them what attempt ſoever they would make beſides. For theſe and other reſpects it was reſolved to write to the Legates, that, abſolutely, they ſhould not be propoſed, nor a negative given, but only a delay interpoſed; and the means they were to uſe, were written alſo. At the ſame time, a writing of an uncertain Author came from *Rome*, in anſwer of thoſe petitions, which immediately was ſpread in *Trent*, and in the Emperours Court. And it was believed in *Rome*, that, by theſe means, they had given a good counterpoiſe to the inſtances of the *French-men*. But the Pope was more troubled with the novity at the Emperours Court

A conſultation in *Rome*.

A writing publiſhed in *Rome* againſt the *French* petitions.

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to conſult of matters ſo prejudicial to him, knowing well that t Papal dignity is preſerved by the reverence, and certain perſwaſion Chriſtians that it cannot be called into queſtion, that when the world doth begin to examine matters, apparent reaſons will not be wanting to diſturb the beſt things. He obſerved that his predeceſſors had uſed potent remedies in like occaſions, and that when the foundation of faith is queſtioned, that precept, to reſiſt the beginnings, taketh place. For as, in the breaches of Rivers, if the ſmalleſt ruptures be not ſtopped, the Chanel cannot be kept full, ſo when there is but a ſmall overture againſt the Supream Authority, and not ſtopped, it is eaſily carried to an abſolute downfall. He was counſelled to a write a *Brief* to the Emperour, concerning this his diſtaſte, as *Paul* the third did to the Emperour *Charles*, about the *Colloquies* of *Spira*, and reprehend him for queſtioning thoſe Articles, as things that are moſt clear, and in another *Brief* to reprove the Councellors, for perſwading him to it, and to admoniſh the Divines who have aſſiſted in the buſineſs, to ſeek an abſolution from the cenſures. But having thought well on it, he conſidered that the ſtate of things was not then as it was under *Paul.* Firſt, becauſe that diſputation was publick, whereas this was private, and concealed of purpoſe that it might not be known, ſo that he might diſſemble all notice of it, whereas if it ſhould continue after his publick reprehenſion of it, he ſhould put himſelf into greater danger; that it was convenient for *Charles* to ſtand united with the Pope that he might not ſubject himſelf to the *Dutch* Princes, whereas this Emperour is, as it were, ſubject unto them already; finally that this remedy might be deferred, becauſe it would always be in ſeaſon, but by diſſembling a while, he might obliquely make trial to hinder the reſolution of the conſultations which were made, by ſending the Cardinal of *Mantua* to his Majeſty.

Diſpleaſeth the *French-men*, and the Emperour.

The writing which went about againſt the petitions of the *French-men*, did not only diſpleaſe them, who took it for an affront, but the Emperour alſo very much. And the Legates having received commiſſion from *Rome* concerning them, were but ill ſatisfied, and thought that this was not to give commiſſion to Preſidents of Councils, but advertiſements rather to miniſters to make uſe of intreaties by way of negotiation. They wrote back only to demand what they ſhould do, in caſe the *Imperaliſts* ſhould make inſtance to have their petitions propoſed: and they cauſed *Gabriel Paleotto*, Auditor of the *Rota*, to write a full information of the difficulties, which they ſent. But the Cardinal of *Mantua*, in regard the Emperour had told *Commendone*, that he would give anſwer to the Council by his Ambaſſador, thought it not convenient to go unto him before they received that reſolution: beſides, the Cardinal of *Lorain* being at the Emperours Court, and the effect of his negotiation not known, he ſhould be doubtful in what manner to proceed. Upon theſe reaſons he excuſed himſelf to the Pope, and beſides wrote to him with his own hand, that he had not a face to appear any more in Congregation, to give words only, as he had done two years together; that all the Miniſters of Princes do ſay, that howſoever his Holineſs doth promiſe much for Reformation, yet ſeeing nothing to be executed, they do not think he hath any inclination to it; who if he had performed his promiſes, the Legates could not have been wanting to give ſatisfaction to the inſtances of ſo many Princes. Neither ought any to marvel that this Cardinal, a Prince converſant ſo many long years in many great affairs, and of a

The Card. of *Mantua* writeth freely to the Pope.

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moſt compleat converſation, ſhould uſe this paſſage with his Holineſs, it being a thing natural to men that are near their grave; for ſome intrinſical cauſe, unknown even unto themſelves, to be diſtaſted with humane matters, and to neglect pure Ceremonies, to which gaole he was then very near, there remaining but ſix days of his life from the date hereof. 1563 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip* II

But in the Congregation, the laſt that ſpake in the ſecond rank was *Adrian*, a Dominican Fryer; who, touching but lightly the matter in queſtion, diſcourſe at large of diſpenſations, and, with Theological terms and forms defended the things mentioned by Doctor *Cornelius*, and ſpake of them, not without ſcandal. He ſaid that authority to diſpence in humane laws, was abſolute, and unlimited in the Pope, becauſe he was ſuperiour to them all; and therefore when he did diſpence, though without any cauſe, the diſpenſation was notwithſtanding to be held for good: that in Divine Laws he had power to diſpence, but not without a cauſe. He alledged Saint *Paul*, who ſaith, that the *Miniſters* of *Chriſt are the diſpencers of the Myſteries of God*; and that to him the Apoſtle, *diſpenſation of the Goſpel had been committed.* He added, that howſoever the Popes diſpenſation concerning the Divine Law be not of force, yet every one ought to captivate his underſtanding, and believe that he hath granted it for a lawful cauſe, and that it is temerity to call it into queſtion. Then he diſcourſed of the cauſes of diſpenſations; which he reduced to publick utility, and charity towards private men. This diſcourſe gave occaſion to the *French-men* to ſpeak of the matter, with the ill ſatisfaction of the Papalins.

The ſecond rank having made an end of ſpeaking, for obſervation of the promiſe made to *Lorain*, not to handle the Marriage of Prieſts in his abſence, they changed the order, and made the fourth rank ſpeak next. *John Verdun*, handling the ſeventh Article of the Degrees of affinity and conſanguinity, paſſed immediately from it, and came to the matter of diſpenſations, and ſeemed to have none other aim, than to contradict Fryer *Adrian*, labouring to weaken the Popes power. Firſt he expounded the places of Saint *Paul*, That *the Miniſters of* Chriſt *are the diſpenſers of the Myſteries of God, and of the Goſpel*, and ſaid the gloſs was contrary to the Text. For the place doth not prove a diſpenſation, that is, a diſobligation from the Law, but a publiſhing and declaring the Divine Myſteries, and the word of God, which is perpetual, and remaineth inviolable for ever. He granted, that in humane Laws a diſpenſation might lie, in regard of the Law-makers imperfection, who could not foreſee all caſes, and, making general Laws, muſt needs reſerve power to him that governeth the Common-wealth, becauſe of ſundry occurrences, which may bring exceptions in particular matters. But where God is the Law-giver, from whom nothing is concealed, and by whom no accident is not foreſeen, the Law can have no exception. Therefore the Law of God and Nature ought not to be called a written Law, which in ſome caſes ought to be expounded, and made more gentle, but all that Law is even equity it ſelf. In humane Laws, in which ſome caſes by reaſon of particular accidents, if they had been foreſeen, would not have been comprehended, a diſpenſation may well be granted. But the diſpencer cannot, in any caſe, free him, that is bound, and if he deny a diſpenſation to him that deſerveth it, the party refuſed ſhall notwithſtanding remain without all obligation. That the world hath conceived

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ceived a wrong opinion, that to diſpence, is to beſtow a favour, and that the diſpenſation is requiſite to be given, as any other part of diſtributive juſtice to be exerciſed; that the Prelate doth offend if he give it not to whom it is due. And in ſum, he ſaid, that when a diſpenſation is deſired, either the caſe is ſuch, as, if it had been foreſeen, it would have been excepted, and here there is an obligation to diſpence, or would have been comprehended, though it had been thought on by the Law-maker, and to this the power of diſpenſing is not extended. He added that flattery, ambition, and avarice have perſwaded, that to diſpence is to beſtow a favour, as the maſter would do to his ſervants, or one that giveth of his own. The Pope is not Lord, and the Church a ſervant, but he is ſervant of him who is ſpouſe of the Church, and by him ſet over the Chriſtian family, to give, as the Goſpel ſaith, to every one his own meaſure, that is, that which is due unto him. And, in concluſion, he ſaid, that a diſpenſation was nothing but a declaration or interpretation of the Law, and that the Pope could not, by diſpencing, unbind any that was bound, but declare only to him that is not bound, that he is exempted from from the Law.

The Card. of *Lorain* returneth.

The laſt day but one of *February*, the Cardinal of *Lorain* returned to *Trent*, having remained five days in *Iſpruc*, which he ſpent in continual negotiation with the Emperour, King of the *Romans*, and their Miniſters. At his return he found the Popes Letters to him; in which he ſaid, that he did deſire a reformation ſhould be made and not deferred any longer, and that they might have time to labour therein, the words of the Decrees of *Order*, which were in difficulty, ſhould be taken away, The Cardinal did publiſh theſe Letters purpoſely in *Trent*, where it was generally known that the Legates had a contrary Commiſſion. But the Papalins uſed all diligence to find what buſineſs the Cardinal had, by means of thoſe who were in his company, and, in particular, what reſolution was taken concerning the ſeventeen Articles; and the rather, becauſe Count *Frederick Maffei*, who came from *Iſpruc* but the day before, related that the Cardinal was every day in private conference, more than two hours, with the Emperour and King of the *Romans*. The *French-men* made ſhew to underſtand nothing of the Articles, and ſaid that none of the *Dutch* Divines had treated with the Cardinal, but *Staphilus* only, who preſented him with a book which he had made in matter of reſidence, and *Caniſius*, when he went to ſee the Colledge of the Jeſuites; that the Divines had not ſpoken to the Emperour, but only when, going to ſee the Library, they overtook him and the King his Son; who demanding what they thought concerning the grant of the Cup, the Abbat of *Clareval*, who was firſt of them, anſwered, that he thought it could not be granted: then the Emperour, turning to the King of the *Romans*, ſpake this verſe of the *Pſalm* in *Latin*; *Forty years have I endured this generation, and have always found them to err in their will.*

But *Lorain*, in viſiting the Legates, ſaid nothing but that the Emperour was very well and zealouſly affected towards the Council, deſiring it might produce ſome fruit, and that if occaſion were, he would aſſiſt in perſon, and go to *Rome* alſo, to pray the Pope to have compaſſion of Chriſtendom, and to ſuffer a reformation to be made, which might not diminiſh his Authority, to which he bare exceeding great reverence, nor would have any thing ſpoken of touching his Holineſs and the Court of *Rome*. But to others in private he ſaid, that if the Council had been governed with that wiſdom as was convenient, it

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would have had a ſudden and proſperous end; that the Emperour was reſolved, that a good and a ſtrong Reformation ſhould be made, which if the Pope would continue to croſs, as hitherto he had done, ſome great ſcandal would enſue; that his Majeſty purpoſed to go to *Bolonia*, in caſe the Pope came thither, with deſign to receive the Crown of the Empire; and ſuch other things.

The points on which the Cardinal of *Lorain* treated with the Emperour.

It is not to be doubted, that the Cardinal ſpake of the affairs of the Council, and informed the Emperour of the diſorders, and delivered his opinion what remedies might be uſed, to oppoſe the Court of *Rome*, and the *Italian* Prelates of *Trent*, to obtain in Council the communion of the Cup, the marriage of Prieſts, the uſe of the vulgar Tongue in holy matters, the relaxation of other precepts of poſitive Law, a Reformation in the Head and the members, and a means to make the Decrees of the Council indiſpenſable, and how, in caſe they were not able to obtain, they might have a colourable occaſion to juſtify their actions, if, of themſelves, they ſhould make proviſion for the neceſſities of their people, by making a National Council, aſſaying alſo to unite the *Germans* with the *French-men*, in matters of Religion. But this was not his negotiation only. For he treated a marriage alſo, between the Queen of *Scotland* and the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand*, the Emperours Son, and another between a Daughter of his Majeſty and the Duke of *Ferrara*, and to find a means to compoſe the differences of precedence between *France* and *Spain*, which things, as domeſtical, do touch Princes more nearly than the publick.

After the return of *Lorain* the Congregations continuing, *James Alan*, a *French* Divine, entred likewiſe into the matter of diſpenſations, and ſaid, that Authority to diſpence was immediately given to the Church by Chriſt, and by it, diſtributed to the Prelates, as need required, according to times, places, and occaſions. He extolled the Authority of General Councils, which repreſent the Church, and diminiſhed the Popes, adding that it belongeth to the General Council to enlarge or reſtrain it.

The Cardinal of *Mantua* dieth.

The ſecond of *March*, the Cardinal of *Mantua*, having been ſick a few days, paſſed to another life; which was cauſe of many mutations in Council. The Legates did preſently ſend advice hereof to the Pope; and *Seripando*, who remained prime Legate, beſide the common Letter wrote in particular, that he would be glad his Holineſs would ſend another Legate, his ſuperiour, to govern the Council, or remove him: but in caſe he would leave him prime Legate, he told him he would proceed as God ſhould inſpire him; and that otherwiſe it were better to remove him abſolutely. The Cardinal of *Varmia* wrote apart alſo, that his Church had great need of the preſence of a Paſtor, and that the communion of the Cup was brought in, and other notable abuſes, deſiring leave to go thither, to make proviſion herein, and that generally in all *Polonia*, there was need of a perſon, who might keep the reſidue of the people in obedience, ſaying, he ſhould do the Apoſtolick See more ſervice in thoſe quarters, than he could by remaining in the Council. But *Simoneta*, deſirous that the weight of the whole buſineſs ſhould lie upon his ſhoulders, hoping to guide it with ſatisfaction of the Pope and his own honour, conſidering that *Seripando* was ſatiated with it, and not inclined to govern it, and that *Varmienſe* was a ſimple man, fit to be led, he wrote to the Pope, that, the affairs of the Council being not in a good ſtate, every novity would ſhake it much, and therefore did think fit to continue without ſending other Legates, and promiſed a good iſſue.

The three Legats remaining, write to the Pope.

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In thoſe days advice came from *Rome*, that a cauſe of the Biſhop of *Segovia*, which was to be propoſed in the *Rota*, was refuſed, and that one of the Auditors told his Proctor, that the Biſhop was ſuſpected of Hereſy. This made a great ſtir, not only among the *Spaniards*, but all the *Ultramontanes* alſo, complaining that in *Rome*, calumnies and infamies were raiſed againſt thoſe who did not abſolutely adhere to their wills.

The fouth of *March* the third rank began to ſpeak: and, for the fifth Article all agreed that it was Heretical, and to be condemned; and ſo they did of the ſixth. Yet there was a difference, becauſe ſome ſaid, that howſoever the Oriental Church and the Occidental did differ, in regard this did admit to *Prieſthood* and holy *Orders* continent perſons only, and that did admit married men; yet no Church did ever grant that Prieſts might marry, and that this is ſo by Apoſtolical tradition, not by reaſon of vow, or of any Eccleſiaſtical conſtitution; and therefore that, abſolutely, they were to be condemned for hereticks, who ſay it is lawful for Prieſts to marry, though they reſtrain not themſelves to the Weſt, nor make mention of Vow or Law of the Church. And others ſaid, that no diſpenſation could be granted for Prieſts to marry for any cauſe whatſoever. Some ſaid that Matrimony was forbid to two ſorts of perſons, for two cauſes. To ſecular Clerks, in regard of holy *Orders*, by Eccleſiaſtical Law; to Regulars, in regard of their ſolemn Vow. That the prohibition of marriage by conſtitution of the Church, may be taken away by the Pope, or, in caſe that remain in force ſtill, the Pope may diſpenſe with it. They alledged the examples of thoſe who have been diſpenſed with, and the uſe of antiquity, that, if a Prieſt did marry, the marriage was good, but the man was ſeparated from the Miniſtery; which hath continually been obſerved until the time of *Innocentius* the 2. who, firſt of all the Popes, ordained that there ſhould be a nullity in the marriage. But with thoſe who are bound to continency by ſolemn vow, this being *de jure divino*, they ſaid the Pope could not diſpence. They alledged *Innocentius* the third, who affirmed that the obſervation of chaſtity, and the abdication of the propriety of goods, doth ſo cleave to the bones of Monks, that the Pope cannot diſpenſe therein. Then they added the opinion of Saint *Thomas*, and of other Doctors, who affirm, that the ſolemn Vow is a conſecration of the man to God, and that, becauſe no man can make a thing conſecrated to return to humane uſes, no man likewiſe can make a Monk to return to the power of marrying, and that all Catholick Writers do condemn *Luther*, and his Sectaries of Hereſy, for ſaying that Monkſhip is an humane invention; and do affirm, that it is by Apoſtolical tradition: whereunto the opinion that the Pope may diſpenſe, is directly contrary.

Others did maintain that the Pope might diſpenſe, even with theſe alſo, and marvelled at thoſe, who, granting the diſpenſation of ſimple Vows, did deny that of ſolemn, as if it were not moſt clear, by the determination of *Boniface* the eighth, that every ſolemnity is *de jure poſitivo*, making uſe alſo of the examples of things conſecrated to prove their opinion. For as a thing conſecrated, remaining ſo, cannot be imployed in humane uſes, but yet the conſecration may be removed, and the thing made prophane, whereby it may lawfully return to a promiſcuous uſe, ſo a man conſecrated to Monkſhip, remaining ſo, cannot marry, but the Monkſhip and Conſecration, ariſing from the ſolemnity of the Vow, which is *de jure poſitivo*, being removed, he may, without any hinderance,

hinderance live as others do. They brought places of Saint *Auſtin*, by which it doth manifeſtly appear, that in his time, ſome Monks did marry. And howſoever it was thought they offended in it, yet the marriage was lawful, and Saint *Auſtin* reprehendeth thoſe who did ſeparate them. 1563 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip* II.

They ſaid moreover, it was neceſſary to diſpence with Prieſts, or to take away the precept of continency. And the Duke of *Bavaria* having ſent to *Rome*, to demand of his Holineſs the Communion of the Cup, requeſted alſo that married men might have leave to preach, under which name all the Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtry was underſtood, exerciſed by Parith-Prieſts, in the cure of Souls. Many reaſons were alledged to perſwade the grant, which were reſolved into two; ſcandal given by incontinent Prieſts, and want of continent perſons, fit to exerciſe the Miniſtery. And the famous ſaying of Pope *Pius* the ſecond, was in the mouth of many, that Prieſts were by the Occidental Church forbid to marry for good reaſon, but there was ſtronger reaſon to reſtore marriage to them again. Thoſe of the contrary opinion ſaid, that it is not the part of a wiſe Phyſician, to cure one diſeaſe, by cauſing a greater; that if Prieſts are incontinent and ignorant, yet the Prieſthood is not to be proſtituted to married men. And here many Popes were alledged, who did not permit it, becauſe they ſaid it was impoſſible to attend to the fleſh, and to the ſpirit, and that Matrimony was a carnal eſtate; that the true remedy was to make proviſion of continent and learned perſons, by education, by diligence, by rewards and puniſhments, and, in the mean time, not to ordain any but men of an approved life; and, for doctrine, to cauſe Homilies, and Catechiſms to be printed in the *Dutch* and *French* Tongues, compoſed by learned and religious men, to be read to the people out of the Book by the unlearned Prieſts, by which means the Pariſh Prieſts, though unſufficient, might ſatisfy the people.

The principal reaſon why Prieſts are forbid to marry.

The Legates were blamed for ſuffering this Article to be diſputed, as being dangerous; becauſe it is plain that married Prieſts will turn their affections and love to their wives and children, and by conſequence to their houſe and Country, ſo that the ſtrict dependance which the Clergy hath on the Apoſtolick *See*, would ceaſe; and to grant Marriage to Prieſts, would deſtroy the Eccleſiaſtical *Hierarchy*, and make the Pope to be Biſhop of *Rome* only. But the Legates excuſed themſelves, that, to pleaſe the Biſhop of *Five Churches*, who had made this requeſt in the name of the Duke of *Bavaria*, and of the Emperour alſo, and to make the *Imperialiſts* not to be ſo earneſt in the matter of Reformation, which was of more importance, they were forced to yield to this diſputation.

The *French-men*, perceiving it was the more common opinion that the marriage of Prieſts might be diſpenſed with, conſulted together whether it were fit to demand a diſpenſation for the Cardinal of *Borbon*, as *Lorain* and the Ambaſſadors had Commiſſion. *Lorain* was of opinion, that it was not fit; ſaying, that, without doubt, the Council would hardly be perſwaded that the cauſe was reaſonable, and urgent in regard it was not neceſſary he ſhould have poſterity, the King being young, there being two Brothers, and other Princes of the blood, Catholicks: and for governing, during the minority of the King, he might do it remaining in the Clergy, that, in regard of the differences between the *French* and *Italians*, about Reformation, and the Authority of the Pope and Biſhops, their oppoſites would diligently oppoſe this demand,

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that it was better to go to the Pope, or expect a better occaſion, and that it was ſufficient for that time, to provide that no Doctrine ſhould be eſtabliſht in prejudice of it. Some thought that *Lorain* did not like, in his private opinion, that *Borbon* ſhould marry, in regard it might cauſe an emulation, or diminution of his houſe; but others did not think it probable. Firſt, becauſe by this means all hope was taken from *Conde*, whom he miſtruſted much more; yea that he did much deſire that *Borbon* ſhould return to the ſecular ſtate, that himſelf might be the prime Prelate of *France*, and that, if a Patriarch were made, as he much deſired, he might undoubtedly be the man, which could not be, if *Borbon* did ſtill remain in the Clergy.

Two new Legates are created.

The Pope having received advice of the death of *Mantua*, and conſulted with his inward friends, thought it neceſſary to ſend other Legates, who being new, not intangled with promiſes and treaties, might follow his inſtructions with more eaſe. And therefore the ſeventh of *March*, the ſecond Sunday in Lent, not intimating a Congregation, as he was wont, but the Cardinals being aſſembled in the Chamber where they put on their Robes to go to the Chappel, according to the uſe, he ſtayed, and, excluding the Courtiers, cauſed the doors to be ſhut, and created Legates, the Cardinals, *John Morone*, and *Bernardus Navaggerus*; that, by the perſwaſions of Princes or Cardinals, he might not be forced to name others that pleaſed him not. The Pope thought to do it ſecretly; but it came to the ears of the *French men*, and the Cardinal of *Bordiſſiera* ſpake to the Pope before he went out of the Chamber, and told him many reaſons, that in caſe, he would create new Legates, he could not commit the charge to a more worthy perſon than the Cardinal of *Lorain*. But the Pope being reſolute, and diſpleaſed that the matter was not ſo ſecretly carried, anſwered freely, that the Cardinal of *Lorain* came to the Council as Head of one of the pretendent parties, and that he would depute thoſe who were Neutrals, and without intereſts. The Cardinal being about to reply, the Pope made haſt away, and went down out of the Chambers ſo faſt, that there was not time to make anſwer. The Congregation being ended, the Pope let the Cardinals go to the Chappel, and himſelf returned to the Chamber, becauſe he would not be in ceremony, when he was ſo much vexed with the words of that Cardinal.

The Duke of *Guiſe* is ſlain by *Poltrot*.

The ninth of *March* news came to *Trent*, that the Duke of *Guiſe* Brother to the Cardinal of *Lorain*, as he returned from the Trenches under *Orlience*, was ſhot, by *John Poltrot*, a private Gentleman of the reformed Religion, and ſix days after dyed, to the great diſcontent of all the Court, and that, after he was wounded, he exhorted the Queen to make peace, and ſaid openly, that he was an enemy to the Kingdom who was againſt it. The Homicide being interrogated of his complices, named *Coligni*, the Admiral, and *Theodore Beza*, and afterwards excuſed *Beza*, but perſevered in accuſing the other. Yet he wavered ſo, that one could not tell what to believe. The Cardinal advertiſed hereof, provided a greater guard than formerly he had: and being exceedingly grieved for the death of his Brother, who was dear unto him, firſt of all he wrote a conſolatory Letter to *Antonia de Borbon* their common Mother, full of exquiſite conceits, to be compared, or rather, as his friends ſaid, to be preferred to thoſe of *Seneca*, in the end whereof he ſaid, he was reſolved to go to his Church of *Reims*, and to ſpend the reſidue of his life in preaching the word of *God*, inſtructing the people, bringing up his Brothers Children in

The Card. of *Lorain* writeth to his Mother.

Chriſt

Chriſtian piety, and never to ceaſe performing of theſe Offices, but when the Kingdom for ſome publick affairs, had need of his pains: The Letter was no ſooner parted from *Trent*, but the City was full of Copies of it, rather importunely offered by his friends, than requeſted; ſo hard it is for the affection of ſelf-love to be quiet, though in the occaſion of greateſt ſorrow. After this, the Cardinal, thinking of the change of things by this variation, altered all his deſignes. And this cauſed a change alſo in the affairs of the Council. For he being the man which the Emperour and Queen of *France* had, until then, wholly employed, they were forced, for want of ſo fit a Miniſter, to be more remiſs in their purpoſes, and to proceed more ſlowly. But it happeneth in humane affairs, as it doth in fortunes at Sea, where, the winds being ceaſed, the waves do tumultuate for ſome hours after. So the great weight of the affairs of the Council could not eaſily be appeaſed, in regard of their former impetuous motion. But it is certain, that the death of that Duke was a great begining of the quiet which ſucceeded ſome months after, eſpecially after the death of the other Brother, great *Prior* of *France*, and the peace made with the *Hugonots*, and the inſtances of the Queen to the Cardinal to make his peace with the Pope, and return into *France*: of which things we will ſpeak in due place. Hereby the Cardinal ſaw, that the affairs as they ſtood, would not be profitable, neither for himſelf, nor his friends.

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The death of the Duke cauſed a great alteration in the Council.

The death of *Guiſe* was lamented both in *Trent*, and *Rome*, becauſe every one thought he was the only maintainer of the Catholick party in the Kingdom of *France*; neither did it appear what other perſon could ſucceed, in ſupporting that weight; the rather, becauſe every one was daunted by the example of his death. The *French* Prelates in the Council were troubled in mind, becauſe they underſtood that an accord was treated with the *Hugonots*, who pretended, amongſt other things, that the third part of the Eccleſiaſtical Revenues ſhould be employed for maintenance of the reformed Miniſters.

In this variety of buſineſſes, and perplexity of minds, *Five Churches* returned to *Trent*, and, with the other Ambaſſadors of the Emperour, had audience with the Legates, and preſented to them the Emperours Letter which he brought, and the Copy of another written by his Majeſty to the Pope. They all made requeſt for the Reformation, but in general terms only, and very remiſly. The Emperours Letter to the Legates, did ſignify his deſire to ſee ſome fruitful proceeding of the Council, for which it was neceſſary to remove ſome impediments, whereof having written to the Pope, he prayed them to labour in Council, and to uſe perſwaſions to his Holineſs, that the future progreſs might be for the ſervice of *God*, and benefit of Chriſtendom. In his Letter to the Pope he ſaid, that, having diſpatched great buſineſſes with the *Electors*, and other Princes and States of *Germany*, nothing was more precious unto him, being *Advocate* of the Church, than to promote the affairs of the Council; that he was come to *Iſpruc* for that cauſe, where, to his grief, he underſtood that matters did not proceed as he hoped, and as the publick tranquility did require; that he feared, if better order were not taken, the Council would end with ſcandal of the world, and laughter of thoſe who had forſaken the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, who would be incited to retain their opinions with greater obſtinacy; that there had been no Seſſion held of a long time; that while Princes did labour to unite the adverſaries differing

The Emperours Letters to the Legates and the Pope.

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fering in opinions, the Fathers came to contentions, unworthy of them; that there was a fame that his Holineſs meant to diſſolve or ſuſpend the Council, perhaps moved thereunto by the preſent ſtate thereof: but that his opinion was to the contrary. For it had been better it had never been begun, than left unperfect with the ſcandal of the world, contempt of his Holineſs, and of the whole Clergy, prejudice of this and other future general Councils, loſs of that ſmall remainder of Catholicks, and opinion of the world, that the end of the diſſolution or ſuſpenſion was only to hinder the Reformation; that, in the intimation of it, his Holineſs did deſire his conſent, and of other Kings and Princes, which he did, in imitation of his predeceſſors, who always have thought it neceſſary, for many reſpects; that the ſame reaſon doth conclude, that it cannot be diſſolved or ſuſpended without the ſame conſent. And he exhorted him, not to hearken to thoſe who would have him to diſſolve it, a thing ſhameful and unprofitable, which undoubtedly would be a cauſe of National Councils, ſo much abhorred by his Holineſs as contrary to the unity of the Church, which as they have been hindred by Princes to preſerve the Popes Authority, ſo they cannot be denied, or deferred any more. He perſwaded him to maintain the liberty of the Council, which was impeached principally by three cauſes. One, becauſe every thing was firſt conſulted of at *Rome*, another, becauſe the Legates had aſſumed to themſelves only the liberty of propoſing, which ought to be common to all; the third, becauſe of the practices which ſome Prelates, intereſted in the greatneſs of the Court of *Rome*, did make. He ſaid, that a Reformation of the Church being neceſſary, and the common opinion being, that the abuſes have their beginning and growth in *Rome*, it was fit, for common ſatisfaction, that the Reformation ſhould be made in Council, and not in that City. And therefore deſired his Holineſs to be content that the demands exhibited by his Ambaſſadors, and by other Princes, might be propoſed. In the concluſion, he told him, he purpoſed to aſſiſt in Council perſonally, and exhorted his Holineſs to do the like.

With which his Holineſs is offended.

This Letter was diſpatched the third of *March*, and it gave much offence to the Pope. For he thought that the Emperour did embrace much more than his Authority did reach unto, and paſſed the terms of his Predeceſſors, men more potent than himſelf. But he was diſpleaſed more when he was adviſed by his *Nuncio*, that he had ſent Copies of the ſame Letter to other Princes, and to the Cardinal of *Lorain* alſo; which could be done to no other end, but to incite them againſt him, and to juſtify his own actions. Beſides, Doctor *Scheld*, great Chancellor to the Emperour, perſwaded *Delphinus*, the Popes *Nuncio* at that Court, that he would be a means that the words, *Univerſalem Eccleſiam*, might be taken away, which did infer the ſuperiority of the Pope above the Council, ſaying, that theſe times did not comport they ſhould be uſed, and that the Emperour and himſelf alſo did know, that *Charles* the fifth, of happy memory, did hold the contrary opinion in this Article, and that they ſhould take heed of giving occaſion to his Majeſty and other Princes to declare what they think herein. The Pope conſidered that *Lorain* alſo had written, that it was not time to handle the difficulty of the words, *Univerſalem Eccleſiam*, &c. and the advice which came from *Trent*, that the Cardinal ſaid, that neither himſelf, nor the *French* Prelates could endure them, that they might not canonize an opinion, contrary to all *France*; which, when

men came to ſpeak plainly in the diſcuſſion of this point, would have more favourers than was believed, and that they were deceived who thought the contrary; which ſhewed clearly, that he had treated hereof at the Emperours Court. Theſe things conſidered, the Pope thought fit to make a good anſwer, and to ſend about alſo, to juſtify himſelf.

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Therefore he wrote to the Emperour, that he had called the Council with the participation of him, and of other Kings and Princes, not becauſe the Apoſtolick *See* had need, in governing the Church, to expect the conſent of any Authority whatſoever, becauſe he had plenitude of power from *Chriſt*; that all the ancient Councils have been aſſembled by Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, nor any Prince ever interpoſed, but as a meer executor of his will; he had never had any purpoſe either to diſſolve or to ſuſpend the Council, but hath always purpoſed to give a compleat end, for the ſervice of *God*; that, by conſulting in *Rome* of the ſame matters which were diſputed in *Trent*, the liberty of the Council was not only not hindred, but promoted rather; that no Council was ever celebrated in abſence of the Pope, but that he hath ſent inſtructions, which the Fathers have alſo followed; that the inſtructions do ſtill remain, which Pope *Celeſtinus* ſent the *Epheſin* Council, Pope *Leo* to that of *Chalcedon*, Pope *Agatho* to that of *Trullus*, Pope *Adrian* the firſt to the ſecond of *Nice*, Pope *Adrian* the ſecond to the eighth general Council of *Conſtantinople*; that, for propoſing in the Council, it hath always belonged to the Pope whenſoever he hath been preſent, yea, he alone hath reſolved, and the Council done nothing but approve; that in abſence of the Pope, the Legates have ever propoſed, or others, deputed by them; in conformity whereof, the Council of *Trent* hath determined, that the Legates ſhould propoſe; that this is neceſſary for the keeping of order, in regard there would be a great confuſion, if the Prelates, tumultuouſly and one againſt another, might ſet on foot matters ſeditious, and inconvenient; that the Legates have never refuſed to propoſe any thing that is profitable; that the practices, made by divers againſt the Authority of the Apoſtolick *See*, hath much diſpleaſed him; that all the Books of the Fathers and Councils are full, that the Pope, ſucceſſour of *Peter*, and *Vicar* of *Chriſt*, is *Paſtor* of the Univerſal Church; that many Conventicles and practices have been made in *Trent*, againſt this truth, howſoever the Church hath always uſed this form of ſpeech, as his Majeſty might ſee, in the places which he ſent him cited in a paper incloſed; that all the preſent evils have riſen, becauſe his Legates, uſing connivency, that bad Tongues might not take occaſion to ſpeak againſt the liberty of the Council, had ſuffered their Authority to be contemned, ſo that the Council might be ſaid rather to have licence than liberty; that, for Reformation, he deſireth it ſhould be rigid and abſolute, and hath continually ſollicited his Legates to reſolve upon it; that concerning the Court, the world knew how many proviſions he had made, even with the diminution of his rents, and that, if any thing remained, he would not omit it; that this could not be done in *Trent*, in regard the Prelates, being not informed well, inſtead of reforming, would deform it more; that, in the mean while, he deſired to ſee ſome Reformation in other Courts alſo, which had no leſs need of it; in the affairs of the Church only, and that perhaps from the abuſes therein the evil doth principally ariſe; that, concerning the petitions propoſed by his Majeſties Ambaſſadors, and others, he hath always

And anſwereth the Letter thus.

A paper full of quotations.

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always written they ſhould be examined and diſcuſſed, each of them in its fit time, and that an order being inſtituted, and continued, to handle in Council matters of faith, and Reformation of the abuſes concerning them, both together, it could not be altered, without confuſion and indignity; that his Majeſty having touched divers diſorders of the Council, had omitted the principal, and fountain of the others, which is, that thoſe who ought to receive Law from Councils, would give it unto them; that if the piety of *Conſtantine*, and the two *Theodoſii* were imitated, and their examples followed, the Council would have had no diviſion between the Fathers, and been in great reputation with the world; that he deſired to aſſiſt perſonally in Council, to remedy the diſorders thereof, but in regard of his age, and of his important affairs, it was impoſſible for him to go to *Trent*, and would not ſpeak of tranſlating it to a place whither he might go for fear of giving ſuſpicion.

The Pope thought that the intereſts of the Emperour and of *France* could not be united with his, and therefore could promiſe himſelf but little, and hope leſs of them. For they did not think of the Synod but for the intereſts of their Eſtates, and therefore did deſire nothing from it but what might give ſatisfaction and contentment to their people, and in caſe they cannot obtain it, to hinder the ending of the Council, and ſo to keep their Subjects ſtill in hope. But theſe intereſts could not move the King of *Spain*, whoſe people are Catholicks, and therefore he might conform himſelf to his will, without prejudice to his States, yea that it was good for him to ſtand united with him, that he might obtain graces; and therefore he thought it neceſſary to ſolicite him, with continual perſwaſions, and to give him hope of all ſatisfaction. And *Lewis d' Avola* did opportunely arrive in *Rome*, ſent expreſly by his Catholick Majeſty. The Pope honoured him above meaſure, lodged him in the Palace, in the rooms formerly inhabited by Count *Frederic Boremeo*, his Nephew, and uſed him with all effectual courteſy. The cauſes of his coming were, to obtain of the Pope a prorogation for five years more of the Subſidy of the Clergy, granted unto him, and power to ſell five and twenty thouſand Crowns of the Fees of the Churches. He had commiſſion alſo to procure a Diſpenſation of marriage between the Princeſs, Siſter of the King and his Son *Charles*, which, in *Spain*, was thought eaſy, becauſe many, even private men, were diſpenſed with to marry the Daughter of their Brother or Siſter, which is as much as to take the Siſter of the Father. Beſides, *Moyſes* and *Aaron* were born of ſuch a matrimony. For the marriage, the Pope ſaid he would do as much as his Authority would ſtretch unto, and would cauſe the matter to be conſulted on. But the Treaty did not proceed, in regard of the infirmity of the Princeſs which ſucceeded, and made her unfit for marriage. Concerning the Subſidy, and alienation, the Pope ſhewed a willing mind, but made difficulty to do it while the Prelates were at charges in the Council, promiſing to gratify the King if he would aſſiſt him to finiſh it, and to free him from it. For matters of the Council, *Don Lewis* did not proceed far in the firſt Audiences, only he offered to procure the preſervation of the Popes Authority, and exhorted his Holineſs not to treat a League between the Catholicks, leſt the Hereticks ſhould do the like, and *France* run headlong to any accord with the *Hugonots*.

A *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador cometh to *Rome*.

In the mean while divers aſſemblies were held in *Trent*: the Emperours Ambaſſadors called together the *Spaniſh* Prelates, in the houſe of

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the Archbiſhop of *Granata*, to perſwade them to conſent that the uſe of the Cup might be granted in Council, purpoſing to propoſe it again: but they found them ſo averſe, that they were forced to bury it in ſilence. The Cardinal of *Lorain* held many Congregations with his Prelates and Divines to examin the places, ſent by the Pope to the Emperour, in the paper before mentioned, and by the Emperour to him, concerning the words, *Univerſalem Eccleſiam*, to ſee whether they were juſtly cited, and whether the true ſence was given them, that they might, as they did, make another writing, in confutation of it. The Emperour gave order that theſe places might be imparted to the *Spaniſh* Prelates, that he might know their opinion; which *Five Churches* having done, when they were all aſſembled to this end, *Granata* anſwered, that his Majeſty needed not to have taken ſuch pains with them who do receive the Council of *Florence*, but ſhould ask the *French-men*, who receive that of *Baſil.* Upon this occaſion ſome of them, when *Five Churches* was gone from them, did perſwade, that a Letter ſhould be written to the Pope, to take from him the bad opinion he had conceived of them. But *Granata* refuſed, and ſaid, it was ſufficient that he knew by their voices that they were not oppoſite herein; yet ſo, as it was not fit they ſhould imitate the flattery of the *Italians.* And he uſed theſe very word. *Let him reſtore unto us our own, that we may leave unto him more than is his; and it is not juſt, that of Biſhops we ſhould be made his Vicars.* Another day the Ambaſſadors of the Emperour and *French* King met together, to ſet down an order that the Decree of reſidence, compoſed by the Cardinal of *Lorain* might be propoſed: which neither they, nor *Lorain* could obtain of the Cardinal of *Varmia*, and *Simoneta*, *Seripando* being ſick, and abſent.

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In the Congregation of the ſeventeenth of *March*, one of the Divines, finding oportunity to digreſs from the continency of Prieſts to reſidence, ſpent his whole large diſcourſe therein. He brought authority and examples to perſwade that it was *de jure Divino*, and to anſwer that objection, that many Canons and Decrees do command it, which needed not, if it were commanded by God. He uſed this conceit, that *Jus Divinum* is the foundation, or pillar of reſidence, and *Jus Canonicum* the Edifice or Roof, and that as the building is overthrown when the foundation is removed, and as the Roof falleth when the Pillar is taken away, ſo it is impoſſible to preſerve reſidence with *Jus Canonicum* only, and thoſe who aſcribe it only unto that, have no other aim than to deſtroy it. He brought the examples of ancient times, noting that reſidence was exquiſitely obſerved by all, before any Canons or humane Decrees were made, becauſe every one held that he was bound by God. But ſince that ſome have perſwaded themſelves, that there was no obligation but that which is derived from humane Laws, howeſoever theſe have often been renewed, and fortified with penalties, yet all hath ſtill grown worſe and worſe.

The ſame day Cardinal *Seripando* died, to the great grief of all the Prelates, and of all *Trent*, having in the morning received the Sacrament of the *Euchariſt*, which he took out of his bed upon his knees. After that, he returned into his bed, and in the preſence of five Prelates, and of the Secretaries of *Venice* and *Florence*, and of all his family, he made a long Oration in *Latin*, until his Spirits did fail him; he confeſſed his Faith, wholly conformable to the Catholik of the Roman Church, ſpake of the works of a Chriſtian, of the Reſurrection

The death of *Seripando.*

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ſurrection of the dead, of the affairs of the Council, recommending the progreſs of it to the Legates, and the Cardinal of *Lorain*; but ſtriving to ſet down the means, his ſpirit did fail him, and he ſaid, that *God* had forbid him to proceed further, but that his Divine Majeſty would ſpeak himſelf in time and place: and ſo paſſed, without ſaying any more.

The Count of *Luna* wrote from the Emperours Court, to *Martin Guſdelun*, the Secretary, and ſent a Copy of a Letter written to him from the King, in which his Majeſty did adviſe, that the Pope had complained to him of the *Spaniſh* Prelates; and howſoever he believed that his Holineſs was not well informed, thinking that the Prelates would ſhew devotion towards the Apoſtolick See, yet he gave order to the Count, that, at his coming to *Trent*, he ſhould cauſe them to favour the Pope, as far as their conſcience could permit, and ſo to carry themſelves, that his Holineſs might not have cauſe to complain of him. And to this purpoſe the Count wrote alſo to *Granata*, *Segovia*, and *Leon*.

The eighteenth of *March*, in which no Congregation was held, by reaſon of the obſequies of *Seripando*, the *French* Ambaſſador appeared ſolemnly before the two Legates, and complained, that theſe eleven Months, ſince the firſt day of their arrival in *Trent*, until then, they had made known the deſolations of *France*, and the dangers of Chriſtendom, for the differences of Religion, and declared that the moſt neceſſary and principal remedy was a good intire Reformation of manners, and ſome moderation of poſitive Laws, and had always received good hope, and gracious words, but could never ſee any effect of them; that the Reformation is avoided, as much as is poſſible; that the greater part of the Fathers and Theologues are now more hard and ſevere than ever in not yielding to the neceſſity of the time; they prayed them to conſider how many good men dyed, before they were able to do any good work for the publick ſervice; whereof the Cardinals of *Mantua*, and *Seripando* were examples; deſiring them to do ſomething for the diſcharge their Conſcience, while they had time. The Legates anſwered, that they were diſpleaſed with this long deferring of matters, of which the death of *Mantua* and *Seripando* were cauſe; that themſelves alone are not able to bear ſo great a weight, praying them to expect *Morone* and *Navaggero*, who would preſently arrive. They were pacified with the anſwer, and the rather, becauſe the Imperialiſts made inſtance that they would proceed ſlowly, expecting the negotiation of the Emperours Ambaſſadors in *Rome*, who, together with *Lewis d' Avila*, made requeſt to the Pope, that a general Reformation of the whole Church in the Head, and in the members, might be made not in *Rome*, but in the Council, and alſo that the Decree, that the Legates only might propoſe in Council, ſhould be revoked, as contrary to the liberty of the Ambaſſadours, and Prelates, in propounding what they thought profitable, theſe for their Churches, and thoſe for their States. This inſtance the Emperour thought fit ſhould be firſt made to the Pope, and afterwards to the Council.

The negotiation of the Ambaſſadors of the Emperour and King of *Spain* in *Rome*.

Notwithſtanding, theſe Princes were not abſolutely of one mind. For howſoever *Don Lewis* made the ſame demands apart, yet afterwards, he deſired the Pope to perſwade the Emperour not to ſeek the communion of the Cup, and marriage of Prieſts, ſaying, that the King

King had given Commiſſion to his Ambaſſador to go to *Trent*, and perſwade that it ſhould not be ſpoken of, or, if it were, that the *Spaniſh* Prelates ſhould oppoſe it. He exhorted the Pope to endeavour to win the Hereticks by gentleneſs, not ſending *Nuncii*, but uſing the means of the Emperour, and of other Princes of Authority, to accept the demands of the *French-men*, and to leave the Council free, that all may propoſe, and no practices be uſed in making the reſolutions. The Popes anſwer to the Ambaſſadors was, that the decree, *Proponentibus Legatis*, ſhould be ſo expounded, that every one might propoſe what he would, and that to the Legates, which parted lately, he had given liberty to reſolve all things, which might occur in Council, without writing at all; that the Reformation was deſired by him, and that he had often made inſtance for it, and that, if the world would have had it from *Rome*, it ſhould have been done by this time, and put in execution alſo; but ſeeing they would have it from *Trent*, if it were not effected, the cauſe ought to be aſcribed only to the difficulties which were amongſt the Fathers; that he deſired to ſee an end of the Council, and did procure and ſollicite it, nor had ever any thought to ſuſpend it; that, in conformity hereof, he would write to the Legates, and did write, that the Decree, *Proponentibus Legatis*, was made to take away confuſion; but that his will was, that none of the Prelates ſhould be hindered to propoſe what he thought fit, and that they ſhould diſpatch the matters, according to the voices of the Fathers, without expecting any order from *Rome*. But this Letter was to give ſatisfaction, and not to work any effect. For *Morone*, the prime Legate, had inſtructions apart, to give a rule to the Orders alſo which ſhould come from *Rome*.

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The Popes anſwer.
Secret inſtructions given to Cardinal *Morone*.

The Pope anſwered *Don Lewis* in particular, that he had opened the Council, upon promiſe of his Majeſty that he would protect it, and preſerve the Authority of the Apoſtolick See; but that he found he was deceived, in regard he had received more incounters from his Prelates, than from all the reſt, who, together with all the Clergy of *Spain*, had made themſelves his enemies for the grant of the Subſidy; that he doubted not of the good will of his Majeſty, but all the evil did ariſe becauſe he had not ſent truſty Ambaſſadors, neither to *Rome*, nor to the Council; that it was fit he ſhould leave the Council in liberty, and he did deſire it more than any, yet he was not pleaſed it ſhould have Licence, nor be in ſervitude to thoſe Princes, who preach liberty, and are deſirous to command; that every one made requeſt to him for the liberty of the Council, but he did not know whether they had all well conſidered of what importance it would be, if the Prelates had the Reins laid on the Neck; that howſoever there were amongſt them, ſome men excellent for integrity and wiſdom, yet there were of thoſe alſo, who wanted either one of them or both; all which would be dangerous if they were not kept in order, that perhaps it did leaſt of all concern him to think of it, becauſe, his Authority being grounded upon the promiſes of God, he did truſt in thoſe; that Princes had more need to beware, in regard of the prejudices which may enſue, and that, if the Prelates had ſuch ſuperfluous liberty, perhaps his Catholick Majeſty would have cauſe to be ſorry for it; that, for the Reformation, the impediments did not proceed from him; that he would continue to defer the demands of the Princes concerning the communion of the Cup, and marriage of Prieſts, deſiring his Majeſty to conſider, that as

1563 he diſſented from others in theſe particulars, ſo in every thing elſe there are ſome who make requeſts for it, and others who oppoſe. He concluded, that it was in the power of his Majeſty to ſee a fruitful, and a ſudden end of the Council, from which ſo ſoon as he was free, he might promiſe himſelf all favour from him.

Pius IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip* II.

The Twentyeth of *March*, the Divines made an end of the Articles of Matrimony; and the Legates conſulted privately, whether it were good to propoſe the Doctrine, and Canons thereof in the Congregations of the Fathers. But conſidering that the *French-men* and *Spaniards* would oppoſe, and that greater controverſies might be raiſed than ever were, and that if they ſhould propoſe the abuſes only, they ſhould give the Emperours and *French* Ambaſſadors fit occaſion to enter again into the matter of Reformation, they were much perplexed what to do. *Varmienſe* thought good to make trial, to accommodate ſome of the difficulties: but *Simoneta* feared that ſome great prejudice might enſue, in regard of the inſtability of his Colleague; and attributing the blame of all the diſorders, which have hapned in Council, to the two Legates dead, who proceeding in the matter of reſidence rather according to their own opinion, than the neceſſities of the Church, have by too much integrity, cauſed all the miſchief, and ſaid it was not fit to put themſelves in danger of raiſing greater; and therefore did not conſent that any of them ſhould be ſpoken of. Finally, they concluded to intermit all diſcuſſions, until the coming of the new Legates. In the mean time, *Lorain* reſolved to go to *Venice*, to recreate his mind, poſſeſſed with grief, for the death of his Brother, the great *Prior*, which alſo had revived his former ſorrow, for the death of the Duke, his other Brother.

The Cardinal of *Lorain* reſolveth to go to *Venice.*

The difficulties which were ſpoken of, were ſix. One concerning the Decree, made long before, that the Legates only ſhould propoſe. 2. Whether reſidence were *de jure divino.* 3. Whether Biſhops are inſtituted by *Chriſt.* 4. Concerning the Authority of the Pope. 5. To encreaſe the number of the Secretaries, and to hold an exact account of the Suffrages. 6. (Which was of moſt importance) concerning the general Reformation: which I was willing to repeat here, as a recapitulation of that wherein the Council hath been troubled until this time, and a proheme of the troubles which ſhall be related hereafter.

The 6 difficulties which trouble the Council.

The news was now ſtale in *Trent*, of the inſtance made in *Rome* to the Pope. For the Emperours Ambaſſadours and the *French*, had publiſhed it ſhould be done, and that afterwards they would make the ſame requeſts to the Council. The Cardinal of *Lorain*, who was wont to ſpeak variouſly, ſaid, that if thoſe Princes did receive ſatisfaction, by propoſing their petitions of Reformation, and the Reformation made, without diminution of the Popes Authority, thoſe inſtances would immediately ceaſe. And he added afterwards, that the Pope might have a good proceeding in the Reformation, and a quick diſpatch of the Council, if he would declare himſelf plainly what points he would not have to be diſcuſſed, that they might labour in diſcuſſing the others; by which means the contentions would be taken away, which have cauſed all the delayes. For ſome, who deſire to ſhew their affection to his Holineſs, ſuppoſing that a part of thoſe petitions may be prejudicial to the Apoſtolick See, do oppoſe them all: and others, denying that any of them do prejudice, do cauſe the buſineſs to be drawn in length. But if his Holineſs would declare himſelf, the difficulties would ceaſe. The Emperours Ambaſſadors ga

gave a Copy to many in *Trent*, of his Majeſties Letter to the Pope; which made the Legates reſolve to ſpread alſo the Copy of the Letter which themſelves had written in anſwer to the Emperour, when he ſent them that which he had written to the Pope; which Letter being compoſed according to the inſtructions ſent from *Rome*, did contain the ſame conceipts, as the Letters of his Holineſs did. 1563 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip* II.

The Pope, comparing the propoſitions of all the Ambaſſadors with the ſpeech of *Lorain*, whereof advice was ſent him, was ſo much the more reſolute, not to conſent to the propoſitions of Reformation, made by the *French-men*. And indeed, not only a perſon of a great ſpirit, and experienced in the world, as the Pope was, but every mean capacity might diſcover the cunning uſed, to draw him into the Net, in caſe he had not been wary. He conſidered, that to ſay he ſhould declare which of the petitions did not pleaſe him, did ſignify nothing but that, by ſuffering the others to be diſcuſſed, he ſhould leave a way wide open to bring in the others afterwards, which were to his prejudice. And who could doubt that to obtain the firſt would not be an end, but a degree to paſs to that at which they aimed, and that to releaſe the Eccleſiaſtical precepts, belonging to the *Rites*, as the Communion of the Cup, marriage of Prieſts, uſe of the Latin Tongue, which ſeem, at the firſt view, not to derogate from the Popes authority, would notwithſtanding cauſe immediately a total deſtruction of the Foundations of the Church of *Rome*? Some things make a fair ſhew, and ſeem that they may be admitted without loſs; but a wiſe man muſt conſider the concluſion of things, rather than their beginning. Being therefore reſolved to ſtop theſe firſt paſſages, and conſidering what other remedies there might be, he returned to his firſt cogitations, that the King of *Spain* had neither intereſt, nor any affection to proſecute the inſtances made, that the Emperour and *French-men* did much labour in them, hoping by this means to ſatisfy their people, and to appeaſe the diſcords, not knowing that the Hereticks do inculcate the Reformation that they may have a pretence for their ſeparation from the Church, and would not be reduced though it ſhould be made. He thought therefore, that if the Princes were made to underſtand this, they would abandon their inſtance, and ſuffer the Council to end quietly. Wherefore he wholly bent his endeavours to overcome the difficulties, by this means. And conſidering well all reſpects, he thought it more eaſy to perſwade the Emperour, who could determine of himſelf, and was of a more gentle and ſweet diſpoſition, far from any cunning, and not intangled with war; whereas in *France*, the King being a Child, many that were partakers in the government, uſing many artifices, and having divers intereſts, it would be very hard to do any good. Whereupon he reſolved that Cardinal *Morone* before he entred into the affairs of the Council, ſhould go to the Emperour for this end. And remembring what *Lorain* ſaid in *Trent*, that the Emperour would go to *Bolonia* to receive the Crown, he reſolved to try whether he could induce that Cardinal to be a mediator herein, and ſo to tranſlate the Council to that City. He gave order to the Biſhop of *Vintimiglia* to inſinuate with him, and to perſwade him to it; and, to give him a means of Entrance, he cauſed *Boromeo* to give him Commiſſion to condole with him, for the death of his Brother the great Prior.

The Pope reſolveth to ſend Cardinal *Morone* to the Emperour. And hath a plot upon the Cardinal of *Lorain*.

But before this order came, the Cardinal was gone for *Padua*. The Biſhop therefore conferring with *Simoneta*, concluded that the importance

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tance of the matter did not admit any loſs of time, nor could be negotiated but in preſence. Wherefore he reſolved to follow him, pretending to ſee a Nephew of his, who was very ſick in *Padua*. Being come thither, he viſited the Cardinal, preſented the Letters of *Boromeo*, and condoled with him making no ſhew of any other buſineſs. Talking together, the Cardinal demanded what news there was in *Trent*, ſince his departure, and whither Cardinal *Morone* would go to the Emperour, as was reported. After many diſcourſes on both ſides, the Biſhop began to put him in mind that his *Excellency* had formerly told him in *Trent*, that, in caſe the Pope would go to *Bolonia*, the Emperour would go thither alſo, and would make it an occaſion to receive the Crown, which would turn to the great advantage of his Holineſs to maintain the poſſeſſion of Coronation, which *Germany* did oppugn. The Cardinal affirming this again, the Biſhop added, that he had then ſent advice thereof to *Rome*, and now had received an anſwer by which he did conclude that a very fair occaſion was preſented to his *Excellency* of doing much good to the Church of *God*, by labouring to bring ſo profitable a deſign to effect. For in caſe he could perſwade his Majeſty to go to *Bolonia*, calling alſo the Council thither, he might aſſure himſelf that his Holineſs would reſolve to be there likewiſe, and that, by the aſſiſtance of them both, the affairs of the Synod would have a quick diſpatch, and a happy ſucceſs. The Cardinal deſired to ſee what was written to him; and the Biſhop making, demonſtration to proceed freely with him, ſhewed him the Letters of Cardinal *Boromeo*, and a writing of *Ptolemeus Gallus*, the Popes Secretary.

The Cardinal having read all, anſwered, that at his return to *Trent*, he ſhould better underſtand the Emperours mind, and what anſwer the Pope ſent to his Majeſty, whereby he might reſolve better, and would not fail to beſtow his pains, if there were occaſion. The Biſhop replying, that he might plainly underſtand the Popes mind, by the Letters which he ſhewed him, and that there was no cauſe to expect better information, the Cardinal entered into other diſcourſes, neither could the Biſhop, though he often returned to the ſame matter, drew any other anſwer from him. He ſaid indeed, that the Emperour had ſpoken of his going to *Bolonia*, becauſe the Pope had told him of his purpoſe to make the Reformation; but, ſeeing that it is now plain, by long experience, that howſoever his Holineſs promiſeth many things, yet nothing is executed in Council, his Majeſty and other Princes do believe, that he hath no true meaning of performance, and that, othe wiſe, the Legates would not have failed to have executed his will. H ſaid the Emperour was not ſatisfied, for that the Pope having, in *Jan ary*, ſhewed a purpoſe to go to *Bolonia*, was cooled on the ſudden, a that when his Majeſty told him of his deſire to aſſiſt perſonally Council, his Holineſs laboured much to diſwade him, uſing his wo ted variety of ſpeeches. He ſaid alſo that the Emperour would n reſolve to go into *Bolonia*, leſt he ſhould diſpleaſe the Princes, wh might doubt; that when he was there his Holineſs would govern a after his own manner, and conclude the Synod as he liſted, witho making any Reformation. He ſaid he had received advice of the i ſſance, made by *Don Lewis d' Avila* in the name of the Catholick Kin and was glad to hear it. And ſpeaking at large of the particulars, added, that it was neceſſary it ſhould be performed, even from *Alpha* *Omega*, and that it was fit to remove from the Council fifty Biſhops

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the leaſt, who do always oppoſe all good reſoultions. He ſaid that formerly he thought there were more abuſes in *France*, than elſe-where, but now he knew that there were enough in *Italy* alſo. For the Churches are in the hands of Cardinals, who, aiming at profit only, do wholly abandon them, and leave the cure to a poor Prieſt; by which means the Churches are ruined, and Simonies, and an infinity of other diſorders committed. For remedy whereof, the Princes and their Miniſters did proceed moderately, hoping that, at the laſt, the deſired Reformation would be made. That himſelf alſo had proceeded with reſpect; but now, ſeeing that it was time to labour in earneſt for the ſervice of *God*, he would burthen his conſcience no more; but, in the firſt voice he ſhould give, was reſolved to ſpeak hereof. That his family had ſuffered, as every one knoweth, the loſs of two Brothers; that himſelf would ſpend his blood in the ſame cauſe, though not in Armes, as they did; that his Holineſs ought not to hearken to thoſe who would divert him from ſo pious an intention, but to reſolve to obtain a reward at the hands of *God*, by the merit of removing the abuſes of the Church. He ſaid alſo, that, when the new Legates came, who no doubt would be well informed of the Popes mind, it would be known what his purpoſe was concerning the Reformation, in regard they could have no cauſe to delay it, if they meant to make it at all. And howſoever the Biſhop did often aſſay to bring him back to ſpeak of the journey to *Bolonia*, yet he always turned the diſcourſe another way. *Vintimiglia*, ſent advice of all to *Rome*, and gave his cenſure, that, howſoever the Cardinal had heretofore made mention of this journey, his mind was contrary; and ſpake it only in cunning, to diſcover the intention of his Holineſs and of the Court, and that he was glad he had found his purpoſe. For if he had promiſed to labour herein, he might have prolonged the buſineſs, and cauſed divers prejudicial inconveniences to ariſe.

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Advice came to *Rome*, that the *French* King had made peace with the *Hugonots*, the particular conditions being not known as yet. And the Pope thinking it proceeded from ſome Prelates, who, though they did not openly declare themſelves to be Proteſtants, yet did follow that party, he reſolved to diſcover them, and was wont to ſay, that he was wronged more by the masked Hereticks, than by the bare-faced. Whereupon, the laſt of *March*, having cauſed firſt the Emperours Letter written to him to be read, as alſo his own anſwer, he paſſed from that buſineſs, and related the confuſions of *France*, adding, that the Cardinal *Chaſtillion*, having changed his name of Biſhop of *Beauvois*, into Count of *Beauvois*, had alſo pronounced himſelf deprived of the Cardinals Hat, attributing all the diſorders to him, to the Archbiſhop of *Aix*, the Biſhop of *Valence* and ſome others. Which things, howſoever they were notorious, and needed no further proof to come to the declaration thereof, yet he gave order that the Cardinals, who governed the Inquiſition, ſhould proceed againſt them. The Cardinal of *Piſa* anſwering, that there was need of proper and ſpecial Authority, the Pope ordained, that a new Bull ſhould be made, which was dated the ſeventh of *April*; and contained in ſubſtance; That the Pope of *Rome* being Vicar of *Chriſt*, to whom he hath recommended the feeding of his ſheep, to reduce thoſe that wander, to bridle with temporal penalties thoſe who cannot be gained by admonitions, he hath not, ſince the beginning of his aſſumption, omitted to execute this charge. Notwithſtanding ſome Biſhops are not only fallen into Heretical errours, but

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do alſo favour other Hereticks, oppoſing the faith. For proviſion wherein, he commandeth the general *Inquiſitors* of *Rome*, to whom he hath formerly commended this buſineſs, to proceed againſt ſuch, though Biſhops and Cardinals, inhabiting in places where the Lutheran ſect is potent, with power to cite them to *Rome*, by Edict, or to the confines of the Church, to appear perſonally, or, if they will not appear, to proceed to ſentence, which he will pronounce in private Conſiſtory. The Cardinals, in conformity of the Popes command, cited, by Edict, to appear perſonally in *Rome*, to purge themſelves from imputation of Hereſy, and of being favourers of Hereticks, *Odet Coligni*, Cardinal *de Chaſtilion*, Saint *Maine*, Archbiſhop of *Aix*; *John de Montluc*, Biſhop of *Valence*, *Johannes Antonius Caracciolus*, Biſhop of *Troyes*, *John Barbanſon*, Biſhop of *Apame*, *Charles Gilar*, Biſhop of *Chartres*.

But the abſence of *Lorain* in *Trent*, and the expectation of the coming of the new Legates, with opinion that the form of proceeding in Council ſhould be changed, and the days of the Paſſion and Eaſter approaching, gave ſome little reſt from the negotiations. On good Fryday, Cardinal *Madruccio* returned to honour the Legate *Morone*, who was then expected, and arrived the next day late at night. He made his entry pontifically under a Canopy, was met by the Legates, Ambaſſadors, and Fathers of the Council, and Clergy of the City, and conducted to the Cathedral Church, where the Ceremonies uſed in receiving Legates, were performed. The morrow, which was *Eaſter day*, he ſung the ſolemn *Maſs* in the Chappel. The Count of *Luna* came to *Trent* alſo this day, and was met by the Prelates, and Ambaſſadours. He entred into the City between the Ambaſſadors of the Emperour, and of *France*, with many demonſtrations of friendſhip. He was alſo viſited by the *French*, who told him, they had commiſſion from the King and Queen to communicate all their affairs unto him, and offered to joyn with him in all the ſervices of the Catholick King his Maſter. *Luna* anſwered, that he had the ſame order, to communicate with them, and that he would hold good correſpondency. He viſited the Legates, uſing many loving words, and general offers.

The entry of Card. *Morone* into *Trent*.

Card. *Morone* is received in Congregation

The thirteenth of *April* there was a Congregation, to receive Cardinal *Morone*, where, after the *Brief* of his Legation was read, he made a ſpeech, fit for the occaſion, and ſaid, that the Wars, ſeditions, and other calamities, preſent, and imminent, for our ſins, would ceaſe, if a means were found to appeaſe *God*, and to reſtore the ancient purity, for which end the Pope had, with great judgment, aſſembled the Council, in which are two Cardinals, Princes, famous for Nibility and vertue, Ambaſſadors of the Emperour, and of ſo many great Kings, Princes, free Cities and Nations, and Prelates of excellent learning and integrity, and moſt skilful Divines. But, *Mantua* and *Seripando* being dead, the Pope had ſubſtitued him, and joyned *Navazgero* with him, which he had refuſed, knowing the weight of the burthen, and the weakneſs of his ſtrength. But the neceſſity of obedience hath overcome fear; that he was commanded to go to the Emperour, and would return ſhortly, to treat with the Fathers, in company of the other Legates, that which doth concern the ſalvation of the people, the honour of the Church, and the glory of *Chriſt*; that he brought with him two things, one, a good meaning of the Pope to ſecure the Doctrine of faith, to correct bad manners, to provide for the neceſſities of Provinces, and to eſtabliſh peace and union, even with the adverſaries, as much as piety and the dignity of the Apoſtolick *See* can permit; the other,

other, his own readineſs, to do what his Holineſs hath commanded him. He prayed the Fathers, that contentions and diſcord, and unprofitable queſtions being laid aſide, which do grievouſly offend Chriſtendom, they would handle ſeriouſly the things that are neceſſary. 1563 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip.* II.

The Count of *Luna* uſed perſwaſions to all the Prelates, vaſſals of his King, *Spaniards* or *Italians*, or beneficed in his States, exhorting them in the name of his Majeſty, to ſtand united in the Service of God, and reverence towards the Apoſtolick *See*, and not to do themſelves wrong, ſaying he had commiſſion to adviſe particularly of the proceedings of every one, and that his Majeſty will keep a particular account of thoſe who will carry themſelves according to his deſire, and that he would not have them ſay any thing againſt their conſcience. And he ſpake ſo, that every one underſtood, that theſe laſt words were ſpoken ſeriouſly, and the other in Ceremony. Perſwaſions of the Count of *Luna.*

Morone was willing to ſee *Lorain*, before he went to the Emperour, who becauſe he would not ſpeak with him, deferred his return. For having ſpoken in *Venice* with *Navaggero*, and underſtood a good part of the Popes inſtructions, he was willing to avoid occaſion, that *Morone*, communicating unto him all, or a part of that which he was to treat with the Emperour, ſhould put him into ſome obligation. Whereupon *Morone* parted the ſixteenth of *April*. He ſaid, he was ſent only to juſtifie the Popes good intention, that the Council might proceed, and an abſolute Reformation of the Church be made without any exception. Notwithſtanding his other Commiſſions were known, which were to diſſwade his Majeſty from coming to *Trent*, becauſe many impediments of the Reformation would be cauſed thereby; to excuſe the Pope, that he could not perſonally aſſiſt in Council, and to pray him to haſten the end of it, propoſing the tranſlation to *Bolonia*, where his Majeſty and the Pope might meet, which would be a good means for him to receive the Crown of the Empire in ſo famous an Aſſembly; a favour which never had been done to other Emperours. He had charge alſo to pray him to maintain the authority of the Apoſtolick *See*, againſt all the plots, made to diminiſh it, or rather to bring it to nothing; and that the Reformation of the Court of *Rome* might not be made in *Trent*, but by the Pope himſelf; that no mention might be made of renewing the things determined under *Paul* and *Julius*, in the ſame Council; that his Majeſty would be content, that the Decrees ſhould be made in Council, by the propoſition of the Legates only, firſt imparting them, and having the conſent of the Ambaſſadors of his Majeſty and of other Princes. He had commiſſion alſo to give the Emperour hope of a particular grant of whatſoever he would demand, for his people, and to diſſwade him from holding intelligence with the *French* King, in this matter of the Council, ſhewing him that as the ſtate of *France* and *Germany* was not the ſame, ſo the ends of his Majeſty and of that King muſt needs be divers, and their counſels different. The Legates, remaining in *Trent*, did willingly give the Prelates leave to depart, and eſpecially thoſe who held the Inſtitution of Biſhops and Reſidence to be *de jure divino.*

The 20. of *April Lorain* returned, and was met by the Ambaſſadors of the Emperour, of *Polonia*, and of *Savoy*; and the ſame day news came of the Peace concluded by the *French* King with the *Hugonots*, which was more for the advantage of the Catholick party. For after the battel before mentioned, the factions were equally balanced, until the death of *Guiſe*. Afterwards *Coligni* took, by aſſault, the Fort

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of *Cadome*, with ſo much reputation to himſelf, and diminution of the Catholicks, that it was reſolved in the Kings Council to conclude the Treaty of Peace, which was continually managed ever ſince the Battel. To this end, the ſeventh of *March* an Aſſembly was made, to which the Priſoners, *Conde* and the *Conſtable*, were brought. And, after ſome ſpeech, they being releaſed upon promiſe, to conclude the 72 conditions, the *Hugonot* Miniſters aſſembled, and reſolved not to conſent to any agreement, except the Edict of *January* might be obſerved, without any exception, or condition; adding alſo, that hereafter their Religion ſhould not be called new; that Children baptized by them ſhould not be rebaptized; that their marriages ſhould be eſteemed lawful, and their children legitimate. From which conditions becauſe they would by no means depart, *Conde* and the Nobility, weary of War, without calling the Miniſters any more, did make the Agreement. And the capitulations, concerning Religion, were theſe. That where the Noblemen of the *Hugonots* have high juſtice, they may live in their Houſes, in liberty of conſcience, and exerciſe of the reformed Religion, with their Families, and Subjects. That other Gentlemen, who hold in Fee, not dwelling under other Catholick Lords of high juctice, but immediately under the King, may exerciſe the ſame in their houſes, for themſelves, and their Families only. That, in every Bayliwick, an houſe ſhall be appointed, in the Suburbs, in which the reformed Religion may be exerciſed, by all of that juriſdiction. That every one may live in his own Houſe without being enquired into, or moleſted for his conſcience. That in all Cities, where that Religion hath been exerciſed until the ſeventh of *March*, it ſhall be continued in one or two places of that City, ſo that the Catholick Churches be not taken for that uſe, which alſo ſhall be reſtored to the Eccleſiaſticks, in caſe they have been ſurpriſed by them, yet ſo as that they ſhall not pretend any thing for demolitions made. That, in the City and Precincts of *Paris*, there ſhall be no exerciſe of that Religion, but thoſe who have Houſes or Revenues there, may return and enjoy them, without being moleſted for matters either paſt or to come, concerning their conſciences. That all ſhall repoſſeſs their goods, honours, and offices, notwithſtanding the ſentences to the contrary, and executions of them, ſince the death of *Henry* the Second until now. That the Prince of *Conde*, and all his Followers ſhall be ſaid to have a good end and intention, for tht ſervice of the King. That all priſoners of War, or Juſtice, for matter of Religion, ſhall freely be ſet at liberty. That an oblivion of things paſt ſhall be publiſhed, and injuring and provoking one another, as alſo diſputing and contending about Religion ſhall be forbid, and that they ſhall live as Brothers, Friends, and Fellow-Citizens. This accord was eſtabliſhed the Twelfth of *March*, to the diſcontentment of *Colignie*, who ſaid, their Affairs were not in ſtate to make ſuch advantageous conditions. That it was propoſed unto him in the beginning of the War, to make Peace with the Edict of *January*, and now that they might require more advantage, the conditions were worſe. To ſay that in every Bayliwick there ſhall be one place for the exerciſe of Religion, is to take away all from God, and to give him a portion. But the common inclination of all the Nobility did force him to be content. Concerning theſe conditions the Kings Letters were diſpatched, the nineteenth of the ſame month; in which it was ſaid; That it having pleaſed God to permit, for ſome years, the Kingdom to be afflicted with Seditions and Tumults, raiſed for matter of Religion, for which cauſe Arms were taken, with infinite

The conditions of the accord in *France*.

infinite ſlaughters, ſacking of Cities, ruins of Churches, and now, by continuance of the evil, having experience that War is not the proper remedy for this malady, the King hath thought fit to reunite his Subjects in good peace, truſting that time, and the fruit of an holy, free, general, or National Council will eſtabliſh the ſame. And here the Articles concerning Religion were added, beſides the others in matters of State: which Letters were publiſhed, and regiſtred in Court of Parliament, and publickly proclaimed in *Paris*, the ſeven and twentieth of the ſame Month.

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This was blamed by the greater part of the Fathers in Council, who ſaid it was to prefer the things of the world, before the things of *God*, yea to ruin both the one and the other. For the foundation of a State, which is Religion, being removed, it is neceſſary that the temporal ſhould come to deſolation; whereof the Edict made before was an example, which did not cauſe peace and tranquillity, as was hoped, but a greater War than before. And ſome of the Prelates did dare to ſay, that the King and the whole Council had incurred the Excommunications of many *Decretals* and Bulls, for having given peace to the Hereticks; and that there was no hope that the Affairs of that Kingdom would proſper, where there is a manifeſt diſobedience unto the Apoſtolick *See*, until the King and the Council did cauſe themſelves to be abſolved from the cenſures, and did perſecute the Hereticks with all their Forces. In defence whereof the *Frenchmen* ſaid, that the tribulations, continually ſupported by all *France*, and the manifeſt danger of the ruin of the Kingdom did ſufficiently juſtifie this action againſt the oppoſition of thoſe, who, regarding only their own intereſts, do not conſider the neceſſity in which the King was, which is more potent than any Law; alledging that of *Romulus*, that the good of the people is the moſt principal Law of all. But theſe Reaſons were not eſteemed, and the King was blamed above all, becauſe he ſaid in the proheme, that the time, and the fruit of an holy, free, general or National Council, would cauſe the eſtabliſhment of tranquillity; which they ſaid was an injury to the general Council, to be put in alternation with a National, and that the Cardinals of *Borbon*, and of *Guiſe*, ſhould be named amongſt the Authors of the Council to make peace, ſaying it was a great injury to the Apoſtolick *See*.

The Letter of *Soto* to the Pope.

The Synod began alſo to be troubled amongſt themſelves, for a ſmall cauſe, which did give much matter of diſcourſe. Fryar *Peter Soto* about this time, and three days before his death, did dictate and ſubſcribe a Letter to be ſent to the Pope, in which, by way of confeſſion, he declared his opinion concerning the points controverted in Council, and did particularly exhort his Holineſs to conſent, that Reſidence, and the inſtitution of Biſhops might be declared to be *de jure Divino*. The Letter was ſent to the Pope, and Fryar *Ludovicus Sotus*, his companion, kept a Copy of it; who thinking to honour the memory of his Friend, began to ſpread it. This cauſed much ſpeech. Some were moved with the action of a Doctor of an honeſt life, and at the time of his death. Others ſaid he did it not by his own motion, but at the inſtigation of the Archbiſhop of *Braganza*. *Simoneta* laboured to get in all the Copies; which did increaſe curioſity, and made them publiſhed the more, ſo that they were in the hands of all. And it is certain that the maintainers of theſe opinions were incouraged by this accident. The *Spaniards* did often meet in the Houſe of the Count of *Luna*, where *Granata* informed him of the preſent and paſt occurrences

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of the Council; and, the Biſhops of *Leria*, and *Patti* being departed, he ſaid, theſe are forlorn men, who, like to animals, ſuffer the burthen to be laid upon them, and themſelves to be governed by the will and opinion of another, who are good for nothing but to make a number; adding, that if in their reſolutions they proceeded by number of voices, as hitherto they had done, little good could be hoped for; and that it was neceſſary that matters ſhould be handled by way of Nations. The Count ſaid, it was neceſſary to provide for that and many other things, beginning from the revocation of the Decree that the Legates only may propoſe, and from eſtabliſhing the liberty of the Council; for which things he had ſpecial commiſſion from the King; which being well ſetled, the reſidue would be provided for with eaſe. The Legates and other Papalins were diſpleaſed to ſee that the *Spaniards*, their oppoſites, did never go from the Count: and as it happeneth when one entreth new in a place where are contrary Factions, every one hopeth to gain him, the Legates alſo did ſtrive to put him on the ſide of the Prelates the Kings Subjects, whom they called their well-willers, becauſe they had intelligence with them, that they might do a good office, and, as they ſaid, undeceive him, and make him to know the truth. They employed alſo herein the Ambaſſador of *Portugal*, who, having much opportunity to ſpeak often with him, becauſe thoſe Kings had almoſt the ſame intereſt in reſpect of matters Eccleſiaſtical, did cunningly (becauſe he was much obliged to the Pope) lay before him the things which the Popes Miniſters had ſuggeſted to him for the ſervice of the Court of *Rome*.

The 22. of *April*, appointed for the Seſſion, drawing near, a Congregation was held the day before, to conſult about the prorogation of it. The Legates did propoſe the deferring of it until the third of *June*. But *Lorain* ſaid it was a great ſcandal to all Chriſtendom to prorogue the Seſſion ſo often, and never to hold it; which would be increaſed alſo if it were put off to another day, and afterwards deferred again; therefore, ſeeing that none of the things propoſed and handled concerning Reſidence, and the Sacraments of *Order* and *Matrimony* were reſolved, it was better not to prefix a certain day, but to expect until the twentieth of *May*, and then to reſolve upon the time, becauſe the progreſs of all things would then more plainly appear; and, in the mean while, not to loſe time, voices may be given concerning the Articles of the abuſes of the Sacrament of *Order*, before the end whereof Cardinal *Morone* would be returned from the Emperor, with ample reſolution, whereby the matters in controverſie may be compoſed, and diligence uſed to finiſh the Council within two or three Months. Cardinal *Madruccio* and ſo many of the Fathers followed that opinion, that it prevailed, and it was decreed that the day to celebrate the next Seſſion ſhould be prefixed the twentieth of *May*.

The Congregation being ended, *Antonius Chierelia*, Biſhop of *Budua*, who, in delivering his voice, was wont to entertain the Fathers with ſome witty conceit, and oftentimes to add ſome merry Prophecies, which were ſpread abroad in divers parts, did then alſo deliver one concerning the City of *Trent*. He ſaid in ſubſtance; that *Trent* had been favoured, and elected for the City; in which the general concord of Chriſtendom was to be eſtabliſhed, but being made unworthy of that honour, by reaſon of the inhoſpitality thereof, would ſhortly incur a general hatred, as the ſeminary of greater diſcords. The ſenſe was covered with divers *enigmaes*, in a Poetical Prophetical form, yet not ſo but that it was eaſily underſtood.

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Lorain having obtained the general conſent, with ſo much reputation, the Papalins grew jealous; who, conſidering the honour which was done to him the day before by thoſe who met him, and now by the receiving of his opinion, thought it not only an indignity to the Legates, but an entrance alſo to break the Decree, that only the Legates ſhould propoſe. And they ſpake publickly that the Pope ſaid well, that the Cardinal was Head of a party, and that he prolonged the quick diſpatch of the Council, and hindred the journey to *Bolonia*. But *Lorain*, not caring what was ſaid in *Trent*, and intending his Negotiation with the Emperour, diſpatched a Gentleman to him, with the opinion of the Doctors, concerning the Articles put into conſultation by his Majeſty; whom he cauſed to tell him, that, for the good proceeding of the Council, it was neceſſary he ſhould ſpeak earneſtly to *Morone*, and ſhew his great deſire to ſee good reſolutions, for the glory of God; as alſo of the deſire of all the good Fathers that he would not remove further from the Council, in regard of the fruit which they hoped for, by means of his vicinity, which will keep every one in his duty, and hinder the attempts of thoſe who would tranſlate it into another place, as he was adviſed that ſome did lay plots to do, and that before he parted from *Iſpruc*, his Majeſty would be aſſured that the liberty of the Council, whereof he is Protector, might be preſerved. He ſent him a Copy of the Edict of *Pacification* in *France*, and of a Letter of the Queen of *Scotland*, in which ſhe gave account of her delivery from a great Conſpiracy, and of her reſolution to live and dye in the Catholick Religion. In the end, the Cardinal prayed his Majeſty to uſe ſome means that there might be no diſpute in Council for the precedence, between *France* and *Spain*, that the good proceeding thereof might not be hindred.

Lorain ſendeth a Gentleman to the Emperor.

The two Legates, that they might not do nothing in the abſence of *Morone*, did, the 24. of *April*, impart to the Ambaſſadors the Decrees compoſed concerning the abuſes of *Order*, that they might conſider on them: and the 29. day they gave them to the Prelates. The firſt, of the election of Biſhops, in which were expreſſed their qualities conformable to the ancient Canons, the Ambaſſadors did not approve, becauſe it ſeemed to reſtrain too much the authority of their Princes in the preſentation or nomination of them. And they all laboured very much, eſpecially the Count of *Luna*, that it might be amended, or rather quite omitted; a thing which did likewiſe much pleaſe the Legates. And the Emperours Miniſters made difficulty alſo, in regard of their deſign to make an occaſion ariſe of handling the election of Cardinals, and by conſequence, of the Pope.

The ſame day at night Cardinal *Navaggero* (having given out, to avoid Meetings and Ceremonies, that he would enter the next day) arrived in *Trent*; who ſaid, that, at their departure from *Rome*, the Pope had told them, that they ſhould make a good and a rigorous Reformation; preſerving the authority of the Apoſtolick See, which is abſolutely neceſſary, to keep the Church in good form and order.

The Legate *Navaggero* cometh to *Trent*.

But notwithſtanding all this, his Holineſs in his ſpeeches to the Ambaſſadors reſiding with him, deſired them to tell him what Reformation their Princes would have. And his end was, that, their demands being given to him, they might forbear to preſent them to the Council, and ſo have means, by ſhewing the invincible difficulty in every particular, to pacifie the raging humour of Reformation. And he ſaid often

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often to the Ambaſſadors, that their Princes were deceived if they thought a Reformation would reduce the Hereticks, who firſt of all made themſelves Apoſtates, and then alledged the abuſes and deformations, for a pretence; that the true cauſes which have moved the Hereticks to follow their falſe Teachers are not the abuſes of the Clergy, but of Civil Governments; that if all defects of the Eccleſiaſticks were wholly corrected, yet they would not return, but would invent other colours, to perſevere in their obſtinacy: that theſe abuſes were not in the primitive Church, nor in the time of the Apoſtles, and yet as many Hereticks, in proportion of the faithful, were then as now; that himſelf did deſire, in ſincerity of conſcience, that the Church might be amended, and the abuſes removed, but ſaw plainly that thoſe, who do procure it, do not aim at this good mark, but at their particular profit, which in caſe they ſhould obtain, greater abuſes would ariſe, and the preſent not be taken away; that the Reformation is not hindred by him, but by the Princes, and by the Prelates in Council; that himſelf would make one, and that very rigorous alſo, but in caſe he ſhould come to the concluſion, the contentions between Princes, ſome deſiring it after one manner, ſome after another, and thoſe of the Prelates, who are no leſs oppoſite, would hinder all; that he knoweth very well that it is unſeemly to attempt that which would only diſcover the common defects and wants, and that thoſe who deſire Reformation, moved with zeal, do, as Saint *Paul* ſaith, uſe it without Chriſtian wiſdom, and nothing would be effected, but as now it is known that the Church hath defects, ſo it would appear that they are incurable, and which is worſe, men would begin to defend and to juſtifie them, as lawful uſe.

The Popes plot to gain the Cardinal of *Lorain.*

He did expect, with impatience, the end of the Negotiation of *Morone*; from whom he had advice that the Emperour took time to anſwer, and ſtill continued in conſulting upon the Articles. He thought that all the orders and reſolutions which came out of *France* to *Rome*, and to the Council, did proceed from the opinion and counſel of *Lorain*; and therefore, not to omit any means of gaining him, the Cardinal of *Ferrara* being to return into *Italy* very ſhortly, with whom *Lorain* was to ſpeak, for many cauſes concerning their common Nephews, he wrote unto him to uſe perſwaſions that he would be content with the tranſlation of the Council to *Bolonia*; and, that he might be well informed of the Affairs of *Trent*, he gave order that *Vintimiglia* ſhould meet *Ferrara*, before his parly with *Lorain*, and carry with him the inſtruction of the Legates, beſides that which himſelf did know.

The Month of *May* did begin with new diſcourſes of the peace of *France*, for the Kings Letters came to *Lorain* and the *French* Ambaſſadors, to inform them thereof, with commiſſion to impart all to the Fathers of the Council, either in general or in particular, as ſeemed them beſt. The Letters were dated the fifteenth of the laſt Month, and did ſhew principally, that, by the peace, he had no intention to favour the introduction, or eſtabliſhment of a new Religion in the Kingdom, but that, with leſs contradiction and difficulty he might reduce all his people into one holy Catholick Religion, by laying down of Arms, and removing the Civil Diſſentions and Calamities. But he added, that a pious and ſerious Reformation (alway expected from a general and free Council) would aſſiſt him moſt of all, in this good work; for ſolicitation of which, he was reſolved to ſend the Preſident *Biragus* to *Trent*. But, in the mean while, he gave Commiſſion to the Ambaſſadors already in that City, to let the Fathers know, upon every good

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good occaſion, that he was ſenſible ſtill of the ruins and afflictions which the diverſity of opinions in Religion have cauſed in his Kingdom, with the apparent decay, and greater danger of the State; that rather than he would return to that extremity, he was reſolved, in caſe the general Council would not perform its duty, and that which is expected from it, by ſo holy and neceſſary a Reformation, to call a National, having firſt given ſatisfaction to God and men, by continual perſwaſions, uſed to the Fathers and the Pope, to obtain of them a remedy againſt the common evil: that, to effect this with greater eaſe, he had diſpatched the Lord *d' Oyſel* to the Catholick King, and the Lord *d' Allegres* to the Pope, and commanded *Biragne*, that after he had performed his charge with the Fathers of the Council, he ſhould paſs to the Emperour, to try, if, by means of theſe Princes, he might gain ſo great a benefit.

It is certain that the Pope was much diſtaſted with the peace, as well for the prejudice of his authority, as becauſe it was concluded without his knowledge, having made ſo great contributions to the War. But the King of *Spain* was diſpleaſed more. For being, by his Souldiers, a party in the War, and the Victory, and having ſpent ſo much, he thought all was loſt, and that it was not juſt to conclude a Peace without him, to the prejudice of Religion, which he undertook to defend and maintain; eſpecially having ſo great intereſts therein, in reſpect of the damage he did receive in the Government of the Low Countries, it being plain, that every proſperity of the *Hugonots* in *France*, would incourage the people of *Flanders*, and ſtrengthen them more in their contumacy. For theſe Reaſons, the Catholick Ambaſſador in *France*, made great complaints: which was the principal cauſe, why theſe extraordinary Ambaſſages were ſent to *Rome*, and into *Spain*, to make known that the King and his Council were not induced to make this accord by their own will, but by meer neceſſity, and for fear that groſs Armies would be ſent out of *Germany* to the *Hugonots*, which, as was reported, were prepared about *Strasburgh*, and in other places. For thoſe *Dutch-men*, who had made War in *France*, being returned home, loaden with ſpoils, they invited others to go thither and make themſelves rich. Neither were they without fear that the Princes of the Empire would, upon that occaſion, aſſay to recover *Mentz*, *Tul*, *Verdun*, and other Cities of the Empire, and that the Queen of *England* would aſſiſt the *Hugonots* more potently than ſhe had done, to poſſeſs ſome other places, as already ſhe had poſſeſſed *Haure de Grace*. But, beſides this principal end of both the Ambaſſages, *d' Oyſel* was afterwards to make a propoſition for tranſlating the Council from *Trent* to *Conſtance*, *Wormes*, *Ausburgh*, or ſome other place in *Germany*, and to repreſent to the King, that, in regard it ought to be celebrated for the *Dutch*, *Engliſh*, *Scottiſh*, and part of the *Frenchmen*, and other Nations, who were reſolute not to adhere to, nor ever to accept that of *Trent*, it was in vain to continue in that place. *Conde* was Author of this Negotiation; who hoped by this means, if it did ſucceed, to ſtrengthen his party, by uniting it to the intereſts of ſo many Kingdoms and Princes, and to weaken the Catholicks, by promoting difficulties againſt the Council of *Trent*. But it did not take effect. For the King of *Spain* having heard the propoſition (which I ſay by way of anticipation that I may not return to this matter) did perceive what the aim was; and made a full anſwer that the Council was aſſembled in *Trent* with all the Solemnities, with conſent of all Kings, Princes, and at the inſtance

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inſtance of *Francis* the *French* King; that the Emperour had ſuperiority in that City, as in the others that were named, and might give full ſecurity to all, in caſe the former ſafe conduct were not ſufficient: that he could not chuſe but favour it in the place where it was, and accept the determinations thereof. And he adviſed the Pope of all, aſſuring him he would never change that reſolution.

The *Frenchmen* in *Trent* thought it ſuperfluous to make inſtance to the Fathers, as the king had commanded, before the return of *Morone*, it being generally reſolved that all Conciliary actions ſhould be deferred until then. But the Emperour had not diſpatched that Cardinal, and informed *Lorain* at the ſame time, that, for divers accidents, and becauſe the propoſitions were of the weight and importance, as that they did deſerve mature deliberation and conſultation, he had not been able as yet, to give a reſolute anſwer, but he hoped it ſhould be ſuch, as to make all men know, that his actions were anſwerable to his deſire, to ſee the Affairs of the Council ſet ſtraight, for the common benefit. Therefore, notwithſtanding the occaſions and urgent neceſſities of his other Provinces, he reſolved to continue his Reſidence in *Iſpruc*, to favour the Liberty of the Council, by his preſence, until he had hope to ſee ſome good fruit. This delay did not pleaſe *Morone*, nor that the Emperour ſhould refer, as he did, all the Negotiations to the Divines, and Councellors: and both he and the Pope did doubt that the anſwer would be deferred until he had heard *Birague*, who as they were informed, was to propoſe the tranſlation of the Council into *Germany*, to give ſatisfaction to the *Hugonots*; whereunto the Pope was reſolute not to conſent, as well by his own inclination, as in regard of the inſtance made unto him by the Colledge of Cardinals and all the Court. And he marvelled at the humour of the *Frenchmen*, who demanded a Reformation and a tranſlation at the ſame time, and deſired to have a ſupply from the Clergy, for payment of the Kings Debts, and yet would make ſhew to be favourers of the Church.

But the truth was, that the *Frenchmen*, being aſſured they could obtain nothing fit for their ſervice, ſo long as the *Italians* did make the major part, began to deſpair, and to hold no eſteem of the Council while it remained in *Trent*. Therefore they took from the Divines ſent by the King, their publick allowance, and gave them all leave either to depart, or remain there; ſo that almoſt all went away, one after another. The two Benedictines remained until the end, who were maintained by their Monaſteries, as alſo *Hugonius*, whom the Papalins cauſed to be lodged, and defrayed, in the Monaſtery, and gave him fifty Crowns every three Months.

The cenſure of *Lorain* upon the Popes allegations.

Lorain, having examined the allegations ſent by the Pope to the Emperour, and made a cenſure upon them, ſent it to his Majeſty. He thought he had done all ſecretly; but *Hugonots* had not only diſcovered it, but given a Copy to the Legates; who, expecting *Morone* ſhortly, wrote, by order from the Pope, to the Biſhops departed from *Trent*, that they ſhould return, to reſume the actions of the Council. In the mean while a Congregation was made the tenth of *May*, to read the Letters of the Queen of *Scotland*, preſented by the Cardinal of *Lorain*, in which ſhe declared, that ſhe did ſubmit her ſelf to the Council, made mention of her ſucceſſion to the Kingdom of *England*, promiſing that in caſe it did happen, ſhe would ſubject both thoſe Kingdoms to the obedience of the Apoſtolick See. The Letters being read, the Cardinal made an eloquent Oration to excuſe the Queen, for

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ſending neither Prelates nor Ambaſſadors to the Council, becauſe they were all Hereticks, and promiſed that ſhe ſhould never vary from the true Religion. For anſwer, thanks were given, in the name of the Synod. Some laughed, becauſe the Negotiation was as if it had been of a private perſon, not of a Prince, and marvelled that ſhe had not ſo much as one Catholick ſubject to ſend. But the wiſer ſort did believe this was begged, and extorted from her, becauſe ſhe was able to do like a Prince, in regard ſhe had ever many Catholicks about her.

The Secretary of *Lorain* was returned whom he ſent to *Rome*, to clear him of the imputation that he was a Head of a Faction; whom the Pope received with demonſtration of love, and ſeemed to believe his expoſition, and wrote to the Cardinal that he was content that the contentious matters ſhould be omitted, the Doctrines of Order and Reſidence not ſpoken of, but the Reformation only treated on. *Lorain*, imparting this Letter to *Simoneta*, that order might be taken to begin, was deferred until the return of *Morone*; wherewith he was diſtaſted, as if he had been mocked by the Pope. And, joining this with the advice which came unto him, that *Morone*, ſpeaking with the Emperour of the liberty of the Council, ſaid that himſelf and the *French* Ambaſſadors did hinder it more than others, he complained upon every occaſion to all with whom he ſpake, that the Council had no liberty, and that not only the reſolution of every little particular was made at *Rome*, but that the Fathers, and eſpecially the Cardinal *Madruccio*, and himſelf were not thought worthy to know what was commanded by the Pope, that they might conform themſelves to the will of his Holineſs, and that it was ſtrange that ſo many Curriers ſhould be diſpatched from *Trent* to *Rome* by the Legates, for every ſmall occurrence, and ſometimes many concerning the ſame matter, and yet it could never be known what reſolution or anſwer came from thence. The Papalins bluſhed hereat, becauſe the things went ſo apparent, and publick, that they could neither be denyed, nor excuſed. *Lorain*, full of theſe ill ſatisfactions, being called the next day to conſultation, to treat of beginning the Congregations, becauſe *Morone* had written he would be in *Trent* within eight days, both parties ſtood a good while without ſpeaking one word, and afterwards entring into complements, they parted one from another, without talking of the buſineſs.

The Proctors of the *French* Prelates, who remained in the Kingdom being arrived in *Trent*, they deſired the Ambaſſadors that they might be admitted in Congregation; which *Simoneta* refuſing, *Lanſac* replyed, that they had demanded it in reverence, not becauſe they did acknowledg the Legates for Judges, and that he was reſolute that the difficulty ſhould be propoſed in Council. This made the Legates alter their purpoſe to expect *Morone*, and appointed a Congregation for the fourteenth of *May*, to handle the abuſes of *Order*. Where *Lorain*, giving his voice concerning the firſt point (which afterwards was taken away for the cauſes which ſhall be related hereafter) ſpake at large of the abuſes occurring in that matter. And, that he might more freely inveigh againſt the diſorders of *Rome*, he began with *France*, not ſparing the King; he condemned the *Concordate*; ſaid that the diſtribution of the Benefices of the Kingdom, which ought to belong to the Chapters, was divided between Pope *Leo*, and King *Francis*, ſcarcely forbearing to ſay, as the prey is divided amongſt Hunters. He diſliked that the K. and Princes had the nomination of Prelatures, and that Cardinals did poſſeſs Biſhopricks; and blamed alſo the accord lately made by the

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The Cardinal of *Lorain*, in delivering his ſuffrage.

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King with the *Hugonots*. But, leaving *France*, he ſaid that *Rome* was the Fountain whence all diſorders did iſſue; that no Cardinal was without a Biſhoprick, yea, without many, howſoever thoſe charges were incompatible; that the invention of *Commendaes*, *Unions* for life, adminiſtrations, by which, againſt all Law, many Benefices were given to one Perſon alone really, with appearance that he had but one only, was a mocking of the Majeſty of God. He often alledged that place of St. *Paul*, *Take heed of errours, for God is not mocked, and one ſhall reap only that which he hath ſowed.* He ſpake much againſt diſpenſations, by which the ſtrength of all Laws is taken away; as alſo againſt many other abuſes, and with ſuch eloquence, that he ſpent the whole Congregation. His diſcourſe was not well taken by the Papalins. *Simoneta* did openly treat with divers Prelates to oppoſe him, and ſaid he ſpake like the *Lutherans*, and God grant that he were not of their opinion: wherewith *Lorain* was much offended, and complained to the Pope. In the Congregations following, nothing but ordinary, unworthy of memory was ſpoken, except one would relate the Flatteries, obliquely uſed, by thoſe who had undertaken to juſtifie the Uſances reprehended by *Lorain*.

Is thought to ſpeak like a *Lutheran.*

In this interim Cardinal *Morone* had his diſpatch in writing from the Emperour, in very general terms; that he would defend the authority of the Pope againſt Hereticks, if need were; that he would remain at *Iſpruc*, and paſs no further; that the tranſlation of the Council to *Bolonia* was not to be made without conſent of the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, that, for his Coronation, he could not reſolve before he had propoſed it in Diet, becauſe being done on the ſudden, it would give much matter of diſcourſe to *Germany*; that he would reſt ſatisfied with the proceeding in Council upon theſe two conditions; that the Reformation might be made in *Trent*, and that every one might propoſe; deſiring they would preſently begin to handle Articles exhibited by him and *France*. Concerning this Negotiation of the Cardinal, and of the anſwer made, I have related what I have found regiſtred in publick Monuments; but I ought not to omit the fame, then divulged in *Trent*, and believed by men of the greateſt underſtanding, that the Cardinal had treated with the Emperour, and with his Son, King of the *Romans*, more ſecret matters, and ſhewed them, that in reſpect of the divers ends of Princes and Prelates, and of their divers and important intereſts, which were contrary, it was impoſſible the Council ſhould have ſuch an end as ſome of them did deſire. He told them, that, in the matter of the Chalice, marriage of Prieſts, and of the vulgar tongue, things deſired by his Majeſty and the *French* King, neither the King of *Spain*, nor any Prince of *Italy* would ever conſent; that, in matter of Reformation, every ſort of perſons would remain in their preſent ſtate, and reform others; whence it cometh that every one demandeth Reformation, and yet, when any Article thereof is propoſed, more do oppoſe than favour it; that every one thinketh of himſelf only, and doth not conſider the reſpects of another; that every one would have the Pope a Miniſter of his deſigns, not thinking whether others would remain offended for it; for whom it is neither honeſt, nor profitable, to favour one with the diſſervice of another; that every one would have the glory, to procure the Reformation, and yet perſevere in the abuſes, laying the burthen upon the Pope only. The Cardinal diſcourſed alſo, that, for the Reformation of the Pope himſelf, he would not ſay what the mind of his Holineſs was; but

The ſecret negotiation of the Cardinal *Morone* with the Emperor.

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for that which neither doth nor can touch him, how can any one perſwade himſelf that he would not condeſcend, but that he knoweth that which is unknown to others, becauſe the reſpects of all are referred unto him alone. He ſaid moreover, that the experience of theſe fifteen Months ſince the opening the Council, hath ſhewed, that the pretenſions are multiplied, and the diverſity of opinions increaſed, and do ſtill proceed forward to the height; that, in caſe it ſhould continue long, ſome notable ſcandal muſt neceſſarily happen. He told him of the jealouſie which did poſſeſs the Princes of *Germany*, and the *Hugonots* of *France*, and concluded that ſeeing it was plain that the Council could do no good, it was expedient to finiſh it in the beſt manner it was poſſible. It was ſaid that thoſe Princes were perſwaded that they could never obtain any thing that was good by means of the Council, and therefore thought it better to bury it with honour, and that they gave their word to that Cardinal to uſe connivency hereafter, and not to take it ill if the Council were ended. And he that ſhall obſerve what end the Council had, and that thoſe Princes had no ſatisfaction in any of their demands, will eaſily believe that the ſame was true: but conſidering, on the other ſide, that the inſtances of the Emperours Miniſters did not ceaſe after this Negotiation, he will think it a vain rumour. But to avoid both the abſurdities, one may believe that thoſe Princes did then lay hope aſide, and reſolve not to oppoſe the ending of the Council; yet ſo, as that they held it not honourable to make a ſudden retreat, but to remit their inſtances by degrees, that they might not publiſh their want of judgment; for conceiving hope of good by that means, and for not believing the obſervation of Saint *Gregory Nazianzen*, who teſtifieth, that contentions have always been increaſed by the Epiſcopal Aſſemblies. The truth of this particular I put in the number of thoſe things, the knowledge whereof I cannot attain unto. But it is certain that the *Cataſtrophe* of the Council, which it was thought could not poſſibly have a quiet concluſion, had beginning in this time.

Who giveth his word to connive hereafter.

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THE HISTORY OF THE Council of Trent.

BOOK VIII.

THE seventeenth of *May*, Cardinal *Morone* returned to *Trent* from his Legation in *Ispruc*; and the Legates presently began to treat amongst themselves about the certain day of the Session, because the twentieth was near when it was to be determined. And because they knew not when the matters would be in order, in the Congregation of the nineteenth day, a prorogation was made until the tenth of *June*, to determine then the prefixed time. In that Congregation two notable things did happen. One was the contention, whether it did belong to the Legates, or to the Council, to determine whether the Proctors of the Bishops ought to be admitted in Congregation, begun (as we have said) by *Lansac*. The *French* Prelates did maintain, that the Legates had no other Prerogative, but to be the first, and had no Authority, as they were separated from the Fathers of the Council; alledging the Council of *Basil*, and other monuments of Antiquity. On the other side it was said, that the Council could not be lawful, except it were called by the Pope, and that it belongeth to him only to determine who may assist and have voice in it; and that to give this power to the Council, would be to give it authority to generate it self. After some contention, the matter did remain undecided. In giving of voices concerning the abuses of *Order*, another question succeeded; For the Bishop of *Philadelphia* made a great and a long exclamation, that Cardinals have Bishopricks without maintaining so much as a Suffragan; which was much derided by many, as if the Bishop, being but titular, had spoken for the interest of himself, and of such as he was.

A question about the authority of the Legates.

In the Congregation of the 21 of *May* the Count of *Luna* was received, forty days after his arrival, in regard of the difficulties, for precedence

The Count of *Luna* is received in Congregation.

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precedence with the *French* Ambaſſadors. In the mean while, many conſultations were held to compoſe them; but the *French* would by no means yield that he ſhould have any place but below, and after them. Whereupon he thought to ſtand on his feet in the midſt of the place, amongſt the Emperors Ambaſſadors (who had order from their Maſter to accompany him) and to ſtand by them until he had finiſhed his Oration, and then to return preſently to his Houſe. But this ſeemed diſhonourable for the King. Therefore he laboured to perſwade the *French* not to enter in Congregation that day; whereunto they not conſenting, he thought to force them to it, by making ſome *Spaniſh* Prelate demand, that Secular Ambaſſadors might not aſſiſt in the Congregations, becauſe they were never admitted in the ancient Councils. But thinking that this would offend all Princes, he purpoſed to uſe means that ſome Prelates ſhould propoſe the handling of ſome things, at which it would not be reaſonable that the *French* Ambaſſadors ſhould be preſent; as might be, the prejudices which might come to Chriſtendom by the Capitulations made with the *Hugonots*; or ſome ſuch thing. This coming to the ears of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, put another courſe in his head; and, conſulting with the other *French*-men, they reſolved not to conteſt any more, if a place were given him a-part out of the order of the Ambaſſadors. Therefore the Count entring into the Congregation the day before-mentioned, and coming to the place aſſigned for him, which was in the midſt of the Aſſembly over againſt the Legates, he preſented the *Mandate* of his King; which being read by the Secretary, he immediately proteſted, that howſoever, in that and all other places, he ought to be next after the Emperors Ambaſſadors, yet becauſe that place, the cauſe which was handled, and the time did not comport that the courſe of divine matters, and of the publick welfare ſhould be hindred by humane contentions, he did receive the place given him, but proteſting that his modeſty, and the reſpect he had not to hinder the progreſs of the Council, ought not to be prejudicial to the dignity and right of his Prince, *Philip*, the Catholick King, nor of his Poſterity, but that they remain entire, ſo that they may always make uſe of them, as if his due place had now been given unto him; requiring that his proteſtation might be written in the Acts, and that they may not be publiſhed without it, and a Copy thereof given unto him. After this the *French* Ambaſſadors did proteſt alſo, that if they ſhould ſit in any other place than next to the Ambaſſadors of the Emperor, and before the Ambaſſadors of other Kings, which their Predeceſſors have always held, and namely in the Council of *Conſtance*, and the *Lateran*, they ſhould be wronged; and if the new place in which the Ambaſſador of his Catholick Majeſty did ſit, ſhould bring any prejudice to them, or to the *Orators*, the Fathers of the Council, repreſenting the Church univerſal, ſhould reduce them to the ancient order, or give them the Evangelical admonition. But the Fathers holding their peace, and the Emperors Ambaſſadors ſaying nothing, whoſe intereſt is common with thoſe of *France*, becauſe they ſit next unto them, and ſo preſerve the ancient poſſeſſion of their King, the *French* Ambaſſadors in regard of the amity and alliance between the Catholick and moſt Chriſtian Kings, demanded nothing but that the Fathers of the Council would declare that the Count his fact could not prejudice the ancient prerogative and perpetual poſſeſſion of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and regiſter this in the Acts.

His proteſtation about his place.

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The Oration made in his name.

The Oration was made in the name of the Count, by *Petrus Fontidonius*, a Divine; who ſaid in ſubſtance, That the end of the Council drawing near, his Catholick Majeſty had ſent that Ambaſſador, to ſhew himſelf ready to do for it that which *Martianus* the Emperor did in the Council of *Chalcedon*, that is, to maintain and defend the truth, declared by the Synod, to pacifie the tumults, and to conduct to an happy end that Council which his Father, *Charles* the Fifth, Emperor, hath protected in its birth and growth, for the cauſe whereof he hath made moſt difficult and dangerous Wars, and which his Uncle the Emperor *Ferdinand* doth maintain, that his King hath omitted no office of a Catholick Prince, that it might be called and celebrated; that he hath ſent the Prelates of *Spain*, and moſt learned Doctors beſides; that he hath preſerved Religion in *Spain*; that he hath hindred the entrance of Hereſie at all the paſſages of the *Pirenies*, nor ſuffered it to paſs to the *Indies*, whither it hath laboured to penetrate, to infect the roots of Chriſtianity, ſpringing in that new world; that, by means of that King, Faith and Purity of Doctrine doth flouriſh in that Kingdom, ſo that the holy Mother the Church, when ſhe ſeeth other Provinces infected with Errors, taketh great conſolation; that *Spain* is the holy Anchor for refuge of all her calamities. He added, would to God that other Catholick Princes and Chriſtian Common-wealths would imitate the ſeverity of that King, in bridling the Hereticks, that the Church might be delivered from ſo many miſeries, and the Fathers of *Trent* from the care of celebrating the Council; that his King married with *Mary* Queen of *England*, for no other end than to reduce that Iſland to the true Religion. He repeated the late aſſiſtance ſent to the King of *France*, adding, that by the virtue of his Soldiers, though but few, ſent for defence of Religion, the Victory inclined to the Catholick Party. He ſaid the King deſired the eſtabliſhment of the Doctrine of Religion and the Reformation of Manners. He commended the Fathers, becauſe in the handling of theſe two, they would not ſeparate the one from the other, howſoever great inſtance was made unto them to cauſe them to omit the Doctrine, and proceed in the Reformation only. He ſaid the Kings deſire was they ſhould examine well the petition, more pious than circumſpect, of thoſe, who ſay that ſomething ought to be granted to the Proteſtants, that being overcome with kindneſs, they may return to the boſom of the Church; ſaying, that they have to do with perſons, who cannot be bowed neither with benefits nor with pity. He exhorted the Fathers, in the Kings name, to proceed in ſuch ſort, as to ſhew they have a greater care of the Majeſty of the Church, than of the deſires of thoſe that wander, and that the Church hath always uſed this gravity and conſtancy in repreſſing the boldneſs of her Enemies, not to grant them ſo much as that which it honeſtly might. He ſaid the King deſired that ſuperfluous queſtions might be omitted; and concluded, that the Fathers being aſſembled to do ſo good a work, as to cure the diſeaſes which afflict Chriſtendom, if this were not effected, poſterity would blame none but them, and wonder, that being able, they would not alſo be willing to apply the remedy. He praiſed the virtues of the Ambaſſador, and the glory of his Houſe; and ſo ended.

The Anſwer.

Anſwer was made, in the name of the Synod, that in their grief for the common miſeries, they received conſolation, hearing the piety of the Catholick King related, and above all, that his promiſe to defend the Decrees of the Council was moſt acceptable; which the Emperor and other Chriſtian Kings and Princes being willing to do alſo,

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the Synod was ſtirred up to take care that her actions may be anſwerable to their deſires; as it hath done already, both by their own inclination, and by the exhortation of the Pope, always employing themſelves in the emendation of manners, and in the explication of the Catholick Doctrine; that it gave the King many thanks, as for his ſingular affection towards Religion, and good will towards the Synod, ſo for ſending ſuch an *Orato*, from whom they did hope for honour and aſſiſtance.

The Oration diſpleaſed all the Ambaſſadors, becauſe it was a manifeſt reprehenſion of all Princes, for not imitating the Catholick King; and they complained thereof to the Count, who anſwered, that thoſe words did as much diſpleaſe him, yea that he gave order to the Doctor to leave them out, and not to ſpeak them by any means, and that he would be ſenſible of his diſobedience. The *Frenchmen* in *Rome* blamed much thoſe in *Trent*, for conſenting to the place given to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador. They ſaid that *Lorain*, for his own intereſts, and to gratifie the Catholick King had done this great prejudice to the Crown of *France*, as alſo becauſe he had counſelled the Pope not to grant the King the alienation of 100000 Crowns of Eccleſiaſtical goods, as he demanded. They added, that in all things he aimed only at his own intereſts, and therefore becauſe neither he, nor his Brother, did manage the money, he did not care though the King ſhould receive none at all. But the difference for precedence was not as yet well ended. For howſoever there was a place found for the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador in the Congregations, rhe ſame could not be given him in the Seſſions: Whereupon the Legates wrote to the Pope, to have order how to governt themſelves.

The *Frenchmen* in *Rome* complain of the Cardinal of *Lorain*.

The ſtate of Religion in *Piemont*.

After the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador was received, *Lorain* parted to meet with the Cardinal of *Ferrara*; who being arrived in *Piemont*, found the Affairs of that Country in no better ſtate than thoſe in *France*. For in divers places of the *Marquiſate* of *Saluzza* all the Prieſts were hunted away; and in *Cherie* and *Cuni*, places belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, and in many other Cities near unto them, many were of the ſame opinions with the *Hugonots*, and many even in the Dukes Court alſo did profeſs them, and more were diſcovered every day. And howſoever the Duke had ſet forth a Proclamation, a Month before, that all that followed thoſe opinions ſhould within eight days part out of the Country, and ſome alſo were departed, yet afterwards he commanded that there ſhould be no proceeding againſt them, yea pardoned many condemned by the *Inquiſition*, and made their proceſſes void, as alſo of thoſe who were in the *Inquiſition*, and not condemned, and gave leave to ſome that were departed, to return. But the Cardinal, underſtanding the Reaſons of the Duke, was forced to believe that which he was uſed to ſay of the Affairs of *France*, that to do ſo, would turn to the ſervice of the Church.

The Cardinals of *Lorain* and *Ferrara* meet in *Oſtia*.

This Cardinal received inſtruction in the ſame place, from the Biſhop of *Vintimiglia*, who went expreſly to imform him (as hath been ſaid before) of the Affairs of the Council, and how to treat with *Lorain*. Both the Cardinals met in *Aſti* the four and twentieth of *May*. *Ferrara* having related the ſtate of *France*, and of their Family, ſince the death of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and of the *Prior*, exhorted him to a ſudden return, ſhewing what neceſſity the Family had of his preſence. He told him, that ſince the peace was made with the *Hugonots*, the Reformation would not produce thoſe good effects in *France* as was believed. But he found (which he could not have believed before) that

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he had a great impreſſion, that his honour did require that he ſhould abandon the negotiation. *Lorain* complained that *Morone*, turned from the Emperor, had acquainted him with no part of his buſineſs, ſaying that he had been adviſed of all by his Majeſty. He ſaid that the Catholick King was well united with the Emperour; and that there was good intelligence between the Count of *Luna*, and him. In the matter of reſidence, he ſaid it was neceſſary it ſhould be declared, and that this was the opinion of the Emperor, and of almoſt all the Prelates, except ſome few *Italians*, and that the declaration was demanded, that the Pope might not diſpence; ſo that the labour of the Cardinal of *Ferrara* did little good. And the Cardinal of *Lorain* returning to *Trent*, did divulge, that the Cardinal of *Ferrara* had perſwaded him, in the name of the Pope and Legates, that the reſidence might be determined, with a penal Decree, without declaring that it is *de jure divino*; whereunto he ſaid he would never aſſent.

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But Cardinal *Morone*, to pacify *Lorain* before he entred ſeriouſly into the affairs of the Council, knowing it was neceſſary to make ſhew of referring all matters unto him, went to viſit him, pontifically, with the Croſs before, accompanied with many Prelates; and after complements told him that his deſire was he ſhould give counſel, and command, and proceed, as if he were one of the Legates; that the Pope did deſire a Reformation, and had ſent 42. Articles, very ſevere; and written, that thoſe which were mentioned by the Emperor's and *French* Ambaſſadors, ſhould be propoſed alſo, leaving thoſe which belong to the Court of *Rome*, which his Holineſs will reform himſelf, for the upholding of the authority of the Apoſtolick *See*. But *Lorain* ſuſpecting that *Morone* had a purpoſe to lay ſome bad matter upon him, and to make the *Spaniards* miſtruſt him, anſwered, that the weight of a Legate was too heavy for his ſtrength, who was not able to do more than to give his voice as an Archbiſhop; that he commended the zeal of his Holineſs to reform other Churches, and deſired he would be content that the Biſhops ſhould give as many Articles alſo, for the Cardinals and the reſidue of the Court; that the Apoſtolick *See* was worthy of all reverence, and reſpect, but the abuſes ought not to be covered with that cloak. The anſwer of this Cardinal made the Legates reſolve to proceed warily, until matters were better in order. And, in the mean while, the *Italian* Prelates were ſecretly and ſeriouſly perſwaded not to conſent that the Decree of reſidence *de jure divino*, might be received.

And their conference was to no purpoſe.

There fell out an accident which was ſufficient to confound and divide the Popiſh Prelates amongſt themſelves. For advice came to *Trent* that Cardinals ſhould be created the next Ember-week, and a liſt of thoſe who were in *Rome* was ſent. The Pretendants, who were many, were ill ſatisfied, and, as paſſionate men uſe to do, did not contain themſelves within ſuch bounds, but that their words did ſhew their affections, and that they were very ſenſible of it. In particular, *Marcus Antonius Columna*, Archbiſhop of *Taranto*, and *Alexander Sforza* Biſhop of *Parma*, (who, in regard of the great power of their families in Court, had more hope than others) were noted to have ſaid, that they would hold intelligence with *Lorain*; which *Simoneta* believing, did adviſe it to *Rome*: wherewith they were both much offended, and ſpake very feelingly of it. The diſtaſtes did continue certain days: but no promotion of Cardinals being made, and ſatisfaction being given to theſe Biſhops, all things were finally well accommodated.

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Lorain doth remit his rigor.

After this time *Lorain* began to remit his rigor. For *France*, being now, by obſervation of things paſt, aſſured, that nothing fit for the ſervice of that Kingdom could poſſibly be obtained in *Trent*, and ſeeing alſo that the peace was accommodated with great facility, ſo that there was hope to reſtore abſolute obedience to the King, without medling with Religion, and perhaps being informed by the Emperor of the treaty with *Morone*, as alſo in regard of the perſwaſions which the Pope uſed to the Queen Mother by his *Nuncio*, did reſolve not to labour any more, with ſuch affection, in matters of the Council, but rather to gain the good will of his Holineſs; and if any good came from *Trent*, to receive it, and only to take care that nothing ſhould be done to their prejudice. Therefore the Queen wrote to *Rome*, and offered the Pope to joyn with him to finiſh the Council quickly, to curb *Lorain*, and the *French* Prelates, that they may not impugn his Authority, and to cauſe all the *Hugonot* Souldiers to depart from *Avignion*, and the Territory thereof. She wrote likewiſe to the Cardinal of *Lorain*, that the affairs of *France* did proceed exceedingly well, and that to give them perfection, nothing wanted but his preſence, where being able to do more good than in *Trent*, in which place he had found by experience that no profitable thing can be done, he ſhould uſe means to quit himſelf of thoſe affairs, and return aſſoon as was poſſible, ſeeking to give the Pope all ſatisfaction, and to make him his friend, and, for matters of the Council, not to think on them, more than his conſcience and honour did compel him. She added, that he ſhould have the ſame Authority in the Kingdom as he had before; and therefore ſhould haſten his return.

The Queen-mother writeth to the Pope and the Cardinal of *Lorain*.

The Queens Letters came to *Rome* and *Trent* in the end of *May*; which, as they were very grateful to the Pope, and made him believe he ſhould ſee a good end of the Couucil, ſo another accident did much diſpleaſe him. For, in *France*, conſultation being had how to pay the debts of the Crown, the Decree, for aliening the value of one hundred thouſand Crowns of Eccleſiaſtical immoveable goods, was confirmed by the Kings Edict, and ſentence of the Parliament. This raiſed a great tumult of the Prieſts, who ſaid, their priviledges and immunities were violated, and that ſacred things could not be aliened for any cauſe whatſoever, without the authority and Decree of the Pope. To pacify which noiſe, the Ambaſſador deſired his Holineſs to give his conſent, alledging, that the King was exhauſted by the laſt Wars, deſigning to put his affairs in order, that he may begin, as his purpoſe ever was ſince the making of the peace, to reunite all the Kingdom in the Catholick Religion; and, that he might be able to force whoſoever ſhould oppoſe, he meant to impoſe a Subſidy, and to cauſe the Clergy to contribute their part alſo; whereunto the Church was ſo much more bound than others, by how much her intereſts were more in queſtion; that, all being conſidered, nothing was found to be more eaſy than to ſupply that neceſſity with the alienation of ſome few Eccleſiaſtical revenues; wherein he deſired the conſent of his Holineſs.

Eccleſiaſtical goods are aliened in *France* without the Popes leave.

Which maketh the Pope angry.

The Pope anſwered, that the demand was painted forth with a fair pretence of defending the Church, but was the only way to ruin it; for the avoiding whereof, his ſecureſt courſe was, not to conſent to it. And howſoever ſome might think that the *French* would proceed to execution without him, yet he was of opinion that leave would not have been demanded, in caſe they could have found buyers without it, thinking that none would dare to adventure their money, fear-

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ing (as the affairs of the world are uncertain) a time might come in which the Eccleſiaſtiques would reſume their rents, and not reſtore the price. Therefore, having propoſed the buſineſs in Conſiſtory, by the deliberation of the Cardinals, he reſolved not to conſent, but, by divers excuſes, to ſhew it was impoſſible to obtain that demand at his hands. *Lorain* bearing an irreconcileable hate to the *Hugonots*, not ſo much for Religion, as for faction, which himſelf and his houſe had always with them, being aſſured it was impoſſible to reconcile friendſhip, was much diſpleaſed that the matters of the peace did proceed. For his return into *France*, he thought fit to conſider very well when and in what manner it ought to be; and, for his particular affairs, he thought it neceſſary to hold good intelligence with the Pope, and Court of *Rome*, and with the Miniſters of *Spain* alſo, more than formerly he had done. Therefore he began from that day not to be ſo ſevere in procuring the Reformation, and to ſhew greater reverence to the Pope, and to have good correſpondence with the Legates.

A great difference in *Rome* about precedence between the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors.

But beſides the trouble for the demand of the alienation, the Pope had another, of no leſs weight. For having often promiſed the *French* Ambaſſador to give him his due place at Whitſontide, and deſiring to perform it, he aſſembled ſome Cardinals to find a means to give the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador ſatisfaction. The courſes were propoſed; one to give him place under the Deacon on the left hand; another, upon a ſtool at the top of the Deacons bench. But theſe did not take away the difficulty. For there remained ſtill matter of concurrence in bearing the train of his Holineſs, and giving water for his hands, when he did celebrate the *Maſs*, and in receiving *incenſe* and the *pax*. The difficulty of the train and the water did not preſs them then, becauſe the Pope was not to celebrate, and the Emperours Ambaſſador was to be there. For the *incenſe* and the *pax*, a temper was found, that they ſhould be given to all on the right ſide, even to the Ambaſſador of *Florence* alſo, who was the laſt, and then to thoſe on the leſt. The *French* was not content with this, and ſaid, that the Pope had promiſed him his place, and that the *Spaniard* either ſhould not come, or ſhould ſtand under him; and would depart from *Rome*, if this were not performed. And it pleaſed the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador as little; whereupon the Pope ſent him word that he was reſolute to give the *French* Ambaſſador his place. The *Spaniard* anſwered, that if the Pope were reſolute to do him that grievance, he would read a writing to him. The Cardinals, who treated with him in the Popes name, ſhewed him it was not good to do ſo, before his Holineſs had ſeen it, leſt, not being known before, ſome inconvenience might ariſe. The Ambaſſador was unwilling to give it, but, in the end, was content. Which the Pope having read, was very angry at the form of words, which he ſaid were impertinent. Finally, he was brought into the Popes Chamber with four witneſſes, where he read his proteſtation, on his knees; which did contain, That the King of *Spain* ought to precede the *French* King, in regard of the antiquity, power and greatneſs of *Spain*, and of the multitude of his other Kingdoms, by which he is the greateſt and moſt potent King of the world; becauſe the Catholick faith, and Church of *Rome*, have ever been defended, and preſerved in his States; that, if his Holineſs will declare, or hath declared, in words or writing, in favour of *France*, the grievance and injuſtice was notorious. Therefore he, in the name of his King, doth contradict all declaration of precedence, or equality, in favour of *France*, as fruſtrate and void, againſt the notorious right of his Catholick Majeſty; and, if it hath

The Proteſtation of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador.

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hath been made, there is a nullity in it, being done without knowledge of the cauſe, and citation of the party, and that his Holineſs doing this, will be cauſe of great inconveniences in all Chriſtendom. The Pope anſwered admitting the Proteſtation, *Si*, and *in quantum*, excuſing himſelf for the citation omitted, becauſe he gave nothing to the *Frenchmen*, but preſerved the place in which he had ever ſeen them, next the Emperors Ambaſſadors; but offered notwithſtanding to commit the cauſe to the Colledg of Cardinals, or to the whole *Rota*; adding, that he loved the King, and would do him all the good offices he could. The Ambaſſador replied, that his Holineſs had deprived himſelf of doing the King any good office, by giving him ſo great a grievance. The Pope anſwered again, Not for our cauſe, but your own, and for the benefits done by us to the King, theſe words were not worthy to be put into the proteſtation made unto us.

Birague cometh to *Trent*.

The Preſident *Birague* arrived in *Trent* at the ſame time, whom (as we ſaid before) the *French* King had ſent to the Council and the Emperour, who was received in Congregation the ſecond of *June*; where no Ambaſſadors inferior to the *French* were preſent, that he might not give them place, becauſe he had not the title of Ambaſſador in the Kings Letters. He preſented the Letters of the King, dated the fifteenth of *April*, which ſaid in ſubſtance, That the troubles and inteſtine Wars, raiſed in the Kingdom, for cauſe of Religion, were very well known, as alſo his labour, even with the aid and aſſiſtance of Princes and Potentates his friends, to give a remedy by Arms; that it pleaſed God, in his incomprehenſible Judgments, not to ſuffer thoſe remedies of Arms to produce any thing but cruelties, ſlaughters, ſackings of Cities, ruins of Churches, loſs of Princes, Lords, Knights, and other calamities and deſolations, ſo that it is eaſie to know that they were not fit to heal the infirmity of Spirits, which are overcome only by reaſon and perſwaſion; that this hath cauſed him to make a Pacification, according to the Contents of his Letters diſpatched upon that occaſion; not to permit the eſtabliſhing of a new Faith in the Kingdom, but that Arms being laid aſide, he might with leſs contradiction make an union of all his Subjects in the ſame holy and Catholick Religion; a benefit which he did expect from the mercy of God, and from a good and ſerious Reformation, which he did promiſe himſelf from the Synod. And becauſe he had many things to repreſent to them, and to deſire of them, he reſolved to ſend Monſieur *Renant Birague*, who would inform them of all by word of mouth, praying them to receive and hear him with courteſie.

Is received in congregation.

And maketh an oration.

The Letters being read, the Preſident ſpake, relating very particularly the Diſcords, Wars, and Calamities of *France*, the ſtate and neceſſity into which the King and Kingdom were reduced, the impriſonment of the Conſtable, and death of the Duke of *Guiſe*, which made them to be as it were without Arms. He juſtified the accord at large, as being made for pure and mere neceſſity, and with more advantage to the Catholick Party, than to the contrary. That the intention of the King and Council was not to ſuffer an introduction, or an eſtabliſhment of a new Religion, but on the contrary, Arms and diſobedience being removed, to reduce with leſs contradiction, and by the ways obſerved by his anceſtors, to the obedience of the Church, thoſe that were out of their way, and to reunite all in an holy Catholick profeſſion, knowing very well that the exerciſe of two Religions cannot long ſubſiſt and continue in one Kingdom. Then he ſaid that the King did hope

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to reunite quickly all his people in one opinion by the ſingular grace of *God*, and by means of the Council, a remedy uſed always by the Ancients againſt ſuch evils as thoſe were, which did then afflict Chriſtendom. He prayed the Fathers to further the Kings good intention, by a ſerious Reformation, by reducing manners to the integrity and purity of the ancient Church, and by compoſing the differences in Religion, promiſing that the King would always be Catholick, and devoted to the Church of *Rome*, according to the example of his Anceſtors. He ſaid in concluſion, that the King did truſt in the goodneſs and wiſdom of the Fathers, that they would compaſſionate the miſeries of *France*, and labour to cure them. The Preſident had Commiſſion to demand, that the Council might be tranſlated to a place where the Proteſtants might have free acceſs. For notwithſtanding all the ſecurity given by the Pope and the Council, they held *Trent* ſuſpected, and deſired a place where the Emperour might ſecure them. But he touched not this point, by the advice of *Lorain* and the *French* Ambaſſadors, who thought it not fit to make mention thereof, and held it as revoked, conſidering the Letters written to the Pope and to *Lorain*, of which mention hath been made.

Order was given before upon conſultation of the Legates, that the *Speaker* ſhould anſwer *Birague* in the name of the Synod, condoling the misfortunes and calamities of the Kingdom of *France*, and exhorting the King, that having been forced to make peace, and to grant ſomething to the *Hugonots*, to reſtore Religion intirely, he would for the ſervice of *God*, when the Kingdom was in peace, labour without any delay, that this good end might be obtained. And they ſhewed this anſwer to *Lorain* after the *Maſs*, before they entred into the Congregation. Who ſaid, he did not like they ſhould approve the Kings fact, whereof they ſhould rather complain, as prejudicial to the faith; and therefore that it was better to take time to anſwer, as the uſe is in matters of importance. Whereupon they gave order that *Birague* ſhould be anſwered thus in ſubſtance. That in regard the things related and propoſed by him were of great weight, and had need of much conſideration, the Synod would take a fit time to anſwer him. The *French* Ambaſſadors were much diſpleaſed with this fact of *Lorain*, thinking that if the Legates had not been diſpoſed to commend the Kings actions, he ought to have incited them, yea to force them as much as he could; whereas on the contrary, they judging a commendation of the fact to be juſt and reaſonable, as indeed it was, he had diſſwaded them. But conſulting amongſt themſelves, they reſolved not to write thereof into *France*, for many reſpects; and *Lanſac*, being to return ſhortly, might make that relation which ſhould be thought neceſſary.

A tumult in *Bavaria* for the Cup, and marriage of Prieſts.

The month before there hapned a great tumult and popular commotion in *Bavaria*, becauſe the Cup was not allowed, nor married men ſuffered to preach; which diſorder proceeded ſo far, that to appeaſe them, the Duke promiſed in the Diet, that if in all *June* a reſolution were not made in *Trent*, or by the Pope, to give them ſatisfaction, himſelf would grant both the one and the other. This news coming to the Council, made the Legates diſpatch in diligence *Nicolaus Ormonetus*, to perſwade that Prince not to make ſuch a grant, promiſing that the Council would not be wanting to his neceſſities. To whom the Duke anſwered, that to ſhew his obedience and devotion to the Apoſtolick *See*, he would uſe all means to entertain his people as long

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as he could, expecting and hoping that the Council would reſolve that which they ſaw to be neceſſary, notwithſtanding the determination made before.

The Biſhop of *Nimes* ſpaketh againſt *Annates.*

But the Congregations proceeding in handling the Conciliary Matters, in one of them the Biſhop of *Nimes*, ſpeaking of the abuſes of *Order*, diſcourſed of *Annates*. He ſaid, that howſoever it could not be denied that all Churches ought to contribute to the Pope for maintenance of his Court, yet he could not commend that payment as well for the manner, as the quantity; becauſe it would be enough if the twentieth part were paid, whereas this is perhaps more than the tenth; and for the manner, that no man ought to be forced to pay them but after the year was ended. And ſeeing that the Court of *Rome* muſt be maintained by the contributions of all Churches, it is juſt that they ſhould receive ſome profit thence, whereas many, and almoſt all the abuſes of Chriſtendom do ariſe, by means of the Officers thereof; of which the Synod ought to advertiſe his Holineſs, that he might make proviſion therein. He deſcended to ſpeak in particular of the ordinations of Prieſts made at *Rome*; ſaying, that the Canons and Decrees are not obſerved in them, and that it would be neceſſary to Decree, that in caſe the Prieſts ordained in *Rome* were not ſufficient, the Biſhops (notwithſtanding the ordination) might ſuſpend them, and that the ſuſpended might not by way of appellation or other recourſe, hinder the determination of the Prelate. The laſt that ſpake in that Congregation was the Biſhop of *Oſmo*; who ſaid, that as the abuſes of *Order* are collected, ſo it were good to handle Penances, and Indulgences alſo, becauſe all thoſe three matters are of affinity, and go hand in hand.

The Biſhop of *Guadice* ſpaeth againſt titular Biſhops.

In another Congregation the Biſhop of *Guadice* ſpake very long; and amongſt other things, made as it were, an invective againſt the ordination of titular Biſhops, upon occaſion of ſpeaking on the fourth Article of the abuſes, in which he ſaid, that to redreſs the great ſcandals which do ariſe by means of ſuch Biſhops, there ſhould be no more created without urgent neceſſity, and in that caſe, before they were ordained, the Pope ſhould make proviſion that they might live according to the dignity of a Biſhop. He ſaid, that to the dignity of a Biſhop is annexed the having of a place and a Dioceſs, and the Biſhop and Church are relatives, as man and wife, of which one cannot be without the other; and therefore it did imply a contradiction, to ſay, that titular Biſhops were lawful. He ſaid their ordination was an invention of the Court, and uſed theſe words, *Figmenta humana*; that there is no mention of them in antiquity; that if any Biſhop were deprived, or did renounce, he was not held to be a Biſhop, as he is not an husband who wanteth a wife; that the old Canoniſts do write, that there is a nullity in the ordinations made by him who hath renounced his Biſhopriek; that the Simonies and indecencies which do ariſe by means of theſe Biſhops, and the other corruptions of diſcipline, are nothing in compariſon of this abuſe of giving the name of Biſhops to thoſe who are not, and to alter the inſtitution of *Chriſt*, and the Apoſtles.

Who are defended by the Biſhop of *Sarzana.*

Simon d' Negri, Biſhop of *Sarzana*, entring into the ſame matter, ſaid, that in a Biſhop are to be conſidered *Order*, and Juriſdiction; in reſpect of *Order* he hath nothing, but that he is miniſter of the Sacraments of *Order* and *Confirmation*, and by Eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, hath authority of many conſecrations and benedictions, which are forbid to ſimple Prieſts. But in reſpect of juriſdiction, he hath authority

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of government in the Church, whereas titular Biſhops have the power of *Order* only, without juriſdiction; and therefore it is not neceſſary they ſhould have a Church. And if a Biſhop was not conſecrated in former times, except he had a Church given him, this was becauſe no Deacons or Prieſts were conſecrated without a title. Afterwards, it appearing that more ſervice was done to God, and to the greatneſs of the Church, having Prieſts without title, the ſame ought to be concluded of Biſhops; yet ſo, as that to avoid abuſes, it was convenient not to ordain any, without giving them whereon to live, that they may not be forced to indignities; but otherwiſe it is neceſſary they ſhould be created to ſupply the places of unable Biſhops, or of thoſe who have a lawful cauſe to be abſent from their Churches, or of great Prelates, imployed in greater affairs, and therefore he did approve the Article as it was unfolded.

Of Diſpenſations.

The Biſhop of *Lugo* diſcourſed of Diſpenſations, ſaying, that there were many matters, concerning which, if the Synod would make Decrees declaring them to be indiſpenſable, it would be a great ſervice to God, and benefit to the Church. Which he did not ſay, becauſe the Synod might give a Law to his Holineſs, but becauſe they are things in which diſpenſations of Popes cannot be admitted; and if in a rare caſe, in a whole age, a reaſonable cauſe to diſpenſe, might happen once, yet the diſpenſation would not be juſt in that caſe neither. For it is convenient that a private perſon ſhould ſupport ſome grievance; when there is a great publick benefit, as alſo, where many caſes deſerving diſpenſations may occur, to take away occaſions of obtaining ſurreptions, ſupplications and graces, it is better to be avaritious than liberal.

The anſwer to *Birague.*

One of the difficulties of the Council, which was about Biſhop *Teleſius* the Secretary, in regard of whom frequent inſtance was made, that the Acts of the Council might be written by two, did ceaſe of it ſelf. For he, not able to ſupport the pain of the ſtone any longer, reſolved to be cut. After he was retired, that charge was given to the Biſhop of *Campania*, whoſe firſt action was in the Congregation of the ſeventh of *June*, to read the anſwer which the Legates had made, to give to the Preſident *Birague*, which being long, and propoſed on the ſudden, not aſſiſted in voice by any of the Legates, and very ambiguous, with words which might be drawn to the commendation or the diſpraiſe of the accord made by the King, was not underſtood by all in the ſame ſenſe, whereupon there were divers opinions amongſt the Prelates. The Cardinal of *Lorain* firſt ſpake at large of it, and was not underſtood whether he did approve it or not. The Cardinal of *Varmia* urged to it by *Morone*, deſired him after he had made an end, to declare plainly what he thought; and he anſwered that it did not pleaſe him; to the great diſtaſte of *Morone*, who had ſhewed it to him before, and he ſeemed to be content. *Madruccio* who followed, referred himſelf to the Fathers; of the others ſome did approve it, and ſome not. The *French* Prelates complained, that againſt the orders obſerved in the Synod in like occaſions, the anſwer was deferred and diſputed. The Biſhop, Ambaſſador of the Duke of *Savoy*, when it was his turn to ſpeak, ſaid that the matter ought to be referred abſolutely to the Legates, and the two Cardinals. When all the voices were delivered, the Archbiſhop of *Lanciano* ſtood up, and ſaid, that howſoever he had concluded otherwiſe in his ſuffrage; yet having heard the Ambaſſador, he was of his opinion, and the ſame was approved almoſt by the voice of all together.

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The eleventh of *June* a conſultation was held by the Legates, Cardinals, and twenty Prelates, to find a means to eſtabliſh the Doctrine of the Inſtitution of Biſhops. *Lorain* in delivering his mind, touched the opinion of the *Frenchmen*, that the Council is above the Pope, alledging alſo, that it was ſo defined in the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil.* He concluded that he did not deſire another declaration from that Council, but ſaid, that if they would be of accord with the *Frenchmen*, it was neceſſary that no words ſhould be put in the Decrees which were to be compoſed, which might prejudice that their opinion. The Archbiſhop of *Otranto* coming to ſpeak, enlarged himſelf with many words to convince that Cardinal, reſuming and refuting whatſoever he had ſaid in favour of the ſuperiority of the Council. He added, that ſome held opinion of the ſuperiority of the Council to be as true as *Verbum caro factum eſt*, ſaying he knew not how they could ſecure themſelves in their conſcience; wherein he meant *Lorain*, who was ſaid to have uſed this compariſon. And deſcending afterwards to diſcourſe of the Inſtitution of Biſhops, he ſaid there had been no controverſy in this matter, if the form propoſed by the Cardinal of *Lorain* had not given occaſion. The Cardinal anſwered, that, at his coming to *Trent*, he found the difficulties already moved; that he had compoſed that form, being requeſted, with intention to make peace and concord, and to remedy the differences; that this not ſucceeding, he would be glad that the Archbiſhop might obtain that honour which himſelf could not do; thanking him beſides, that as his maſter, he had put him in mind of that wherein he had failed. And for the queſtion of the ſuperiority of the Council, he ſaid, that being born in *France*, where this opinion is common, neither he nor the other *French-men* could leave it, and did not believe, that for holding it, they ſhould be forced to make a Canonical abjuration. The Arch-biſhop replied, that he diſliked the form, becauſe it was imperfect, whence the difficulties did ariſe; but for the reſt, it was not a place to anſwer him, and that he did little eſteem the injuries he did him. But he complained of ſome who did profeſs to accuſe the actions of the Legates, wherein they did not ſhew a good mind. The Cardinal was ſilent, and made no ſhew he was offended. The Count of *Luna*, whether of his own accord, or at the inſtance of the *French-men*, reprehended the Arch-biſhop, ſaying, that if it came to the ears of his Catholick Majeſty, it would certainly diſpleaſe him. And a *French* Prelate, either by order from *Lorain*, or of himſelf did advertiſe *Morone*, that the Arch-biſhop did much paſs his bounds; that he uſed bad ſpeeches in handling the matter of Reſidence; and that the Cardinal was adviſed, that he was continually abuſed in his houſe, and that the moſt honourable title he gave him, was, *a man full of poyſon*; ſo that, in regard of theſe things, and of this laſt accident alſo, it would not be good to call them both together to conſultation, becauſe the Cardinal would not reſt ſatisfied. *Morone* anſwered preciſely, that he had order from *Rome* to call that Arch-biſhop to all conſultations, and that it was convenient to hold eſteem of him, becauſe he had at the leaſt forty voices which did follow him. This being related to *Lorain*, did make him exceeding angry againſt Cardinal *Morone*; and the rather, becauſe a few days before, the Legates and Cardinals conſulting together about the anſwer to be given to *Birague*, referred to them by the Congregation, *Morone* did upbraid him, that he was content with the anſwer firſt made, afterwards

A Conteſtation between the Archbiſhop of *Otranto*, and the Cardinal of *Lorain.*

The Archbiſhop of *Otranto* had 40 voices at his command.

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wards ſaid the contrary in the general Congregation. And *Lorain* conſidered very much with himſelf, in what manner he might ſhew himſelf ſenſible of the ſmall account was made of him, eſpecially being adviſed from *Rome*, that the Pope did accuſe him for a man ſcandalous, and deſirous to unite the Catholicks and Proteſtants. But weighing his own intereſts, which did move him not to ſeparate himſelf from *Rome*, but rather to ſeek means to be reunited, his profit overcame his paſſion, and ſo he reſolved to continue in promoting the concluſion of the Council, and giving the Pope ſatisfaction.

Birague parteth from *Trent* without his anſwer.

But the Preſident *Birague*, having expected an anſwer as long as he thought his honour would permit, the thirteenth day parted from *Trent*, to go to *Iſpruc*, to negotiate the other part of his inſtructions with the Emperor; which was to give him joy of the election of the King of the *Romans*, and an account for what cauſes the Peace was concluded with the *Hugonots*, and to anſwer him concerning the reſtitution of *Metz*, and of other *Imperial* Cities. He had inſtruction alſo, that jointly with the King of *Spain*, they ſhould uſe perſwaſions for the tranſlation of the Council into *Germany*. This particular being imparted to *Lorain*, to receive advice from him in what manner to proceed in it, or whether he ſhould omit it, as he had done in *Trent*, the Cardinal reſolved for the ſame reaſons, that he ſhould make mention of it, as of a thing rather to be deſired, than hoped for, or attempted.

His negotiation with the Emperor.

The Count of *Luna* had expreſs order in his inſtructions, to demand a retraction of the Decree, *Proponentibus Legatis*; and after his arrival in *Trent*, he received a letter from the King, which told him, that he was deſired by the *French* Queen, that the Council might be tranſlated into *Germany*, that it might be in a free place, and that he had anſwered, that he did not think it neceſſary, in regard there was means to procure the liberty of it in the place where it was; therefore he gave him Commiſſion to labour, that it might have full liberty, beginning from the revocation of that Decree; becauſe that continuing, the Council could by no means be called free. The Ambaſſador, thinking he could not defer any longer, imparted this Commiſſion to the Legates, and in conformity thereof, made effectual inſtance in the Kings name, that the Decree might be abrogated or expounded, ſaying it was convenient ſo to do, becauſe the *Germans* did forbear to come to the Council for this cauſe amongſt others, and becauſe the Emperour did think it neceſſary, that he might be able to induce them to receive the Council. They anſwered, that the Decree was made by common conſent of all the Fathers; notwithſtanding they would conſider on it, and reſolve that which ſhould ſeem juſt, after he had preſented the inſtance in writing. The Ambaſſador gave it, and the Legates ſent it to the Pope; howſoever *Morone* ſaid, it was ſuperfluous, and that nothing was to be done but to delay the anſwer, without troubling his Holineſs. In the negotiation of Princes, eſpecially thoſe which do not touch the ſubſtance of their State, it happeneth, that howſoever they do change opinion, by the change of occurrences, yet by the perſwaſions made before the change, things contrary to their new will do fall out. And ſo it was, that the perſwaſions made by the Queen-mother to the King of *Spain*, before ſhe reſolved to give total ſatisfaction to the Pope concerning the Council, did produce the effect of that Letter of the King. Therefore *Morone*, who did penetrate the bottom, did not hold that eſteem of it as ſome thought.

The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador maketh inſtance that the Decree, *Proponentibus Legatis*, may be abrogated

The fifteenth of *June*, *Morone* propoſed in Congregation, that the fif-

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teenth of *July* might be appointed for the determinate day of the Seſſion. *Segovia*, and ſome few others ſaid, they ſaw not how the difficulties which were upon their hands could be reſolved in ſo ſhort a time, of *Hierarchy*, of *Order*, of the inſtitution of Biſhops, of the preheminence of the Pope, and of Reſidence; and that it was better to decide the difficulties firſt, and afterwards to appoint a ſhort term for the day of the Seſſion, than to appoint it now, and afterwards to prolong it with indignity. But the contradictors being but few, the propoſition was eſtabliſhed, as it were without difficulty. The next day *Laynez*, General of the *Jeſuits*, in giving his ſuffrage, bent all his Forces to anſwer whatſoever had been ſaid by others, not conformable to the Doctrine of the Court, with ſo great affection, as if his ſalvation had been in queſtion. In the matter of diſpenſations he was exceeding copious, ſaying, it was ſpoken without reaſon that there is no other power of diſpenſing but interpretative and declarative; for ſo the authority of a good Doctor would be greater than of a great Prelate; and that to ſay the Pope cannot by diſpenſation diſoblige him who is obliged before God, is nothing but to teach men to prefer their own conſcience before the authority of the Church; which conſcience, becauſe it may be erroneous, as it is for the moſt part, to refer men to that, is nothing but to caſt every Chriſtian into a bottomleſs Pit of dangers; that as it cannot be denied, that *Chriſt* had power to diſpenſe in every Law, nor that the Pope is his Vicar, nor that there is the ſame tribunal and conſiſtory of the Principal and the Vice-gerent, ſo it muſt be confeſſed that the Pope hath the ſame authority; that this is the priviledg of the Church of *Rome*, and that every one ought to take heed, in regard it is Hereſy to take away the priviledges of the Church, becauſe it is nothing but to deny the authority which *Chriſt* hath given it. Then he ſpake of reforming the Court; and ſaid, that it is ſuperior to all particular Churches, yea to many joined together; and if it doth belong to the Court of *Rome* to reform each Church, which doth appertain to every Biſhop in Council, and none of them can reform the *Roman*, becauſe the ſcholar is not above his maſter, nor the ſervant above his Lord, it followeth, by neceſſary conſequence, that the Council hath no authority to meddle in that buſineſs; that many did call thoſe things abuſes, which if they were examined and ſounded to the bottom, would be found to be either neceſſary, or profitable; that ſome would make the *See* of *Rome*, as it was in the time of the Apoſtles, and of the Primitive Church, without diſtinguiſhing the times, not knowing what doth belong to thoſe, and what to theſe; that it is a plain caſe, that by the providence and goodneſs of *God*, the Church is made rich, and that nothing is more impertinent than to ſay that God hath given riches, and not the uſe. For *Annates* he ſaid, that it is *de jure divino* that Tythes and firſt-fruits ſhould be paid to the Clergy, as the *Jews* did to the *Levites*: and as the *Levites* paid the Tenths to the high Prieſt, ſo ought the Eccleſiaſtical order to the Pope, the rents of Beneſices being the Tythes, and the Annates the Tythes of the Tythes. This diſcourſe diſpleaſed many, and particularly the *French-men*; and there were Prelates who noted ſome things which they meant to anſwer, if occaſion ſerved, when their turn was to ſpeak.

The ſuffrage of *Laynez*.

Favours done unto him.

The *Spaniards* and *French-men* thought that that Father ſpake thus, by order, or by conſent of the Legates, alledging for an Argument the many favours which were done unto him upon all occaſions, and eſpecially, becauſe, whereas other Generals were wont to ſtand on their feet,

feet, and in their place when they gave their voice, *Laynez* was called into the middle, and made to ſit down, and many times a Congregation was made for him only, to give him commodity to ſpeak what he would; and howſoever none was ever half ſo prolix as he, yet he was praiſed, and thoſe againſt whom he ſpake could never be ſo brief, but they were reprehended for being too long. But *Laynez*, knowing what offence the *Frenchmen* did pretend to have received, ſent his companions, *Torre* and *Cavillone*, to make an excuſe to *Lorain*, ſaying, that his redargutions were not meant of his *Excellency*, or any of the *French* Prelates, but of the Divines of the *Sorbone*, whoſe opinions are not conformable to the Doctrine of the Church. This being related to the Cardinal, in a Congregation of *Frenchmen*, held in his houſe, the excuſe did much diſtaſt the Prelates, ſome ſaying it was petulant, and others ſcornful, and thoſe few Divines which remained were ſenſible of it; ſo that *Hugonius* himſelf, whom they had bought, did think it unſufferable. *Verdun* thought he was touched in particular, and obliged to reply, and prayed the Cardinal to give him leave, and occaſion. He promiſed to ſpeak modeſtly, and to ſhew that the Doctrine of the *Sorbone* was Orthodox, and that of the *Jeſuit* new, and never heard of in the Church before, that is, that the Key of authority is given by *Chriſt*, without the Key of knowledge; that the holy Ghoſt, given for the government of the Church, is called, by the holy Scripture, the Spirit of truth, and the operation thereof in the governours of the Church, and Miniſters of *Chriſt*, is to lead them into all truth; that, for this cauſe, *Chriſt* hath made his Miniſters partakers of his authority, becauſe he hath withal imparted to them the light of Doctrine; that Saint *Paul* to *Timothy*, writing that he is conſtituted an Apoſtle, doth expound it thus, that is, a Doctor of the *Gentiles*: who, in two places, preſcribing the conditions of a Biſhop, ſaith, he muſt be a Doctor; that, obſerving the uſe of the Primitive Church, it will appear, that the faithful did go to Biſhops for diſpenſations, and declarations, becauſe thoſe only were aſſumed to that charge who were moſt of all inſtructed in Chriſtian Doctrine; that, to omit antiquity, the School-men and greater part of the Canoniſts have conſtantly ſaid, that the diſpenſations of Prelates are good, *Clave non errante*, and not otherwiſe. *Hugonius* alſo did offer to prove that aſſertion, *that there is the ſame tribunal of* Chriſt *and of the Pope*, to be impious and ſcandalous, making mortality equal to immortality, and corruptible judgment of man, to the incorruptible judgment of *God*, and that it did proceed from ignorance; that the Pope is that ſervant, which is ſet over the family of *Chriſt*, not to perform the Office of the Maſter of the family, but only to diſtribute to every one, not arbitrarily, but that which is ordained by the Maſter; that he was amazed that Chriſtian ears could endure to hear that the whole power of *Chriſt* is imparted to any. They all ſpake, ſome cenſuring one, ſome another of the *Jeſuit's* aſſertions. But the Cardinal told them, that it would be no ſmall matter if they could obtain that, in the publick Decrees of the Council, way might not be given to that Doctrine; at which it was convenient that all ſhould aim; to which end they ſhould more eaſily come, if the matter were paſſed over in ſilence, and ſuffered to die in oblivion, which, by contradiction, might do ſome prejudice to the truth. They were pacified; yet not ſo, but that, in their private meetings, they ſpake of it very much.

But the Legates did ſo accommodate the two Articles of the Inſti-

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His excuſe.

Giveth diſtaſt to the *Frenchmen*

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tution of Biſhops, and of Reſidence, with general terms, that they gave ſatisfaction to both parties, and to *Lorain* alſo. But having conſulted on them with the Popiſh Divines, and ſome Canoniſts, Prelates, theſe ſaid, that they did admit an interpretation prejudicial to the authority of the Apoſtolick *See*, and the uſes of the Court. The Biſhop of *Nicaſtro*, who had often contended in this matter in favour of *Rome*, ſaid plainly that by that form of ſpeech, it was inferred that all juriſdiction of Biſhops did not proceed from the Pope, but a part of it immediately from *Chriſt*; which was by no means to be endured. Other Papalins maintained the ſame, and made a bad interpretation of all, if it were not plainly ſaid, that Biſhops have all juriſdiction from the Pope. Therefore the Legates ſent the Articles thus reformed to the Pope, not ſo much that they might be examined in *Rome*, as becauſe in a matter of ſo great importance, they would propoſe nothing without the Popes knowledg. The Cardinals deputed for theſe affairs, having ſeen and examined them, did judg that the form was ſufficient to make all Biſhops in their Dioceſſes equal to the Popes. And the Pope reprehended the Legates for ſending them, becauſe he knew that the *major* part in the Council were good Catholicks, and devoted to the Church of *Rome*, and in confidence hereof, was content that the propoſitions and reſolutions ſhould be determined in *Trent* without his knowledg. Notwithſtanding he thought he ought not to conſent to any prejudicial thing, for fear of giving bad example to them, and being a cauſe that they alſo ſhould aſſent unto it againſt their conſcience.

The Decrees of the inſtitution, and of Reſidence.

A difficulty whether the King of the *Romans* ought to promiſe obedience to the Pope.

At this time they had another very hard negotiation alſo. For the King of the *Romans* being to ſend Ambaſſadors, to give him an account of his election, would not do as other Emperors and Kings had done, who having no cauſe to make difficulty, did promiſe and ſwear whatſoever the Popes would have them. But he having reſpect not to offend the Princes and Proteſtants of *Germany*, would firſt know what words muſt be uſed. The conſultation hereof being committed to the Cardinals, they reſolved that he muſt demand confirmation of the election, and ſwear obedience, according to the example of all other Emperors. Whereunto he anſwered, that they were deceived, and that he would conſent to nothing which might prejudice his ſucceſſors, as the actions of his predeceſſors were alledged againſt himſelf, and that it was to confeſs he was *Vaſſal*. And he propoſed that his Ambaſſador ſhould uſe theſe words; That his Majeſty will perform all Reverence, Devotion and Duty to his Holineſs and the Apoſtolick *See*, with promiſe not only to preſerve, but to enlarge as much as he can the holy Catholick Faith. This negotiation continued this whole year without agreement; and finally in *Rome* they thought they had found a temper for it, propoſing that he ſhould ſwear obedience not as Emperour, but as King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, becauſe it could not be denied, they ſaid, that King *Steven* did give the Kingdom to the Apoſtolick *See*, in the year of our *Lord* 1000. acknowledging to receive it from the ſaid *See*, and making himſelf Vaſſal; and that *Uladiſlaus*, Duke of *Bohemia*, did receive from *Alexander* the ſecond, power to wear a Miter, binding himſelf to pay an hundred Marks of ſilver every year. Theſe things being conſidered of in *Germany*, becauſe there was no proof of them, but the bare affirmation of *Gregory* the ſeventh, were derided, and anſwer was made, that they deſired more freſh examples, and more certain, and more lawful titles. Meſſengers went to and fro, with divers propoſitions, anſwers, and replies, of which we

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we will now relate the iſſue, that we may return no more to them: Which was; that twenty Months after, Count *Elfeſtain*, Ambaſſador of that King, arrived in *Rome*, with whom the ſame treaties were renewed, to demand confirmation, and ſwear obedience. He anſwered, that the Oration, which he was to recite punctually, was in writing, and that he had commiſſion not to alter one jot. The Pope therefore propoſed the buſineſs to the Cardinals, in a general Congregation; who after long conſultation, concluded, That howſoever the confirmation were not demanded, nor obedience promiſed, yet in the anſwer to the Ambaſſador, it ſhould be ſaid, that his Holineſs did confirm the election, ſupplying all defects thereof, *de facto & de jure*, and did receive the Kings obedience, without ſaying it was demanded, or not demanded, promiſed or not promiſed. This ceremony gave but ſmall content to the Pope, and leſs to the Colledg of Cardinals.

But to return to the time whereof I write, the Pope was to anſwer the frequent inſtances made unto him by the Ambaſſadors, reſident in *Rome*, and by the Count of *Luna* in *Trent*, for abrogation of the Decree of *Proponentibus Legatis*. And being ſatiated with this trouble, he wrote to the Legates, that the ſuſpenſion of it ſhould be propoſed in Congregation. But *Morone* anſwered the Ambaſſadors, who urged the Popes order, that rather than he would condeſcend unto it, he deſired that his Holineſs would remove him. This anſwer being given without participation of the other Legates, and many other things reſolved by him alone, put them in a jealouſie, that he took too much upon him; ſaying, that howſoever he might have inſtructions apart, yet he ought not to execute them without adviſing them firſt, and communicating all unto them, at leaſt in the execution.

Morone is thought to take too much upon him by the other Legates.

In the Congregation of the one and twentieth of *June*, the anſwer to be made to the Preſident *Birague*, compoſed by the Legates and Cardinal of *Lorain*, was read; which paſſed without difficulty. And becauſe he was not preſent, that it might not be given him by word of mouth, they ſent it after him in wtiting. And *Adamus Fumanus* was deputed Secretary, joined with *Tileſius*, who continued in his indiſpoſition. But the differences about the Articles of the inſtitution of Biſhops, and of the authority of the Pope remaining ſtill, or rather increaſing, and it being plain, that to ſpeak of them in Congregation, would augment them more, the Prelates, as it were, with a common conſent, began to handle them particularly, and to propoſe courſes to find a temper for them. Some deſirous to bury theſe Controverſies, and to proceed, ſeeing no means of concord, gave counſel to omit both the matters abſolutely; which opinion, howſoever in concluſion it was received, in the beginning had much contradiction. The *Spaniards* did oppoſe; who by all means would have the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction to proceed from *Chriſt*; and the Cardinal of *Lorain* went further, and would have it defined, that their vocation and place were immediately from God. And the *French-men* did deſire, that the Popes authority might be ſo declared as that it might neither contradict, not diſpenſe with the Decrees of the General Council. Others ſaid that this courſe ſerved only to defer, without aſſurance that the delay would do any good. For when they came to the Concluſion of the Council, it would be neceſſary to define all matters which have been examined; ſo that the difficulty would return; and in caſe the

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the *French-men* ſhould depart firſt, as they reſolved to do, there would be danger of Schiſm, if afterwards any controverſed point ſhould be handled. Beſides, in regard of the intelligence of *Lorain* with the Emperour, thoſe who knew not their new thoughts, did believe, that the *French-men* being gone, his Majeſty would recal his Ambaſſadors alſo, in which caſe it would be ſmall reputation to continue the Council, and to determine any thing, would be thought to be a thing done without authority.

Another difficulty as great as this was in the election of Biſhops. For many of the Fathers would have it ſaid, that there is an obligation to elect the moſt worthy, and for confirmation, alledged many Canons, and holy Doctors. The Papalins ſaid on the contrary, that this was to bind the authority of the Pope; that he could not gratifie any, and that the uſe of the Court, time out of mind, hath been, to think it ſufficient if a man worthy were elected. The *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors alſo did uot agree, becauſe it did too much reſtrain the power of Kings in nominations if they were bound to go about and ſeek the moſt worthy. Many Prelates went up and down, uſing perſwaſions, that the Article might not be received, though it were without the addition of electing the moſt worthy, and eſpecially the Biſhop of *Bertinoro*, and the General *Laynez*, diſtributing ſome annotations, and advertiſements, made by them, ſhewing that great inconveniences would enſue by that Decree. For in it was contained, that a Cathedral being vacant, the Metropolitan ſhould write unto the Chapter, the name of him who was to be promoted, who ſhould afterwards be publiſhed in Pulpit in all the Pariſh Churches of the City on Sunday, and hanged on the door of the Church, and afterwards the Metropolitan ſhould go to the City vacant, and examine witneſſes concerning the qualities of the perſon; and all his Letters Patents and Teſtifications being read in the Chapter, every one ſhould be heard who would oppoſe any thing againſt his perſon; of all which an inſtrument ſhould be made, and ſent to the Pope, to be read in Conſiſtory. This conſtitution they ſaid would be a cauſe of calumnies and ſeditions, and that hereby ſome authority was given to the people, with which they would uſurp the election of Biſhops, which formerly they were wont to have. Others being ſtirred up herewith, made the ſame oppoſitions againſt the Article, concerning thoſe who are to be promoted to the greater orders; in which it was ſaid, that their names ought to be publiſhed to the people three Sundays, and affixed to the doors of the Church, and that their Letters teſtimonial ought to be ſubſcribed by four Prieſts, and four Laicks of the Pariſh; alledging, that no authority ought to be given to the Laiety in theſe affairs, which are purely Eccleſiaſtical. In theſe perplexities the Legates knew not what to do, but to enjoy the benefit of time, and to expect ſome overture, to come to the end of the Council, to which they ſaw not how they ſhould be able to arrive.

The reformation of Cardinals.

Another trouble began about the Reformation of Cardinals. And the Pope underſtanding that this was ſpoken of in all Courts, and that in *Trent*, the Ambaſſadors of *France*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, were combined to demand it of the Council, he wrote to the Legates for advice, to know whether it were better to handle it at *Rome*, or in *Trent*. He propoſed the ſame in Conſiſtory, ordaining alſo a Congregation to conſult on it, and, particulary, to find a means that Princes might not intermeddle in the *Conclave*, in the election of the Pope. And, to proceed

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proceed with all circumſpection in a buſineſs of ſo great weight, he ſent many Articles of Reformation to *Trent*, drawn out of the Councils, with order that the Legates ſhould impart them to the principal Prelates, and ſignifie their opinions. The Cardinals of *Lorain*, and *Madruccio*, anſwered, they would not deliver their own opinions, before they underſtood the Popes mind, and afterwards it would be neceſſary to think very much on it. And *Lorain* ſaid, that there are many things which are thought worthy of correction, which himſelf did think could not juſtly be reprehended, and others which might in part, but not abſolutely. He deſcended to the particular of having Biſhopricks, ſaying, there was no inconvenience that a Cardinal Prieſt ſhould have a Biſhoprick, but did not like that a Cardinal Deacon ſhould be a Biſhop; and that for this cauſe he had counſelled his Brother, the Cardinal to leave the Archbiſhoprick of *Sans*. But this matter of Reformation of the Cardinals was quickly put to ſilence. For thoſe who were in *Trent*, inclining rather to have it handled by the Pope and Colledg, and thoſe who pretended for the *red Cap*, doubting their deſires might be croſſed, they did with great facility leave to ſpeak of it. The Pope alſo thought to make a conſtitution, that no Biſhops ſhould have any temporal Offices, either in *Rome*, or the Eccleſiaſtical Dominion. But he was advertiſed by *Simoneta*, and other Prelates, that it would be a great prejudice to the Eccleſiaſticks of *France*, *Polonia*, and other Kingdoms, where they are Counſellors of Kings, and have the principal Offices, of which they might eaſily be deprived, if Princes ſhould take example by his Holineſs, and the Secular Nobility incite them to it, for their own intereſts. Therefore if he would execute this his determination, he ſhould do it in effects, and not in writing, leſt he ſhould damnify the Clergy in other Kingdoms very much.

Did quickly vaniſh.

The Emperor found by experience, either at this time, or two months before, when *Morone* was with him, that his vicinity to the Council did not only no good, as he thought it would, but the contrary rather. For the Popiſh Prelates, ſuſpecting his deſigns were againſt the authority of the Court, were afraid of every thing; ſo that the difficulties and ſuſpicions did turn into bitterneſs, and increaſe in number. Therefore having other buſineſs wherein to employ himſelf with more profit, he dparted; and wrote to the Cardinal of *Lorain*, that the impoſſibility of doing good in the Council being palpable, he thought it was the duty of a Chriſtian and wiſe Prince, rather to ſupport the preſent evil with patience, than by curing it, to cauſe a greater. And to the Count of *Luna*, who went unto him by Poſt, three days before, he gave order to write to the Catholick King, concerning the Decree *Proponentibus Legatis*, exhorting his Majeſty in his name to be content not to deſire the revocation or declaration, and if he did think that the not declaring of it might prejudice other Councils, the declaration might, if need were, be made in the end of this. And notice being given, that they conſulted at *Rome* and in *Trent*, to proceed againſt the Queen of *England*, he wrote to the Pope and the Legates, that if the Council would not yield that fruit, as was deſired, that they might ſee an union of all Catholicks to reform the Church, at the leaſt they ſhould not give occaſion to the Hereticks to unite themſelves more, which they would do, in caſe they proceeded againſt the Queen of *England*. For undoubtedly they would by that means make a general league againſt the Catholicks, which would bring forth great inconveniences. And his admonition was ſo effectual, that the Pope deſiſted in

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And dehorteth the Council from proceeding againſt the Q. of *England.*

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in *Rome*, and revoked the Commiſſion given to the Legates in *Trent*. After that the Pope had given diſtaſt to the *Spaniards*, in not giving place to the Ambaſſadors, to appeaſe them again, he gave ear to the inſtance of *Vargas*, who had troubled him many days together, deſiring that as means was found that the Count of *Luna*, the Ambaſſador of his King, might come into Congregations, ſo the time of celebrating the Seſſion drawing near, his Holineſs would find a way that he might be there alſo: Whereof having conſidered well, and conſulted with the Cardinals, he reſolved finally that a place, ſeparated from the other Ambaſſadors, ſhould be given the Count in the Seſſion alſo, and to remedy the competency which would be in giving the *Incenſe* and the *Pax*, he gave order that 2 *Cenſers* ſhould be uſed, and *Incenſe* given to the *French-men* and the *Spaniard* both at once; as alſo two *Paxes* to be kiſſed at the ſame inſtant. And he wrote to the Legates to do ſo, commanding that they ſhould conceal all until the time of the execution, for fear ſome inconveniences might be prepared if it were known.

A difference about precedence.

Morone, according to the Popes command, concealed the order, neither did the *French-men* know of it at all. On Saint *Peters* day, the 29. of *June*, the Cardinals, Ambaſſadors, and Fathers being aſſembled in the Chappel of the Cathedral Church, and the *Maſs* being begun which the Biſhop of *Aſti*, the Duke of *Savoy* his Ambaſſador, did celebrate, on the ſudden a Murrey Velvet Chair came out of the Veſtry, and was placed between the laſt Cardinal, and the firſt Patriarch: and by and by the Count of *Luna*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, came in, and ſat upon it; whereat the Prelates kept a great murmuring, *Lorain* complained to the Legates of this ſudden act, concealed from him. The *French* Ambaſſadors ſent the Maſter of the Ceremonies to make the ſame complaint, telling them of the Ceremonies of the *Incenſe*, and the *Pax*. The Legates anſwered there would be two *Cenſers* and two *Paxes*; wherewith the *French* were not ſatisfied, and ſaid plainly, that they would be maintained, not in parity, but in precedence, and would proteſt againſt every innovation, and depart from the Council. Theſe goings and comings continued until the end of the Goſpel, ſo that the Epiſtle and Goſpel were not heard, by reaſon of the great whiſperings. The Theologue being gone into the Pulpit to preach, the Legates, with the Cardinals, Ambaſſadors of the Emperour, and *de Ferrieres*, one of the *French*, retired into the Veſtry, where this matter was handled, and the Sermon was ended before any thing was concluded. In the midſt of the *Credo* a ſilence was made, and *Madruccio*, with *Five Churches*, and the Ambaſſador of *Polonia*, came out to ſpeak with the Count of *Luna*, and to pray him in the name of the Legates, that, for that time, he would be content, that neither *Incenſe* nor the *Pax* ſhould be given to any, to hinder this ſudden tumult, which might cauſe ſome great evil, promiſing, that, at any other time when he requeſted, they would execute the order of his Holineſs of two *Cenſers* and two *Paxes* at once, which being conſidered on before-hand, both he and they, and all might be able to reſolve how to govern themſelves with wiſdom. After a long diſcourſe, they returned with this reſolution, that the Count was content. So they all came out of the Veſtry, and went to their places, and the Maſs proceeded without *Incenſe* or *Pax*. And as ſoon as theſe words were ſaid; *Ite, miſſa eſt*, the Count of *Luna*, who, in the Congregations, was wont to go out laſt, did go then before the Croſs, followed with a great part of the *Spaniſh* Prelates, and

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Italians, ſubject to his King. Afterwards the Legate, Ambaſſadors, and reſidue of the Prelates departed alſo, after the uſual manner. 1562

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The Legates, to be freed from the imputation laid upon them for this ſecret, and almoſt fraudulent proceeding, in a matter of ſo great weight, were fain to publiſh the expreſs Orders, received from *Rome*, to do ſo in that time, in that manner, and without participation of any. *De Ferrieres* ſaid publickly, that but for the reſpect he bare to the Worſhip of God, he would have proteſted, as he had in Commiſſion from his King, which he would do hereafter, in caſe the uſual Ceremonies of *Incenſe* and *Pax* were not reſtored, and given them in their due place. The Cardinal of *Lorain* alſo wrote a ſharp Letter to the Pope, declaring the wrong that ſhould have been done them, and ſaid modeſtly, that his Holineſs had made him be told, that he truſted ſo much in him, that he would that all the Affairs of the Council ſhould be communicated unto him; whereof, though he ſaw no effect, yet he did not complain; but he was troubled that he had commanded the Legates not to impart unto him their own proper Affairs, and eſpecially, that in which he might have done more good than another; adding, that more miſchief had enſued, but for his mediation. He ſaid moreover, that the blame of all was imputed to his Hollneſs, and prayed him that he would not be the Author and Cauſe of ſo great an Evil. He ſent *Muſottus* unto him alſo, by Poſt, to inform him more particularly of the reſolution of the *French* Ambaſſadors, and of the imminent danger. The Count of *Luna* complained of the ſtiffneſs of the *French* Ambaſſadors, and [illegible]nified his own great patience and modeſty, and deſired the Legates, that the next *Sunday* he might be admitted to equal place, and Ceremonies, according to the Popes Order. Some thought it was a Stratagem of the Pope to diſſolve the Council; and the Papalins, called *Amorevoli*, ſaid, that if they muſt come to a diſſolution, they deſired it ſhould rather happen for the Controverſie about the words of the Council of *Florence*, *That the Pope is Rector of the Church Univerſal*; thinking it would be more eaſie to juſtifie his Holineſs in that, and to lay all the blame upon the *French-men*.

The next morning, the laſt of *June*, the Count having aſſembled the *Spaniſh* Prelates, and many *Italians*, told them, that the day before he went into the Chappel, not to give occaſion of any diſturbance, but to keep the right of his King, and make uſe of the Popes Order; that ſince he had underſtood, that in caſe he ſhould return to the Chappel again, the *Frenchmen* would proteſt: which if they ſhould do, he muſt not fail to anſwer them, in the ſame manner and terms that they ſhould uſe, as in regard of his Holineſs, ſo alſo in the behalf of the Majeſty of his King. The Prelates anſwered, that if it came to this, they would be ready to do his Holineſs ſervice, and not fail to hold eſteem of his Catholick Majeſty as far as did concern them. The Count prayed them again to conſider well of all which might happen in ſuch a caſe; ſaying, that himſelf would come prepared alſo. And knowing that the *Frenchmen* could take but three courſes, either againſt the Legates, or againſt the King, or againſt him the Ambaſſador, he meant to be provided for an anſwer for all. All the Ambaſſadors of other Princes perſwaded the Legates to find a temper; that ſo great diſorder might not happen; who anſwering, that they muſt needs execute the Popes command, which was preciſe, and without any reſervation, and the rather becauſe they had promiſed the Count to do it, whenſoever he would requeſt it, the Cardinal of *Lorain* proteſted to them, that in caſe

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they did ſo, he would go into the Pulpit, and ſhew of what importance the matter was, and what a ruine it would bring to all Chriſtendom, and with the Crucifix in hand, would cry, *Miſericordia*, perſwading the Fathers and people to go out of the Church, that they might not ſee ſo fearful a ſchiſm, and crying, *He that deſires the welfare of Chriſtendom, let him follow me*, would depart out of the Church, hoping he ſhould be followed by every one. The Legates moved herewith, perſwaded the Count to be contenr that no Chappel ſhould be held the next *Sunday*, nor any proceſſion made, according to the uſe; and ſent the Pope advice of all.

Continual Congregations were held in the Houſe of the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors. The *Spaniard* ſometimes gave hope he would be content, and ſometimes made inſtance to go to Church, to execute the Popes Order for the *Incenſe* and *Pax*. And the *French* Ambaſſadors were reſolved to proteſt, and depart, and ſaid openly, that they would not proteſt againſt the Legates, being but meer Executors, nor againſt the King of *Spain*, or the Count his Ambaſſador, in regard they did proſecute their Cauſe; nor againſt the Apoſtolick See, which they would always honour, following the ſteps of their Predeceſſors; but againſt the perſon of the Pope, from whom the prejudice and innovation came, as making himſelf a party, and giving cauſe of Schiſm, and for another cauſe alſo, appealing unto the future Pope, lawfully elected, and to a true and lawful Council, threatning to depart, and to celebrate a National. The Prelates, and other *Frenchmen* apart, did commonly ſay to every one, that the Ambaſſadors had Proteſtations againſt the perſon of the Biſhop, who carried himſelf for Pope, being not lawful becauſe there was a nullity in the Election for *Simony*, intimating particularly the Obligation which Cardinal *Caraffa* had from the Duke of *Florence*, with promiſe of a certain ſum of Money, which that Cardinal ſent afterwards to the Catholick King, pretending it could not be made, but by conſent of the Pope before his aſſumption, as alſo another Obligation made by the Popes own hand, then Cardinal in the *Conclave*, to the Cardinal of *Naples*, whereof mention hath been made before. And the Preſident *de Ferrieres* prepared a very ſharp Oration in *Latine*, and a Proteſtation: which howſoever it was not made, yet it was printed, and was ſhewed by the *Frenchmen*, and is ſtill to be ſeen in Print, as if it had been recited; to relate the ſubſtance whereof, is not beſides our preſent purpoſe, that it may be ſeen, not what the *French* ſaid only, but what opinion they brought to the Council.

The Frenchmen make a queſtion whether the Pope were lawfully elected.

The Proteſtation.

He ſaid in ſubſtance; That that Council having been called by means of *Francis* and *Charles*, Brothers, *French* Kings, they the *French* Kings Ambaſſadors, were ſorry they ſhould be forced to depart, or conſent to the diminution of the Kings dignity; that the Prerogative of the *French* King was known to whoſoever hath read the Popes Law, and the Hiſtories of the *Roman* Church; as alſo thoſe who have read the Volumes of the Councils, muſt needs know what place themſelves ought to hold; that the Ambaſſadors of the Catholick King, in former General Councils, have followed the Ambaſſadors of the moſt Chriſtian; that now the mutation was made, not by the Fathers, who, if they had been in liberty, would not have deprived any Prince of his Poſſeſſion; nor by the Catholick King, ſo nearly allyed in amity and Kindred with their King, but by the Father of all Chriſtians, who, inſtead of Bread, hath given his eldeſt Son a Stone; and for Fiſh, a Serpent, to wound, with one ſting, the King and the *French* Church together,

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that *Pius* 4. doth ſow ſeeds of diſcord, to diſturb the peace of Kings who are in amity, changing by force and injuſtice, the order of ſitting, always uſed by the Ambaſſadors, and laſtly in the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Lateran*, to ſhew that he is above Councils; that he can neither diſturb the amity of the Kings, nor alter the Doctrine of the Councils of *Conſtance* and *Baſil*; that the Council is above the Pope; that Saint *Peter* had learned to abſtain from worldly matters, whereas this his Succeſſor, and no imitator, did pretend to give and to take honours from Kings; that, by the Divine, National, and Civil Law, account was held of the Eldeſt Son, both in the life time and after the death of the Father; but *Pius* doth refuſe to prefer the eldeſt King before thoſe who were born long after him; that *God*, in reſpect of *David* would not diminiſh the dignity of *Solomon*; and *Pius* the Fourth, without reſpect of the merits of *Pipin*, *Charles*, *Lewis*, and of other Kings of *France*, doth pretend with his Decree, to take away the Prerogatives of the Succeſſors of thoſe Kings; that, againſt the Laws of God and Man, without any knowledg of the cauſe, he hath condemned the King, taken his moſt ancient poſſeſſion from him, and pronounced againſt the cauſe of a Pupil and Widow; that the ancient Popes, when a general Synod was celebrated, have never done any thing, without approbation thereof; and *Pius* hath, without that Council, which repreſenteth the Church univerſal, taken away the poſſeſſion of the *Orators* of a King, a Pupil, not cited, ſent not to him, but to the Synod; that, to the end proviſion might not be made againſt it, he hath uſed diligence to conceal his Decree, commanding the Legates, upon pain of excommunication, to keep it ſecret; that the Fathers ſhould conſider whether theſe be the Facts of *Peter*, and other Popes, and whether they the Ambaſſadors are not forced to depart from the place where *Pius* hath left no place for Laws, nor ſo much as any print of liberty of the Council, in regard nothing is propoſed to the Fathers, or publiſhed, if it be not firſt ſent from *Rome*; that they did proteſt only againſt that *Pius* the Fourth, adoring the Apoſtolick *See*, and the Pope, and the Church of *Rome*, refuſing only to obey this man, and to eſteem him the Vicar of *Chriſt*; that they will always have in great veneration the Fathers; but, ſeeing that whatſoever is done, is not done in *Trent*, but in *Rome*, and the Decrees publiſhed, are rather of *Pius* the Fourth, than of the Council of *Trent*, they will not receive them for the Decrees of a general Synod. In concluſion, he commanded the Prelates and Divines, in the Kings name, to depart, and to return when God ſhould reſtore the due form and liberty to general Councils, and the King receive his due place.

But there was no occaſion to proteſt. For the Count conſidered finally, that, howſoever the *Spaniſh* party was greater in number of Prelates than the *French*, yet, becauſe the dependants of the Pope, who at the firſt were on this ſide, when they underſtood the will of his Holineſs, would now, knowing that a diſpatch was made to *Rome* for this cauſe, think fit he ſhould deſiſt until the anſwer and the new order came, and therefore join with the *French*, his ſide would prove to be the weaker. Therefore inclining to a compoſition, and all the other Ambaſſadors, and the Cardinal *Madruccio* interpoſing, after many difficulties, they agreed that neither *Incenſe* nor the *Pax* ſhould be given in the publick Ceremonies, until the anſwer of the King of *Spain* did come. This accord diſpleaſed the Popes dependants, who would have been glad of that occaſion to interrupt the Progreſs of

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the Council, as alſo thoſe, who being weary of *Trent*, and not ſeeing how the Council could either proceed or be ended, deſired the interruption, as the leſſer evil, that the diſcord might not increaſe. It is certain that the Pope himſelf, receiving advice of this compoſition, did take it ill, in regard of the ſame fear, that the diſcords may not be made greater, and ſome evil enſue, and the *Spaniſh* Miniſters in *Italy* did all blame the Count, for letting ſlip ſo favourable an occaſion for the ſervice of the King.

How the difficulties in the points for the next Seſſion were removed.

This Controverſie being compoſed, the Legates, intent upon the celebration of the Seſſion, becauſe the time approached, conſulted what might be done to remove the differences. *Lorain* propoſed the omiſſion of the two Articles, that is, of the Inſtitution of Biſhops, and of the authority of the Pope, as things wherein the parties were too paſſionate, and concerning Biſhops to ſay nothing, but what concerneth the Power of *Order*. To ſome of the Papalins this ſeemed a good remedy, but to others not; who ſaid, that this would be attributed to the Pope, as if the form laſt compoſed did not pleaſe him, and the Princes would wonder, why his Holineſs ſhould not reſt content, having the ſame power given him, which Saint *Peter* had; which would have given matter of diſcourſe to the Hereticks. Beſides, the *Spaniards* would take occaſion to have little hope hereafter to agree together in any thing; whence infinite difficulties would ariſe in other matters alſo. Moreover there might be a doubt whether it could be effected, becauſe it was probable that many of the Fathers would require, that thoſe Articles ſhould be declared. The Cardinal of *Lorain* offered that the *French-men* ſhould not require it, and ſo to labour with the *Spaniards* that they alſo ſhould be content; adding, that, in caſe the Legates would do the like with the *Italians*, who do with too much paſſion oppoſe the others, all would be compoſed.

And very fitly order came from the Emperor to his Ambaſſadors, to uſe all means that the authority of the Pope ſhould not be diſcuſſed in Council; which his Majeſty did, becauſe he ſaw the *major* part was inclined to enlarge it, and feared that ſomething might be determined, which might make his concord with the Proteſtants more difficult. The Ambaſſadors, having treated with the Legates in conformity hereof, as alſo with *Lorain*, and other principal Prelates, did cauſe this Article to be omitted, as alſo that other of the Inſtitution of Biſhops. But firſt they made many conſultations about it, admitting unto them the Prelates which were of greateſt note, and had moſt followers, ſometimes more, ſometimes fewer, that they might ſo diſpoſe of matters, as that all might reſt contented, and the Decrees of the proviſions made againſt the abuſes were given forth. Concerning the firſt point, which was of the election of Biſhops, the Ambaſſadors of *Spain* and *Portugal* did ſharply oppoſe this particular, that the Metropolitans ſhould examine the perſons promoted to Biſhopricks (whereof much hath been ſaid before) ſaying, that this was to ſubject the Kings to the Prelates their Subjects, becauſe authority was indirectly given them, to reject the Kings nominations. The *French* Ambaſſadors being demanded what their opinion was, made ſhew they did not care whether it were decreed or not. Whereupon the Popiſh Prelates, who thought it a diminution to the Popes authority, ſaid, that all that point might be omitted; eſpecially, becauſe, in the fifth Seſſion, ſufficient proviſion was made in that matter. But others oppoſing hotly, a concluſion was made by common conſent, that it ſhould be deferred until the next Seſſion

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Seſſion, that they might have time ſo to diſpoſe it, as that it might pleaſe all, leſt the publication of the things agreed on ſhould be croſſed in regard of this.

There was the ſame difficulty about the laſt of the Articles propoſed, in which a form of confeſſion of Faith was preſcribed, to be ſworn by thoſe who were deſigned to Biſhopricks, Abbys, and other Benefices with cure, before the examination; which did ſo cohere with that of the election, as that they could not be ſeparated. It was reſolved to defer this Article alſo. But becauſe it was deferred, and then reſolved not to be decreed, and afterwards in a tumultuous manner referred to the Pope, as ſhall be ſaid in due place, it is not aliene from our preſent purpoſe to recite here the ſubſtance of it. Which was, that not only it ſhould be required of them who were deſigned to Biſhopricks, and other cures of ſouls, but alſo an admonition and precept, in virtue of obedience, made to all Princes of what Majeſty or excellency ſoever, not to admit to any Dignity, Magiſtracy, or Office, any perſon, before they have made inquiſition of his Faith and Religion, and before he hath voluntarily confeſſed and ſworn the Articles contained in that form; which, to that end, it did command to be tranſlated into the vulgar tongue, and publickly read every Sunday, in all the Churches, that it might be underſtood by all. The Articles were. To receive the Scriptures of both Teſtaments, which the Church doth hold to be Canonical, as inſpired by God. To acknowledg the holy Catholick Apoſtolick Church, under one Biſhop of *Rome*, *Vicar* of Chriſt, holding conſtantly the Faith and Doctrine thereof, in regard, being directed by the Holy Ghoſt, it cannot err. To have in veneration the authority of Councils, as certain and undoubted, and not to doubt of the things once determined by them. To believe with a conſtant Faith, the Eccleſiaſtical Traditions, received from one to another. To follow the opinion and conſent of the Orthodox Fathers. To render abſolute obedience to the Conſtitutions and Preceps of the holy Mother the Church. To believe and confeſs the ſeven Sacraments, and their uſe, virtue, and fruit, as the Church hath taught until this time; but above all, That in the Sacrament of the Altar there is the true Body and Blood of *Chriſt*, really and ſubſtantially, under the Bread and Wine, by the virtue and power of the Word of God, uttered by the Prieſt, the only Miniſter ordained to this purpoſe, by the inſtitution of *Chriſt*; confeſſing alſo that he is offered in the Maſs to God, for the living and dead, for the remiſſion of ſins. And finally to receive and retain moſt firmly all things which have been until this time piouſly and religionſly obſerved by their Anceſtors, nor to be removed from them by any means, but to avoid all novity of Doctrine, as a moſt pernicious poyſon, flying all ſchiſm, deteſting all Hereſie, and promiſing to aſſiſt the Church readily and faithfully, againſt all Hereticks.

It being (as hath been ſaid) reſolved to omit this matter, they laboured to rectifie the matter of Reſidence, by taking away whatſoever might diſpleaſe thoſe who held it to be, *de jure Divino*, or thoſe who thought it to be, *de jure Poſitivo*. *Lorain* uſed all effectual diligence to make the parties agree, reſolving, that by all means, the Seſſion ſhould be held at the time appointed. For having received lately very loving Letters from the Pope, to invite him to come to *Rome*, and to ſpeak with him, and determining to give his Holineſs all ſatisfaction, his reſolution was to give him this, as an earneſt, that is, to end the

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the diſcords, and compoſe the differences between the Prelates; a thing much deſired by him. For his going to *Rome*, he ſpake ambiguouſly, meaning to expect an anſwer from *France*. Another matter, though of no great importance, did prolong the progreſs; that is, the handling of the Functions of *Orders*, of which a great long Article was propoſed, wherein all were expounded, from the Office of a Deacon, to the Office of a Door-keeper. This was compoſed in the beginning by the Deputies, when the Decrees were made, as neceſſary to oppoſe againſt the Proteſtants, who ſay thoſe *Orders* were not inſtituted by *Chriſt*, but by Eccleſiaſtical Introduction, becauſe there is uſe of them, as being Offices of good and orderly Government, but not Sacraments. This Article of the Decree was taken out of the *Pontifical*, which would be too long and ſuperfluous to repeat, in regard it may be read in the Book it ſelf. And the Decree did declare beſides, that thoſe Functions cannot be exerciſed but by him, who being promoted by the Biſhop hath received Grace from God, and a *Character* imprinted, to make him able to do it. But when it came to be eſtabliſhed, they were troubled to reſolve an old common objection, what need there could be of a *Character*, and ſpiritual grace, to exerciſe corporal Acts, as to read, light Candles, ring Bells, which may be as well or better done by thoſe who are not ordained; eſpecially ſince it hath been diſuſed, that men ordained ſhould exerciſe thoſe Functions. It was conſidered, that the Church was condemned hereby for omitting this uſe, ſo many years. And there was a difficulty how to reſtore the practice of them. For they muſt ordain, not children, but men of age to ſhut the Church doors, to ring the Bells, to diſpoſſeſs the poſſeſſed with Devils; which if they did, they did croſs another Decree, that the inferior Orders ſhould be a neceſſary degree to the greater. Neither did they ſee how they could reſtore the three Offices to the Deaconſhip, to minſter at the Altar, to Baptize, and to Preach; nor how the Office of the Exorciſts could be exerciſed, in regard of the uſe brought in, that the Prieſts only did diſpoſſeſs the poſſeſſed. *Antonius Auguſtinus* Biſhop of *Lerida*, would have had that whole matter omitted, ſaying that howſoever it was certain that theſe were *Orders* and Sacraments, yet it would be hard to perſwade that they were brought in, in the Primitive Church, when there were but few Chriſtians; that it was not for the Synods dignity, to deſcend to ſo many particulars; that it was ſufficient to ſay, there are four inferiour *Orders*, without deſcending to any further ſpecialty of Doctrine, or making any innovation in the practice. Oppoſition was made, that ſo the Doctrine of the Proteſtants, who call them idle Ceremonies, would not be condemned. But *Lorain* was Author of a middle courſe, that the Article ſhould be omitted, and in few words the execution referred to the Biſhop, who ſhould cauſe them to be obſerved, as much as was poſſible.

The functions of the inferior Orders.

Theſe things being ſetled, they reſolved to read all in the conſultation of thoſe principal Prelates, that all things might paſs in the general Congregation with abſolute quiet. Both parties were agreed, but only in the ſixth *Anathematiſm*, that is, that the *Hierarchy* is inſtituted by Divine Ordination. The Archbiſhop of *Otranto*, and other Popiſh Prelates ſuſpected, that by ſuch general words, ſignifying that all holy *Orders*, without making difference, are by ordination of *Chriſt*, it might be inferred, that Biſhops are equal to the Pope. But the Popiſh Divines and Canoniſts did perſwade them not to make difficulty, becauſe

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becauſe it was manifeſt, by the Canons precedent, and ſubſequent, that nothing was ſpoken of but *Order*, in which the Pope doth not exceed the Biſhops, and no mention made of juriſdiction. The ſame men ſuſpected alſo the *Proheme* of the Article of Reſidence; where it was ſaid, that thoſe who have Cure of Souls are bound, by Gods command, to know their Sheep, &c. inferring, that it was in ſome ſort declared, that Reſidence was by the Commandment of God. But the greater part of the Papalins were of the contrary opinion; ſaying, that all thoſe particulars which are ſaid to be commanded by God, to him who hath charge of Souls, may be obſerved in abſence, though not ſo well as in preſence; and that the words following do provide againſt all prejudice to his *Beatitude*. They ſaid moreover, that it having been compoſed by the Cardinal of *Mantua*, and often conſulted on, this doubt was never made, and that at *Rome* likewiſe they did not think it prejudicial. But *Otranto* and his Followers could not poſſibly be removed from their Opinion.

Some of the *Spaniards* were very earneſt for the declaration, that the Inſtitution of Biſhops, and Reſidence, are *de jure Divino*, but were forced to deſiſt, becauſe the *major* part of their Colleagues were diſſwaded by *Lorain*, who uſed terms of conſcience, ſaying it was not good, nor acceptable to *God*, when the good deſired could not be effected, to cauſe evil by a ſuperfluous and vain inſtance; that it was ſufficient to hinder the prejudice which ſome thought to have done the Truth, by eſtabliſhing contrary Opinions; and that if all could not be now obtained which was deſired, ſomething might be hoped for hereafter, by the aſſiſtance of God. But *Granata*, *Segovia*, and ſome others could not be removed by any means; and on the other ſide, it was not poſſible to make quiet the Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, or the Archbiſhop of *Otranto*, and their Adherents, who reſolved to croſs all that was propoſed, as not ſerving to remove the differences, but only to cover them; being aſſured, that, in the progreſs, they would return with greater force; and thinking it better, in caſe they muſt needs break, to do it before the Seſſion than after. Neither were the Legates able to perſwade them.

Notwithſtanding theſe two Contradictions, matters were eſtabliſhed with the other principal Prelates; and the Ninth of *July* the General Congregations began; in which all that belongeth to the Doctrine and Canons of *Order* being firſt read, the Cardinal of *Loraın* gave an example of ſpeaking briefly, and making no difficulty: and was imitated by others, until it came to *Granata* to ſpeak; who ſaid, it was an indignity, that the Fathers ſhould be thus derided, handling the foundation of the Inſtitution of Biſhops ſo long, and now omitting it, requiring the declarition, *de jure Divino*, and wondring why a point ſo true and infallible, ſhould not be declared. He added, that all Books which ſay the contrary ought to be condemned as heretical. *Segovia* adhered to him, and ſaid it was an expreſs truth, which could not be denyed, and that it ought to be declared to condemn the Hereticks who defend the contrary. *Guadice*, *Aliffe*, *Monte-Marano*, and ſome other *Spaniſh* Prelates followed: ſome of which ſaid, that their opinion was as true as the Precepts of the Decalogue. The Biſhop of *Conimbria* did complain publickly, that the truth was circumvented by craft; that is by ordaining titular Biſhops. For this did ſhew that juriſdiction was not eſſential to a Biſhoprick, nor received immediately from *Chriſt*. And he required a declaration to the contrary, repeating

The Spaniſh Prelates are conſtant in their opinion concerning the Inſtitution of Biſhops.

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ing the conceit often uſed, that a Church and faithful Subjects were as eſſential to a Biſhop, as a Wife to an Husband. The Decree of Reſidence being propoſed afterwards, *Lorain* did approve it with the ſame brevity; only he adviſed, that where the cauſes of abſence are expreſſed, amongſt which is utility of the Church, utility of the Common-wealth ſhould be added alſo, to remove all impediment which that Decree might bring to the admiſſion of Prelates to Offices and Publick Councils; wherein he had a general applauſe; *Madruccio*, who followed, ſpake in the ſame manner. The Patriarch of *Jeruſalem*, and the Archbiſhops *Verallo* and *Otranto* refuſed to deliver their opinions concerning that Decree: whereof the Archbiſhop *Braga*, when his turn was to ſpeak, complained, and turning to the Legates, told them, after a reprehending manner, that they ought to uſe their authority, and to force the Prelates to ſpeak their Opinions, and that it was a bad Example in Council, as if they were compelled to be ſilent, or had an ambition not to ſpeak but when they had followers. Whereupon others, who reſolved to imitate them, changed their purpoſe, and conſented to the Decree. The other Decrees were approved as they were read, but only that *Granata* made inſtance that Reſidence might be declared to be *de jure Divino* in plain words, becauſe (he ſaid) the ambiguous words of the Proheme were unworthy of the Council, which was aſſembled to take away, and not to increaſe the difficulties; that Books maintaining the contrary ſhould be prohibited, and that Cardinals ſhould expreſly and namely be comprehended in the Decree. This laſt concerning Cardinals, did ſeem to pleaſe many. Whereupon *Morone* anſwered, that conſideration ſhould be had of it, and that it ſhould be ſpoken of another time. They proceeded in the reſidue, and, in the end, the Patriarch and the two Archbiſhops conſented alſo to the Decree; which was the firſt thing to make them hope that the Seſſion could be celebrated at the time appointed, a thing thought impoſſible, but effected by the dexterity of the Cardinal of *Lorain*.

The days following the Fathers gave their Voices concerning the other Articles of Reformation. In which there was no difference of moment, but only, that, at the great inſtance of *Pompeius Zambeccari*, Biſhop of *Sulmona*, one particle was removed out of the Articles of the firſt *Tonſure*; in which it was ſaid, that, if the promoted ſhall commit any delict within ſix months after the Ordination, the Ordination ſhall be preſumed to be fraudulent, and the Ordained ſhall not enjoy the priviledge of the Court; and whereas it is decreed, That none ſhould be ordained before he was appropriated to ſome Church, the innovation of the Decrees made by the *Lateran* Council was added, that thoſe alſo who were ordained to the Title of the Patrimony, ſhould be applyed to the ſervice of ſome Church, in which they ſhould actually exerciſe themſelves, or otherwiſe ſhould not be partakers of the priviledges. This laſt was taken away alſo: and for the reſidue, with a ſmall variation of words, and thoſe not belonging to the ſubſtance, ſatisfaction was given to all the Fathers.

The *Spaniards*, who could not obtain in Congregation the declaration for the inſtitution of Biſhops as they deſired, did the thirteenth day at night, aſſemble in the Houſe of the Count of *Luna*, where *Granata* and his Adherents, perſwaded him to proteſt to the Legates, in caſe the determination of that point ſhould be omitted; but others diſſwaded it, as a thing which might raiſe a great Commotion. The whole Congregation was ſpent in diſputes, and ended in contention, deferring

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the reſolution until the next morning. When the Count, hearing again the diverſity of Opinions, and conſidering that it would much diſpleaſe the Pope, all the *Italian* Biſhops, and all the *Frenchmen*, who had reformed their Opinions, prayed *Granata* to think as others did, in regard it was not a matter of conſcience, becauſe the queſtion was not in what manner it ſhould be refined, but whether it ſhould be refined, or omitted. *Granata* not changing, but ſaying that he thought in his conſcience the determination was neceſſary, he deſired him that he would ſpeak his opinion quietly, and freely, and content himſelf if it were not embraced by others, and abſtain from contentions; which both he and the others promiſed to do. 1563. *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip* II.

The next day, which was the next before the Seſſion, a General Congregation was held, in which *Morone* did propoſe; whether the Fathers were pleaſed that in the Articles of Reſidence, and of the age of thoſe who are to be Ordained, mention ſhould be made of Cardinals; and particularly of the age. Few did conſent, and moſt of them did diſcourſe that there is no cauſe to make any Cardinals under age, except Princes, in whom age is not conſiderable, becauſe they do honour the Clergy, of what age ſoever they be; and that it was to no purpoſe to make a Decree where there was no abuſe. But in the particular of the Reſidence, the greater part was of opinion they ſhould be named. But ſome contradicted, becauſe it would be an approbation that Cardinals might have Biſhopricks, and, by conſequence, *Commendaes*; which was not fit to do, but to leave them to their conſcience, which muſt needs tell them that they are not exempt from the general Precept, rather than by naming them, to approve two abuſes at once, plurality of Benefices, and *Commendaes*. Afterwards ſome other particulars of ſmall weight being handled and concluded, all which was to be publiſhed in Seſſion, was read again, the Prelates giving their opinions only with the word, *Placet*. Some *Spaniards* and *Italians*, in number twenty eight, anſwered negatively, and the others, being 192. did conſent; and in the end *Morone* concluded, that the Seſſion ſhould be held. He thanked the Fathers for accepting the Decrees, and exhorted the others to join with them, and prayed the Count of *Luna* to perſwade his Prelates, that, ſeeing the univerſal concourſe of all the Council in one opinion, they would not diſſent. Whereof ſpeaking with him more particularly, after the Congregation, he promiſed, that, whenſoever the Popes Authority ſhould be declared, according to the form of the Council of *Florence*, the inſtitution of Biſhops ſhould be declared alſo to be *de jure Divino*. The *Spaniſh* Prelates being aſſembled that day at night, in the Houſe of the Count, after many diſcourſes, grounding themſelves upon the Cardinals promiſe, were content to accept all things.

The fifteenth of *July* being come, they went all to Church early in the morning with the uſual order; where the accuſtomed Ceremonies were uſed. The Biſhop of *Paris* ſang Maſs, and the Biſhop of *Aliffe* preached, and did offend the *Frenchmen*, by naming the King of *Spain* before their King; as alſo the *Polonians*, by naming *Portugal* before *Polonia*; and the *Venetians*, by mentioning the Duke of *Savoy* before their *Republick*. He ſeemed to ſay alſo, that the celebration of the Council, was a continuation with the Precedent of *Paul* and *Julius*; wherein the Imperialiſts and *Frenchmen* had ill ſatisfaction. He ſpake alſo of the Faith and Manners of the Hereticks and Catholicks; and ſaid, that as the Faith of the Catholicks was better, ſo the Hereticks did exceed them in good life; which did give much diſtaſt, eſpecially to thoſe who remembred

The Seſſion.

The Preacher offendeth many Ambaſſadors.

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membred the ſaying of our Saviour, and of Saint *James*, that Faith is not ſhewed but by Works. At that inſtant nothing was ſaid, for fear of troubling the Ceremonies. But the next day, the *French* Ambaſſadors, the *Polonian* and the *Venetians*, deſired the Legates that the Sermon might not be Printed, nor put amongſt the acts of the Council. The Maſs, and the other Prayers being ended, the Briefs of the Legation of the Cardinals *Morone* and *Navaggero* were read, as alſo the *Mandates* of the King of *Polonia*, and of the Duke of *Savoy*, the letter of the Queen of *Scotland*, and the *Mandate* of the Catholick King. Afterwards the Decrees of the Doctrine of Faith were read; in which there was no contradiction, but only that the major part of the *Spaniards* ſaid, they did conſent upon condition, that the Lords the Legates, ſhould perform the promiſe made to the Ambaſſador of their King.

The Decree of Faith.

The Decree of Faith did contain in ſubſtance, 1. The Sacrifice and the Prieſthood, are united in each Law; therefore there being a viſible Sacrifice in the new Teſtament, that is the *Euchariſt*, it muſt be confeſſed neceſſarily, that there is a viſible and external Prieſthood, in which power is given, by Divine Inſtitution, to conſecrate, offer, and miniſter the *Euchariſt*, and to remit and retain ſins. 2. Which Prieſthood being Divine, muſt have many *Orders* of Miniſters to ſerve in it, which muſt aſcend from lower to higher Miniſteries, becauſe the Scripture maketh mention of the name of Deacons, and from the beginning of the Church the Miniſteries of the Subdeacons, *Accolythites*, *Exorciſts*, *Readers*, and *Oſtiaries* were uſed, placing the Subdeaconſhip amongſt the greater *Orders*. 3. And becauſe grace is conferred in the Holy Ordination, *Order* is truly and properly one of the ſeven Sacraments of the Church. 4. In which a *Character* being imprinted, which cannot be blotted out, the Synod doth condemn thoſe who ſay that Prieſts have *ſacerdotal* Power for a time, ſo that they may return to the world, and not exerciſe the Miniſtry of the Word of God. And doth condemn thoſe who ſay all Chriſtians are Prieſts, or have equal Spiritual power; which is nothing but to confound the Eccleſiaſtical *Hierarchy*, which is an order, as an Army of Souldiers. To which *Hierarchical* order do belong eſpecially Biſhops, who are ſuperior to Prieſts, to whom it appertaineth to adminiſter the Sacrament of *Confirmation*, to Ordain Miniſters, and to perform other Functions. The Synod doth teach alſo, that, in the Ordinations of Biſhops, Prieſts, and other Degrees, the conſent, vocation, or authority of the Magiſtrate, or of any other Secular Power is not neceſſary; and that thoſe, who, called only, or inſtituted by the people, Secular Power, or Magiſtrate, or by their own temerity, do aſcend to Eccleſiaſtical Miniſteries, are not Miniſters, but Thieves.

The *Anathematiſms.*

This Doctrine was attended with eight *Anathematiſms*. 1. Againſt him that ſhall ſay, that there is no viſible Prieſthood in the New Teſtament, nor any power to conſecrate and offer, and remit ſins, but only an Office, or naked Miniſtry to preach the Goſpel, and that thoſe who do not preach are not Prieſts. 2. Or that, beſides Prieſthood, there are not greater *Orders*, and leſs, which are degrees to aſcend to Prieſthood. 3. Or that holy Ordination is not a Sacrament, but an Humane Invention, or only a certain Rite, to elect miniſters of the Word of God, and of the Sacraments. 4. Or that the Holy Ghoſt is not given by the Holy Ordination, nor any *Character* imprinted, or that a Prieſt may return to be a Laick. 5. Or that the Holy Unction, or other Ceremonies which the Church uſeth, are not requiſite, but may be omitted

omitted, or are pernicious. 6. Or that there is not an *Hierarchy* inſtituted in the Catholick Church, by Divine Ordination, conſiſting of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Miniſters. 7. Or that Biſhops are not ſuperior to Prieſts, or have not power to confirm and ordain, or that Prieſts alſo have the ſame power, or that *Orders* conferred without the conſent or vocation of the people, or Secular power, are void, or that they may be lawful Miniſters of the Word of God and Sacraments, who are not lawfully ordained by the Eccleſiaſtical Power. 8. Or that Biſhops aſſumed by authority of the Pope, are not lawful and true, but that it is an human invention.

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Afterwards the Decree of Reformation was read, which contained Eighteen Heads. The firſt concerning the matter of Reſidence, ſo much diſputed on, in which it was ſaid, that every one that hath Cure of Souls, is bound, by the Commandment of God, to know his Sheep, to offer Sacrifices for them, to feed them with Preaching, Sacraments, and good Examples, and to attend other Paſtoral Charges; which things, becauſe they cannot be performed by him who doth not aſſiſt and watch over the Flock, the Synod doth admoniſh them to feed and govern with judgment and truth. But that none by a bad interpretation of the Conſtitutions, made under *Paul* the Third in this matter, may think the abſence of five Months lawful, it doth declare, that whoſoever hath Biſhopricks, in what title ſoever, though Cardinals, are bound to reſide perſonally, nor may be abſent, but when Chriſtian Charity, urgent neceſſity, due obedience, or utility of Church or Common-wealth doth require; as alſo that ſuch cauſes of abſence muſt be approved for lawful by the Pope or Metropolitan, except they be notorious or ſudden, in which caſe the Provincial Councils muſt take knowledg, and judg of the Licenſes granted, that there may be no abuſe therein, the Prelates providing that the people may not be damnified in their abſence. And becauſe a ſhort abſence deſerveth not this name, though without any the cauſes aforeſaid, it doth declare, that this ſhall not exceed the ſpace of two Months, or three at the moſt, whether it be continuate or at divers times, ſo that there be equity of Reaſon in it, and without the damage of the Flock; which muſt be referred to the Conſciences of the Prelates; admoniſhing every one not to be abſent on *Sundays* in *Advent*, *Lent*, Feaſt of the *Nativity*, *Reſurrection*, *Pentecoſt*, or *Corpus Chriſti*. Which Decree, he that ſhall violate, beſides the Penalties impoſed upon *Non-reſidents* under *Paul* the Third, and mortal ſin, may not, with a good conſcience enjoy the Fruits for that proportion of time, decreeing the ſame concerning all thoſe that have charge of Souls, who being abſent with leave of the Biſhop, muſt ſubſtitute a ſufficient Vicar, approved by the Biſhop, allowing a convenient ſtipend; and doth ordain that this Decree, together with the other under *Paul* the Third, ſhall be publiſhed in the Provincial and Dioceſan Councils.

The Decree of Reformation.

The ſecond Article of the Decree concerning *Order*, was; That whoſoever doth hold a Biſhoprick, in what title ſoever, though a Cardinal, not receiving conſecration within three Months, ſhall loſe the Fruits, and deferring three Months more, ſhall loſe the Benefice, and that the conſecration, if it be not in the Court of *Rome*, ſhall be celebrated in the proper Church, or in the Province at the leaſt, if there be opportunity. The third, That Biſhops ſhall celebrate the Ordinations in their own perſon, and, in caſe they be ſick, ſhall not ſend their ſubjects to be ordained by other Biſhops, before they be examined

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and approved by themſelves. The fourth, That the firſt *Tonſure* ſhall not be given but to him that is confirmed, and hath learned the principles of Faith, to read and write, and hath choſen a Clerical life to ſerve God, not to avoid the ſecular judgment. The fifth, He that is to be promoted to the inferior *Orders*, ſhall have teſtimony from the Pariſh Prieſt and Schoolmaſter, and charge ſhall be given by the Biſhop, that his name may be propoſed publickly in Church, and inquiſition made of his Birth, Age, Manners, and Life. The ſixth, That none ſhall have an Eccleſiaſtical Benefice before the age of fourteen years, nor enjoy the exemption of the Tribunal, if he have not an Eccleſiaſtical Benefice, or wearing the Habit and *Tonſure*, doth not ſerve in ſome Church, by Commiſſion from the Biſhop, or dwell in a Seminary, or School, or Univerſity, with Licence of the Biſhop. And for married Clerks, the conſtitution of *Boniface* the Eighth ſhall be obſerved, with condition likewiſe that they ſhall ſerve in the Church, in habit and *Tonſure*, by Deputation of the Biſhop. The ſeventh, That when an Ordination is to be made, all ſhall be called to the City, the *Wedneſday* before, and diligent inquiſition and examination of them made by the Biſhop, with the aſſiſtance of whom he pleaſeth. The Eighth, Ordinations ſhall not be celebrated but in times appointed by the Law, in the Cathedral Church, in preſence of the Canons: and if occaſion be to make it in another place of the Dioceſs, it ſhall be in the moſt worthy Church, in preſence of the Clergy. Every one ſhall be ordained by his own Biſhop, or if any be ordained by another, he ſhall have Letters teſtimonial of his own. The ninth, A Biſhop ſhall not ordain one of his Family that is not his ſubject, if he have not dwelt with him three years, and, in that caſe, ſhall preſently confer a Benefice upon him. The tenth, No Abbat, or other Prelate, ſhall confer the firſt *Tonſure*, or the minor *Orders*, but unto Regulars, their ſubjects; nor theſe or other Prelates, Colledges, or Chapters, ſhall grant dimiſſory Letters to Secular Clerks to receive *Orders*. The eleventh, That the minor *Orders* ſhall be conferred upon him that underſtandeth the Latin Tongue, and with interpoſition of time between one *Order* and another; and theſe being degrees unto others, none ſhall be ordained if there be not hope that he may be worthy of Holy Orders; and from the laſt of the minor *Orders* until the Subdeaconſhip, there ſhall be the interpoſition of a year, if the Biſhop ſhall not judg otherwiſe for the good of the Church. The twelfth, None ſhall be ordained *Subdeacon*, before the age of two and twenty years; *Deacon*, before three and twenty; *Prieſt*, before ſix and twenty. Neither ſhall the Regulars have any exemption herein. The thirteenth, *Subdeacons* and *Deacons* ſhall be firſt proved in the minor *Orders*, ſhall have hope to live continently, ſhall ſerve the Church to which they are aſcribed, and ſhall think it very convenient to receive the Communion on *Sundays*, and ſolemn Feaſts, when they ſerve at the Altar. *Subdeacons* ſhall not paſs to a higher degree, until they be exerciſed one year in their own; but two holy Degrees ſhall not be given in one day, by virtue of any priviledg whatſoever. The fourteenth, None ſhall be ordained a Prieſt but a Deacon, which hath been exerciſed in that Miniſtry, a whole year at the leaſt, and found ſufficient to teach the People, and adminiſter the Sacraments: and the Biſhop ſhall take care that they celebrate the Maſs every *Sunday*, and Holy-day, and in caſe they have Cure of ſouls, they ſhall ſatisfie their charge; and if any be ordained to the ſuperior *Orders*, before the inferior, the Biſhop may diſpenſe, if there be a lawful cauſe. The fifteenth,

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Howſoever Prieſts receive power, in their ordination to abſolve from ſins, yet none ſhall hear Confeſſions, who have not a Parochial Benefice, or is not approved by the Biſhop. The ſixteenth, None ſhall be ordained before he be aſcribed to ſome particular Church, or pious place, to exerciſe the Miniſtry of that *Order*; and if he abandon the place without conſent of the Biſhop, the Miniſtry ſhall be prohibited unto him; and no ſtrange Clerk ſhall be admitted to the exerciſe of the Miniſtry without the Letters of his Ordinary. The ſeventeenth, To bring again into uſe the Functions of the *Orders* from a Deacon to an Oſtiary, which being uſed from the time of the Apoſtles, have been intermitted in many places, that they may not be derided by the Hereticks, as idle, theſe Miniſteries ſhall not be exerciſed, but by thoſe who have received the *Orders*, appertaining, and the Prelates ſhall reſtore thoſe Functions, and in caſe they have not continent Clerks for exerciſe of the minor *Orders*, they may take married Men, ſo that they have not been twice married, and be in other reſpects apt for that exerciſe.

The laſt Article was for the Inſtitution of *Seminaries*; in which it was conſtituted, that every Epiſcopal Church ſhould have a certain number of Boys, brought up in a Colledg near the Church, or in another convenient place, the Boys ſhall be twelve years old at the leſt, legitimate, and diſtributed into forms, by the Biſhop, according to their number, age, and progreſs in Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline. They ſhall wear the Habit, and *Tonſure*, learn Grammar, Muſick, Eccleſiaſtical Computation, the Holy Scripture, to read the Homilies of the Fathers, know the Rites and Ceremonies of the Sacrament, and eſpecially that which belongeth to hearing Confeſſions. And to defray the charge thereof, where there is any revenue deputed for education of children, it ſhall be applied to this *Seminary*, and to ſupply that which remaineth, the Biſhop, with four of the Clergy, ſhall detract a portion from all the Benefices of the Dioceſs, and apply ſimple Benefices alſo to this uſe, and compel thoſe who have School-houſes, or other charge to read or teach in the Schools of the *Seminary*, by themſelves, or by ſufficient Subſtitutes; and School-maſters places ſhall not be given hereafter, but unto Doctors or Maſters in Divinity, or in the Canon Law. And if, in any Province, the Churches be ſo poor, that a *Seminary* cannot be erected in them, one, or more, ſhall be appointed in the Province; and in the Churches of the great Dioceſs the Biſhop ſhall erect one, or more if he think fit, beſides that of the City, which notwithſtanding ſhall depend on that of the City.

In the end, the Decree, intimating the next Seſſion for the ſixteenth of *September*, was read, expreſſing that then the Sacrament of Matrimony was to be handled, and other things pertaining to the Doctrine of Faith, as alſo the Proviſions of Biſhopricks, Dignities, and other Benefices, and divers other Articles of Reformation. The Seſſion continued from nine until ſix a Clock, with great content of the Legates and Popiſh Prelates, that matters did paſs ſo quietly, and with ſuch a general conſent; and they commended the Cardinal of *Lorain* above all, confeſſing that he had been the moſt principal cauſe of this benefit.

The Cenſure of the acts of this Seſſion.

No act of this Council was ſeen with more deſire than this of this Seſſion, every one being curious to know what that was which held in contention ſo many Prelates in *Trent*, and all the Courts of Chriſtian Princes in buſineſs ten months together. But it proved to be according

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according to the Proverb, *The travel of Mountains, and the nativity of a Mouſe.* No man could find how it could deſerve not only ſo grea and long pains of ſo many great Perſons, but even the leaſt employment at all. And thoſe who underſtood Theology, did deſire that it ſhould be once declared, what the Council did underſtand by the power of retaining ſins, which was made one part of the Sacerdotal power; because they had declared the ſenſe of the other, which was to remit ſins. And others wondred at the declaration, that the interior *Orders* are only Degrees unto the ſuperior, and all unto Prieſthood, in regard it doth appear, in the ancient Eccleſiaſtical ſtory, that thoſe who were ordained to any Miniſtry or Charge, were, for the moſt part, perpetually entertained in the ſame; and the aſcending to an higher degree happened very ſeldom, and was uſed only in caſe of neceſſity, or great utility. None of the ſeven Deacons inſtituted by the Apoſtles, aſcended any higher; and in the ancient Church of *Rome* it ſelf it doth not appear, that the Deacons, whoſe Office was to hear the Confeſſions of Martyrs, did paſs to the Title of Prieſthood. The Ordination of Saint *Ambroſe* to be a Biſhop, of Saint *Hierom*, Saint *Auſtin*, and Saint *Paulinus*, to be Prieſts, and of Saint *Gregory* the Great to be a Deacon is deſcribed, without mention of any paſſage by other degrees. They did not blame the uſe begun in later times, but they marvelled they did alledge it as a thing always uſed, whereas the contrary was manifeſt.

The Decree, that the Miniſteries of the *Orders* from a *Deacon* to an *Oſtiary* ſhould not be exerciſed, but by perſons promoted to thoſe proper *Orders*, made a fair ſhew; but it ſeemed a thing hard to be obſerved that, in no Church, none might ring the Bells, or open and ſhut the Doors, but the ordinary *Oſtiaries*, nor light the Lamps, and Candles, but the *Accolites*, who were to exerciſe thoſe manual Functions, that they might aſcend to Prieſthood. And it ſeemed ſome contradiction, to have determined abſolutely, that thoſe Miniſteries ſhould not be exerciſed but by perſons ordained, and afterward commanded the Prelates to reſtore them, as much as conveniently they could. For obſerving the abſolute Decree, it is very neceſſary, that where perſons ordained cannot be had for exerciſe of thoſe Functions, they muſt not be exerciſed at all: and if they may be exerciſed without *Orders*, in places where perſons ordained cannot be found, the abſolute definition might have better been omitted. In the Decree of the ordination of Prieſts, it was thought very convenient to preſcribe that condition, that they ſhould be able to teach the people; but this did not ſeem very coherent with that other Doctrine and Uſe, that Cure of Souls is not eſſential to Prieſthood, ſo that to be able to teach the People is not neceſſary to thoſe Prieſts who mean never to take that Cure upon them. And to make it a neceſſary condition in the minor Orders, to underſtand the Latin tongue, was to ſhew that this was not a General Council of all Chriſtian Nations, in regard this Decree could not be univerſal, and bind the Nations of *Africa*, *Aſia*, and of a great part of *Europe*, where the Latine tongue never had place.

The ſixth *Anathematiſm* was much noted in *Germany*; in which an Article of Faith was made of *Hierarchy*; which word and ſignification thereof is aliene, not to ſay contrary to the Holy Scriptures; and though it was ſomewhat anciently invented, yet the Author is not known; and in caſe he were, yet he is an Hyperbolical Writer, not imitated in the uſe of that Word, nor of others of his invention, by any of the Ancients: and following the ſtile of *Chriſt* our *Lord*, and of the holy *Apoſtles*,

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Apoſtles, and Primitive Church, it ought to be named not *Hierarchy*, but *Hierodiaconia*, or *Hierodoulia*. And *Peter Paul Vergerius* in *Valtelina* did make this and other Objections againſt the Doctrine of the Council, the ſubject of his Sermons, relating the contentions between the Biſhops, and detracting as much as he could, not only by words, but by Letters alſo to the other Proteſtant and Evangelical Miniſters; which they read in their Churches to the People. And howſoever the Biſhop of *Como*, by order from the Pope, and the Cardinal *Morone*, uſed all means, and in a very extraordinary manner alſo, to cauſe him to depart out of that Country; yet they were not able to effect it.

Vergerius maketh Objections againſt the Council.

Concerning the Decree of Reſidence, of which every one diſcourſed, and expected ſome good reſolution, becauſe there was ſo much ſpoken and written of it, that nothing ſeemed to be more in voice than that, men marvelled that in the end that was pronounced for a deciſion of the Controverſie, which was plain to every one, that is, that not to reſide was a ſin, except there were a lawful cauſe: as if it were not evident unto all by the Law of Nature, that whoſoever doth abſent himſelf from his charge, of what kind ſoever it be, without a lawful cauſe, doth ſin.

The ſucceſs of this Seſſion took away the intelligence, held until then between *Lorain* and the *Spaniards*. For theſe complained that they were abandoned in the matter of the Inſtitution of Biſhops, and of Reſidence, in which he had very often told them that he was of their opinion, and promiſed to labour effectually to cauſe that Doctrine to be decreed without making any condition. They added that there was no hope he would be conſtant in any other promiſe, and that the Pope by making him believe he ſhould be Legate of *France*, had won him. And other things they ſaid, which were little for his honour. On the other ſide he juſtified himſelf, ſaying, that the offer was made unto him to make his Friends miſtruſt him, and that his anſwer was, that he would not hearken unto it, before a Reformation were made in Council. Notwithſtanding it was not believed, that he would perſevere in the ſame opinion, no not ſo much as in this matter.

The *Spaniſh* Prelates complain of the Cardinal of *Lorain*.

The Legates, deſirous to finiſh the Council, did, ſo ſoon as the Seſſion was done, uſe means to facilitate the reſidue; which, for matter of Faith, was Indulgences, Invocation of Saints, and Purgatory. And to this end they elected ten Divines, two Generals of Fryars, and two for every Prince, that is for the *Pope*, *France*, (of which there were but a few remaining) *Spain* and *Portugal*; charging them to conſider how the Proteſtants opinion in this matter might briefly be confuted. And themſelves being reſolved, meant to propoſe their own opinions in. General Congregation, by which the Canons might be compoſed, at the ſame time when Matrimony ſhould be handled, that they might quickly diſpatch thoſe matters, without hearing the diſputes of the Divines, as formerly they had done.

The Reformation of Princes.

In matter of *Reformation* they treated with the Cardinal of *Lorain*, the Emperors and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, to be content that the Reformation of Princes might be propoſed alſo; who ſaying it was fit that abuſes ſhould be removed, whereſoever they were, the Articles were collected, and hope conceiv'd that all that remained might be decided in one Seſſion only. But the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, for many reſpects of his King, did not like that haſte, and therefore did croſs it, with many difficulties. Firſt he propoſed, that it was neceſſary, before the Council ended, to uſe means to bring the Proteſtants thither, alledging that it would be labour in vain,

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if the Decrees were not accepted by them, and that there was no hope they would accept them, if they were not preſent in Council. The Legates anſwered that the Pope had done for his part whatſoever was fit, wrote Letters, and ſent expreſs *Nuncii* to them all, ſo that nothing could be done to make their contumacy more manifeſt. The Count anſwered, That he did not deſire it ſhould be done in the name of his Holineſs, becauſe that would not only not cauſe them to come, but make them more averſe, but in the name of the Council, with convenient promiſes, and interceſſion of the Emperor. Whereunto the Legates replying, that they would conſider on it, they gave an account thereof to the Pope, that he might uſe means in *Spain* to divert ſuch diſcourſes, and to perſwade the ending of the Council. The Count deſired alſo that the Divines might ſpeak publickly, according to the uſe, concerning the particulars of *Indulgences*, and of the other matters, perſwading the Prelates, that the order might not be changed, nor the reputation of the Council diminiſhed, by omitting the examination of thoſe things, which had more need of it than any other.

The Pope was much troubled with theſe advices, and the rather, becauſe *Don Lewis d' Avila*, and *Vargas*, the Ambaſſador Reſident with him, had given their words, that the King would be content that the Council ſhould end. And calling them unto him, he made a great complaint of the Counts Propoſition. For the Proteſtants, he ſaid that none did more deſire to reduce them to the Church than he; that the actions of his Predeceſſors for forty years, and his own, by ſending *Nuncii* expreſly to them all, not regarding the indignity to which he did ſubject himſelf and the Apoſtolick See, was a manifeſt argument thereof; that he had uſed the Emperors mediation, and the perſwaſion of all Catholick Princes; that he is aſſured that the hardneſs of their heart is voluntary, reſolute, and obſtinate, and therefore that the reducing of them was no more to be thought of, it being impoſſible, but the preſervation of the obedient; that ſo long as there was any hope to regain them, the time did require that all means ſhould be uſed to pleaſe them, but that being loſt, it was neceſſary to keep the good, to make the diviſion ſtrong, and the parties irreconcileable; that the Affairs of their King did require the ſame, as he would perceive too late, in caſe he ſhould temporize in *Flanders*, and uſe terms of mediocrity; that the King ſhould remember what good effects his ſevere executions, at his entrance into *Spain*, had produced, whereas if he had proceeded remiſly, and deſired to gain the favour of the Proteſtants, he would have felt thoſe accidents which are ſeen in *France*. He complained alſo that the Count would preſcribe a manner of handling matters of Theology, and determine when they ſhould be well digeſted. And laſt of all he told them of their promiſe, that the King was content that the Council ſhould end, which the Count did labour to hinder. The Ambaſſadors having excuſed the Count, and confeſſed what they had ſaid concerning the Kings pleaſure for the end of the Council, the Pope was ſatisfied, ſo that they would be content he ſhould ſay ſo much, where he thought it neceſſary. Whereunto they conſenting, he gave order to his *Nuncio* in *Spain* to complain to the King, and to tell him, that he could not penetrate the cauſe, why the Ambaſſadors of his Majeſty in *Rome* and *Trent*, ſhould ſpeak diverſly, and which imported more, himſelf doing what he could to gratifie him, for what cauſe he ſhould be croſſed by his Miniſters, in regard, the Council continuing, he was hindered from doing his Majeſty many favours and graces, that if for his affairs

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in *Flanders*, or for the interests of the Emperor in *Germany*, he did desire any thing of the Council, he might know by experience how hard it was to effect it in *Trent*; that they might promise themselves any thing from him, and that he was resolute, to soon as the Council was ended, to send into all Provinces to provide for the particular necessity of every one, whereas in *Trent* general provisions only can be made, which have infinite difficulties, to be fitted to every place.

But the perswasions of the Count in *Trent* made a division of the Prelates, some desiring that those matters might be exactly disputed; and the rather, because very little or nothing was spoken of them by the Schoolmen; and whereas for other things handled in the Synod there were decisions either of other Councils, or of Popes, or an uniform consent of Doctors, these were wholly obscure, and, in case they were not cleared, it would be said that the Council had failed in the most necessary things. Others said, that if there were so many difficulties, and contentions in the thing decided already, how much more might they be feared, that in these which are full of obscurity, where there is no sufficient light shewed by the Doctors, they might go *in infinitum*, because they had a large field, in regard of many abuses which were crept into them for matter of gain, and of the difficulty which would arise about the interpretation of the Bulls, especially of the words used in some, of penalty, and guilt; as also the manner of taking Indulgences for the dead. Therefore in these, and the adoration of Saints the use only might be handled, and the residue omitted, and, for *Purgatory*, the opinion of the Hereticks condemned only; otherwise there would be no end of the Council, nor any resolution of this difficulty. While these opinions went about, concerning these matters reserved for the last, the Legates resolved to dispatch that of Matrimony, and to abbreviate the time of the Session, and to hold it the 19. of *August* at the latest. This pleased the Cardinal of *Lorain* very much; who having received answer out of *France*, that he should give the Pope satisfaction in going to *Rome*, did resolve so to do in the end of that month, so that the Session was celebrated. And he was forced to joyn with the Pope and his adherents; not only in regard of the order received out of *France*, but because the *Imperialists* and *Spaniards* did mistrust him for the Success of the last Session.

The Card. of *Lorain* resolveth to go to *Rome*.

The 22. of *July* the *Anathematisines* were given forth, not much differing from the manner in which they were established afterwards. The greatest variety was, that until then they had not sufficiently considered of the fifth, condemning divorces, allowed in the *Code* of *Justinian*: which *Anathematisine* was added at the instance of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, to oppose the opinion of the Calvinists. And it was easily received, because it was conformable to the School Doctrine, and the Popes Decrees. But in that of divorce for adultery, the composers of the Canons did forbear to use the word *Anathema*, fearing to condemn the opinion which was of Saint *Amlroise*, and of many Fathers of the *Greek* Church. Notwithstanding the others thinking that it was an Article of faith, and almost all the Fathers consenting thereunto, the Canon was reformed, and the *Anathema* added, condemning those that say, that the bond is dissolved by adultery, and that either of the parties may contract another Matrimony whilest the other liveth; which Canon received afterwards another mutation, as shall be said in due place.

In the Congregations following, the things proposed were easily dispatched;

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diſpatched; but almoſt all the Prelates left thoſe, and ſpake of clandeſtine marriages, though neither the time, nor the place did comport it, and the difference of opinions therein began to be diſcovered. In the Congregation of the four and twentieth day in the morning, the Biſhop of *Cortona*, Ambaſſador of the Duke of *Florence*, was received; who made a ſhort ſpeech of the devotion of his Prince towards the Apoſtolick *See*, and favour to the Synod: and thanks were given him. In the Congregation that night, the *French* Ambaſſadors cauſed a requeſt to be read, in the name of their King, that Children which are in the power of their Parents, might not, without their conſent, either marry or betroth themſelves; or if they did, that it ſhould be in the power of the Parents to make void, or ratify the contract, as they pleaſed. And the ſame day the Fathers were admoniſhed to put up in writing to the Deputies the abuſes obſerved by them, in the matter of Matrimony.

The Ambaſſador of *Florence* is received in congregation.

Two new Articles concerning married Prieſts and ſecret marriages.

The voices being all given concerning the *Anathematiſms*, two Articles were propoſed; the promotion of married perſons to holy *Orders*, and the making void of clandeſtine marriages. For the former, the Fathers did uniformly, and without difficulty, agree on the negative; and the Archbiſhop of *Prague* and the Biſhop of *Five Churches*, who perſwaded them to think better on it, were ſcarcely heard. But the other of clandeſtine marriages, did not paſs ſo. For one hundred thirty and ſix did approve the making it void, fifty ſeven did contradict, and ten would not declare themſelves. The Decree was compoſed according to the opinion of the *Major* part, that howſoever clandeſtine marriages were good, ſo long as the Church did not make them void (and therefore the Synod doth anathematiſe him that thinketh the contrary) yet the Church hath always deteſted them. And now ſeeing the inconveniences, the Synod doth determine, that all perſons which hereafter ſhall either marry or betroth themſelves, without the preſence of three witneſſes at the leaſt, ſhall be unable to contract, and whatſoever they do therein ſhall be void. And another Decree followed, commanding the *Banes*, but concluding, that if there were a neceſſity to omit them, the marriage might be made, ſo that it were in preſence of the Pariſh Prieſt, and of five witneſſes at the leaſt, publiſhing the *Banes* afterwards, upon pain of excommunication, to him that ſhould contract otherwiſe. But that great number which would make void the ſecret marriages, was divided into two parts, ſome following the opinion of thoſe Divines who grant power to the Church to make the perſons uncapable, and ſome, thoſe who ſay it may make the contract void. And the Legates themſelves did differ. *Morone* was content with any reſolution, ſo that they might diſpatch. *Varmienſe* thought that the Church had no power herein, and that all marriages, celebrated in what manner ſoever, with conſent of the perſons contracting, are good. *Simoneta* ſaid, that the diſtinction of the contract of Matrimony from Matrimony it ſelf, and the giving of power to the Church over the one, and not over the other, ſeemed to him ſophiſtical, and chimerical, and was much inclined not to make any innovation.

Concerning the abuſes of Matrimony, many Prelates conſidered that the cauſes to hinder marriages, and to make them void, though they were contracted, were ſo many, and happened ſo often, that there were but few not ſubject to ſome of thoſe defects; and (which was more) perſons did contract ignorantly; either not knowing the prohibition, or the fact, or by forgetfulneſs, in whom, after they knew the truth, many pertubotious and ſcruples did ariſe, as alſo ſuits and contentions

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tions about the legitimation of the iſſue, and the dowries. The impediment of kinred, contracted in Baptiſm, was particularly alledged for a very great abuſe, becauſe in ſome places twenty or thirty men were invited for God-fathers, and as many women for God-mothers, between all which, by Eccleſiaſtical conſtitution, a ſpiritual kinred doth ariſe, who oftentimes, not knowing one another, do join in marriage. Many thought fit to take away this impediment; not becauſe it was not well inſtituted at the firſt, but for that, the cauſe of the inſtitution being ceaſed, the effect ought to ceaſe alſo. They conſidered that the Goſſips were then ſureties to the Church, for the faith of the Children Baptized, and therefore were bound to Inſtruct and Catechiſe them according to their capacity, by which means they converſed often, and familiarly with them and their parents, as alſo the Goſſips amongſt themſelves, by which means a certain relation did ariſe between them, which was a cauſe to be reverenced and ſufficient to prohibit marriage, as all other cauſes to which reverence ought to be born. But afterwards, when uſe had aboliſhed whatſoever was real herein, and the God-father did ſeldom ſee his God-child, and had no care at all of his education, the cauſe of reverence ceaſing, the relation ought not to have place.

Likewiſe the impediment of Affinity by fornication, nullifying marriages until the fourth degree, it being a matter of ſecreſie, did enſnare many, who underſtanding the truth after the marriage, were filled with perturbations. For kinred of Conſanguinity, and Affinity, it was ſaid, that the ſame account being now not made of it, as formerly was, and amongſt great perſonages, ſcarce memory kept of the fourth degree, that might be omitted alſo. Wherein there was much diſputation. Some thought, that as ſeven degrees of kinred did hinder marriage for many hundred years; and *Innocentius* the third took away three of them at once, reſtraining the impediment unto the fourth, alledging very common reaſons, that there are four Elements, four humours of mans body; ſo, it appearing now that four cannot be obſerved without many inconveniences, the impediments may be more juſtly reſtrained to the third. Others contradicted, and ſaid, that ſo they might hereafter proceed further, and at the laſt come to that of *Leviticus*; which would cheriſh the opinion of the *Lutherans*; and therefore did conclude, that it was dangerous to innovate. Which opinion, after much examination, did prevail. Some thought that the impediment of fornication, being ſecret, ought wholly to be taken away: But they prevailed not, becauſe there appeared an inconvenience, in regard that many things which firſt are ſecret, are publiſhed afterwards.

Many were of opinion, that no novity ſhould be made in theſe prohibitions, but power granted to Biſhops to diſpenſe, and maintained that it was better to give it to them than to the Court, becauſe they knowing better the merits of the fact, and the cauſes, may exerciſe diſtributive juſtice more exactly herein. They ſaid, the Court of *Rome* doth often give diſpenſations to perſons not known, who obtain them by deceit, and that diligence cannot be uſed in regard of the diſtance of the Countries; beſides the world being ſcandalized, thinking they are not given but for money, that infamy ought to be taken away. The *Spaniards*, and *French-men* laboured effectually herein; but the *Italians* ſaid they did it to make themſelves all Popes, and not to acknowledg the Apoſtolick *See*, and that the difficulty of ſending

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to *Rome*, and negotiating the expedition with pains and coſt was profitable, becauſe by that means, few marriages were contracted in degrees prohibited; whereas, if by granting power to Biſhops there were a facility herein, the prohibitions would, in a ſhort time, come to nothing, and ſo the *Lutherans* would gain their opinion. Hereupon a common inclination grew, that none ſhould be diſpenſed with, in theſe prohibitions, but for a very urgent cauſe; into which opinion thoſe who could not prevail for the Biſhops, did enter alſo, thinking it was more for their credit, if that which was forbid to them, were not granted to others. After many diſcourſes in the Congregations, it was reſolved to reſtrain ſpiritual kindred, and affinity by marriage, and fornication, and to confine the diſpenſations alſo within the limits which ſhall be ſpoken of in reciting the Decrees.

Whether one may be forbid or forced to marry.

There was ſome contention alſo about the ninth Point, in which Superiors are forbid to force their ſubjects to marry, with threats and puniſhments, naming the Emperour and Kings. *Gulielmus Caſſadorus*, Biſhop of *Barcellona* oppoſed, and ſaid, that it could not be preſuppoſed, that great Princes would meddle in marriages but for great cauſes, and for the publick good; that threats and puniſhments are then bad, when they are uſed contrary to order of Law; but penal precepts, conformable to the Law, are juſt, and cannot be reprehended. If there be any caſe (he ſaid) in which the Superior may juſtly command a marriage, he may force the celebration of it, by penal commands, alledging alſo, that it is a thing decided by the Divines, that juſt fear doth not cauſe an involuntary action. He deſired that lawful cauſes might be excepted, and thoſe Superiors only comprehended in the Decree, who do compel againſt juſtice, and order of the Law; ſaying, that many caſes may occur, in which the neceſſity of the publick good doth require the celebration of a marriage, which he that would ſay, that a Prince could not command, and cauſe by compulſion, to be celebrated, ſhould offend againſt the Law of God, and man. To this reaſon he addeth an example, that in the year 1556. the ſecond of *January*, *Paul* the 4*th*. ſent a Monitory to Dame *Joan* of *Arragon*, wife of *Aſcanius Columna*, that ſhe ſhould not marry any of her Daughters without his leave, or if ſhe did, the Matrimony, tho conſummated, ſhould be void; which that moſt wiſe and ſincere Pope would not have done, if Princes had not power to marry their ſubjects, in caſe of the publick good.

In the point of not mentioning Princes, he was followed by many, and the name of the Emperour, Kings and Princes, was taken away. But for the reſidue he was much oppoſed, with this reaſon only, that Matrimony is an holy thing, in which the Secular power hath no authority; and if there be any lawful cauſe to compel any to marry, it muſt be done by the Eccleſiaſtical power only. The relation of the monitory of *Paul*, raiſed a great whiſpering in the Congregation, and afterwards gave matter of divers diſcourſes. Some ſaid he did it, not as Prince, but as Pope, and that he had reaſon to do it, in regard *Aſcanius Columna* being a Traytor unto him, he would not have him get new adherences, by marriage of his Daughters, by which he might be confirmed in his contumacy. Others ſaid, that the Pope, as Vicar of *Chriſt*, hath no Traitors in temporal matters, and that the opinion of thoſe who think that marriages may be made void by Apoſtolick authority, is not well grounded, except it be by courſe of Law, or general Canons, but not for particular perſons, and that for this neither

neither reaſon can be brought, nor example found. Some de
one might ground himſelf upon ſuch actions of Popes, which ſhew
ther how far the abuſe of their power can ſtretch, than how far the
lawful uſe thereof is extended. *Pius IV. Ferdinand.*

And there was no leſs difficulty, becauſe the Decree did comprehend Fathers, Mothers, and other domeſtical Superiors, who might compel their Children, eſpecially Daughters, to Marry; and it was conſidered, that to come to excommunication, in caſes of this kind, was very hard. Yet thoſe who before had defended, that Children were bound to obey their Fathers in this particular, did maintain it. A temper was propoſed, that having firſt commanded politick Superiors upon pain of Excommunication, domeſtical Superiors ſhould be admoniſhed not to compel their Children againſt their will. But the ſame men ſtill oppoſed, and ſaid, it was not juſt to take from Fathers that power which God hath given them. And, in the end, it was reſolved to take this part quite away. But the Biſhop of *Barcellona*, and ſome few beſides, were not of the ſame opinion, as to ſay, that as the authority of Fathers and other domeſtical Superiors over marriages was manifeſt, or at the leaſt, not to be doubted, and therefore not to be ſpoken of, ſo the ſame conſideration ought to be had of the authority of Politick Superiors. *Elizabeth. Charles IX. Philip II.*

The Congregations aſſembled to diſcuſs this point, being ended, the laſt whereof was the laſt of *July*, they began to ſpeak privately of ſecret marriage. And both parties continuing in their own opinions, ſome ſaid that the difficulty doth preſuppoſe a Doctrine of Faith, and therefore cannot be determined, being contradicted by a notable number. This troubled them much who deſired they ſhould be made void, and thought that they were wholly barred from all poſſibility to obtain it.

A difficulty about cenſuring the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*.

At this time a difficulty aroſe, though private, yet very contentious. For the Deputies concerning the *Index*, having given the work of *Barthlomeus Caranza*, Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, to ſome Divines, to be peruſed, and they having related that nothing worthy of cenſure was found in it, the Congregation did approve it, and made publick faith thereof at the petition of his Agent. But becauſe the Book, and the Author were under the cenſure of the Inquiſition of *Spain*, the Secretary *Caſtellunne*, complained to the Count of *Luna*, and the Count to the Fathers of that Congregation, deſiring a retractation. The Fathers not inclining to revoke the Decree, becauſe they thought it juſt, the Biſhop of *Lerida*, either moved by the Count, or for ſome other cauſe, began to ſpeak againſt it, and to tax it, alledging places of the Book, which, by a bad interpretation, did ſeem to deſerve cenſure, and which was more, touched the judgment and conſcience of thoſe Biſhops. The Archbiſhop of *Prague*, the chief of that Congregation, in defence of himſelf and his Collegues, complained to the Legates, deſiring they would ſhew themſelves in the buſineſs, and proteſting not to aſſiſt in any publick act, until the Congregation had due ſatisfaction. The Cardinal *Morone* interpoſed, and made peace, with theſe conditions, that no other Copy of the Faith made, ſhould be given, and that *Lerida* ſhould give ſatisfaction of words to the Congregation, and to *Prague* in particular, and that all ſhould be forgotten on both ſides. And the Count of *Luna*, with unreſiſtible entreaties, got the Teſtimony out of the hands of the Agent of *Toledo*: and ſo this ſtir was appeaſed.

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38. Articles of Reformation.

The Legates gave the Articles of Reformation, to the Ambaſſadors, in number thirty eight, that they might commend to their conſideration what pleaſed them, before they were given to the Fathers to be diſcuſſed; which Articles were divided, and one half allotted for the next Seſſion, and the other for the Seſſion following, for the reaſons which ſhall be related hereafter. The Count of *Luna* perſwaded the other Ambaſſadors, to demand, that Deputies might be elected for every Nation, to conſider what was fit to be Reformed, becauſe the model given by the Legates made for the intereſts of *Rome*, could not be fitted to other Countries. But the Cardinal of *Lorain*, and the *French* and *Portugal* Ambaſſadors contradicted, alledging that every one might ſpeak his opinion concerning the Articles propoſed, and propoſe others, if there were cauſe, ſo that there was no need to give this diſtaſt to the Pope, and the Legates, who could not endure to hear ſpeech of Nations in Councils. And the *Imperialiſts* coming to this opinion alſo, the Count retired, but ſaid that divers conſiderations ought to be had concerning thoſe which were propoſed.

The Card. of *Lorain* excuſeth the change of his mind.

The Cardinal of *Lorain* counſelled the Legates to faciliate the buſineſs, and to take away thoſe points which might ſeem to cauſe contradiction, adding, that the fewer matters were handled, the better it would be; whereat *Varmienſe* ſeeming to wonder, *Lorain* asked him whether he marvelled becauſe he ſaw not in him that heat and deſire of Reformation, as he had made demonſtration of at other times: and he added, that his deſire was the ſame, and had the ſame diſpoſition of mind to employ all his force therein, but that experience hath taught him, that not only nothing perfect or ordinary can be done in Council, but that every enterpriſe in that buſineſs turneth to the worſt. He perſwaded alſo the Count of *Luna* not to ſeek to hinder the Reformation totally, but if there were any thing which did not fully ſatisfy him, he ſhould make the particular known, and he would labour that contentment ſhould be given him.

The Emperors Ambaſſadors firſt of all gave their anſwer in writing, the one and thirtieth of *July*, in which they ſaid, that, deſiring a general Reformation in the head and members, and having read the Articles exhibited, they had added ſome things, and noted others, deſiring they might be corrected accordingly, and diſcuſſed by the Fathers. And becauſe the Emperor, with the Ambaſſadors of many Princes, did hold a Diet in *Vienna*, to handle many things concerning the Council, they hoped they would take it in good part, if, having received a new commandment from his Majeſty, they ſhould preſent other conſiderations alſo; and that, for the preſent, they added eight Articles to thoſe propoſed by them. 1. That a ſerious, and durable Reformation of the *Conclave* might be made in Council. 2. That alienation of Eccleſiaſtical goods, without the free and firm conſent of the Chapter, might be prohibited, and eſpecially in the *Roman* Church. 3. That *Commendaes*, and *Coadjutories*, with future ſucceſſion, might be taken away. 4. That Schools and Univerſities might be reformed. 5. That the Provincial Councils may be enjoyned to correct the Statutes of all the Chapters; as alſo that authority may be given to reform *Miſſals*, *Breviaries*, *Agends*, and *Graduals*, not in *Rome* only, but in all Churches. 6. That Lay-men may not be cited to *Rome* in the firſt inſtance. 7. That cauſes may not be removed from the Secular Court to the Eccleſiaſtical, upon pretence of juſtice denied, before the truth of the ſupplication be known. 8. That *Conſervators* may not be given in prophane matters.

The *Imperialiſts* add 8. articles more.

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And concerning the Articles exhibited by the Legates, they noted many things, part whereof, as being but of ſmall weight, it will not be amiſs to omit. Thoſe of importance were. That Cardinals might be choſen out of all Nations. That the Univerſal Biſhop might be created by Electors of all Countries. That the proviſions againſt *Penſions*, *Reſervations* and *Regreſſes*, ſhould be extended, not only to the future, but to thoſe alſo that are paſt. That the kiſſing of the Goſpel ſhould not be taken from the Emperour and Kings, who ought to defend it. That it may be declared what ſecular affairs are prohibited to Eccleſiaſticks, that that which is determined in the Decree of Reſidence may not be croſſed. That in the Article of not laying Taxes upon the Eccleſiaſticks, the cauſe of Subſidy againſt the *Turks* and other Infidels may be excepted. The propoſition, though it were of hard digeſtion, did not ſo much trouble the Legates, as the doubt moved, that ſome extraordinary demand for change of *Rites*, received by the Church of *Rome*, and relaxation of Precepts *de jure Poſitivo*, might come from the Diet in *Vienna*.

The Articles exhibited by the *French-men*.

The third of *Auguſt* the *French-men* gave their obſervations, the eſſentials whereof were, That the number of Cardinals might not exceed four and twenty, and that no more might be created, until they were reduced to that paucity. That they may be elected out of all Kingdoms and Provinces. That they may not be two of one Dioceſs, nor more than eight of one Nation. That they may not be leſs than thirty years of age. That the Nephew or Brother of the Pope, or of any Cardinal living, may not be choſen. That Biſhopricks may not be given them, that they may the better aſſiſt the Pope, and that their dignity being equal, their revenue may be equal alſo. That none may have more than one Benefice, and that the difference, unknown to the good ages of the world, of Benefices ſimple, and with cure, compatible, and incompatible, may be taken away; and that he that hath two at this preſent, may chooſe and keep one only, and that within a ſhort time. That reſignations in favour may be quite taken away. That it may not be prohibited to confer Benefices only upon thoſe who have not the language of the Country, becauſe the Laws of *France* forbid all ſtrangers, without exception, to have Offices, or Benefices in the Kingdom. That the Criminal cauſes of Biſhops may not be judged out of the Kingdom, in regard of the ancient priviledg of *France*, that none may be judged out of the Kingdom, neither voluntary, nor by compulſion. That power may be reſtored to Biſhops, to abſolve from all caſes, without exception. That to take away ſuits for Benefices, *Preventions*, *Reſignations* in favour, *Mandats*, *Expectatives*, and other unlawful ways to obtain them, may be removed. That the prohibition, that the Clergy may not meddle in ſecular matters, may be expounded, ſo that they may abſtain from all functions, which are not holy, Eccleſiaſtical, and proper to their Order. That the *Penſions*, already impoſed, may be taken away and abrogated. That, in cauſes of Patronage, the ancient inſtitution in *France* may not be changed, to give ſentence in the *poſſeſſory*, for him who is in the laſt poſſeſſion, and in the *petitory*, for him who hath a lawful Title, or a long poſſeſſion. That the Laws of *France* concerning Eccleſiaſtical cauſes may not be prejudiced, that the *poſſeſſory* may be judged by the Kings Judges, and the *petitory* by the Eccleſiaſticks, but not out of the Kingdom. That none may be aſſumed to be Canon in a Cathedral Church, before he be five and thirty years old. That, for the Article containing

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ing the reformation of Princes, the Clergy may be firſt intirely reformed in this Seſſion, and that which belongeth to the dignity and authority of Kings and Princes, may be deferred until the next, and that nothing may be decreed therein, before they the Ambaſſadors be heard, who have given account to the King of thoſe and other things, which they had to propoſe. But howſoever they propoſed theſe difficult matters, yet they ſaid indifferently to all, and with affectation, that it might be publiſhed, that they would not be earneſt in any thing, but that which concerneth the rights and Secular affairs of their Kingdom. The *Venetian* Ambaſſadors propoſed, that the Article of Patronage might be ſo accommodated, that it might not give occaſion of novity, concerning thoſe who belong to their *Republick*, and Prince. The Ambaſſadors alſo of *Savoy* and *Tuſcane* made the ſame inſtances.

At this time the *Imperialiſts* received Commiſſion from their Prince, to mediate as they did, with the Legates, that in the review of the *Index* of the Books, mention might not be made of the *Receſſes*, of the Diets in *Germany*, formerly prohibited by *Paul* 4. and the Emperors order was ſomewhat ſharp, that inſtead of handling of Eccleſiaſtical matters, they would not give a form to the policy of *Germany*, and occaſion to the people who are governed by ſuch Laws, to alien themſelves from the Church of *Rome*, againſt their wills. Anſwer was made, that the Biſhop of *Prague*, one of them who was chief of the Congregation, might know whether any ſpeech were made of it, and if there was not, his Majeſty might truſt to his Ambaſſador, who, in all cauſes concerning him, ſhould be favoured both by them, and by the Pope.

The ſeventh day the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador preſented his writing; in which he ſaid he was well ſatisfied with all the Articles, and would not demand any thing, but only the change of ſome words, which ſeemed unto him to be ſuperfluous, or that they may be expounded better. And he touched almoſt all things which did enlarge the authority of Biſhops, ſo moderating the words, that the alteration did not ſeem to be ſubſtantial, but that indeed he did rather reſtrain than augment it. He made requeſt alſo that they would treat of the *Conclave*, ſaying, that the King did much deſire it; as alſo that the part concerning ſecular Princes might be deferred until another Seſſion. After he had exhibited his writing, he deſired the Legates, that ſo ſoon as voices were given concerning the things propoſed, they would depute Fathers of every Nation, to collect what they ſhould think neceſſary for Reformation of their Countries, that all might be determined with a general ſatisfaction. *Morone* anſwered in the name of all, that they could not conſent to proceed otherwiſe than they had done hitherto in other matters. Wherein many things being ſaid by both parties, by the Count to intimate the Council was in ſervitude, and by the Cardinal to ſhew the liberty, *Morone* added, that no man could complain that he was hindered in his liberty of ſpeaking. The other replied, that he could not believe that any thing of worth had been done by them, and did not forbear to tell him, that there was a great murmuring in the Council for the particular Congregations aſſembled a few days ſince, and that it was ſuppoſed that they were made to get voices. The Legates ſaid, it was their duty, in the diverſity of opinions, to underſtand the truth, and to accommodate the differences, that matters may be determined with union. The Count replied, that it were well if it were ſo, but that *Italians* only were called, except two or three *Spaniards*, and

and as many *French-men*, who differed from others of their Nations. The Legates defended themſelves, that they were not called in proportion, becauſe there were an hundred and fifty *Italians* in Council, and not above threeſcore of all other Nations. The Count ſeemed to be ſatisfied, and being parted, ſaid to his Prelates, that the Legates having begun a diſcourſe to ſhew that eſteem ought not to be held of Nations, had concluded it, ſhewing that they had ever held eſteem of them. 1563 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip* II.

The next day, the Legates and two Cardinals conſulted about the advertiſements of the Ambaſſadors, and how to amend the Articles of Reformation to be given to the Fathers, and of the manner to be held in ſpeaking on them. In which *Lorain* having received new Letters from *France*, and order, that both himſelf, and all the other *French* Prelates ſhould favour the Popes affairs, wholly bent to ſatisfie the Legates, perſwaded them not to ſuffer ſo many points to be handled at once, but to divide them into parts, according to the ſubjects, and when one part was ended, to propoſe another, and to haſten the Seſſion, omitting all the things which had any difficulty, and concluding thoſe only, in which all, or the greateſt part would agree, and particularly not to propoſe, in the beginning, thoſe in which the Ambaſſadors did not conſent.

The eleventh day the Congregations began to be celebrated, to eſtabliſh the *Anathematiſms*, and Decrees of Matrimony. The propoſition of the *French-men* was handled, to make marriages void, contracted by Children, without conſent of Parents, in whoſe power they are. And the firſt that gave voice, did differ in opinion. The Cardinal of *Lorain* did approve it, alledging places of the Scripture which give to the Fathers power to marry their Children, examples of marriages of the Patriarchs *Iſaac* and *Jacob*, adding the *Imperial* Laws of the *Inſtitutions* and the *Code*, made by Chriſtian Princes of famous memory; as alſo the Canon under the name of *Euariſtus*, and another of the Council of *Carthage*, produced by *Gratian*. And he related the inconveniences ariſing herein. The Archbiſhop of *Otranto* was of the contrary opinion; ſaying, that this was to give authority to Lay-men over the Sacraments, and make them believe that the authority in making them void, doth depend on the paternal, not on the Eccleſiaſtical. Beſides, it would be a Decree directly contrary to the holy Scripture, which expreſly ſaith that a man ſhall leave Father and Mother, and cleave to his Wife. And, for inconveniences, it will cauſe more, referring the Sons to their Fathers in matters of conſcience. And if a Father would not conſent to the Marriage of a Son, who hath not the gift of continency, he would be infinitely perplexed. Nine and twenty ſpake in that Congregation, and twenty were of opinion to omit that matter. Of the others, ſome approved the Decree ſo generally, and ſome reſtrained it in Sons to the age of twenty years, and of eighteen in Daughters.

The *Venetian* Ambaſſadors do exhibit a Petition concerning divorces in the Greek Church.

In the end of the Congregation, the *Venetian* Ambaſſadors cauſed a demand of theirs to be read, concerning the *Anathematiſms* of divorces; which did contain in ſubſtance, That their Republick having the Kingdoms of *Cyprus*, *Candy*, *Corfue*, *Zante*, and *Cephalonia*, inhabited by *Grecians*, who have from all Antiquity uſed to put away their Wives for fornication, and take another, for which *Rite*, well known to the whole Church, they were never condemned, nor reprehended by any Council, it was not juſt to condemn them in abſence, having not been called to this Council. Therefore that the Fathers would

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be pleaſed ſo to accommodate the Canons concerning this matter, that they may not do them any prejudice. The Legates having received this demand, did cauſe it to be propoſed, without making any particular examination of it; which cauſed a whiſpering amongſt the Fathers. And in the next Congregation, ſome of them touched that ſtring, repeating the ſame, that it was not juſt to condemn the *Grecians*, not heard, nor cited. The Archbiſhop of *Prague* oppoſed, and ſaid, that by the general citation of all Chriſtians, they alſo were underſtood to be cited by the Pope. To which the Cardinal of *Varmia* added, that his Holineſs had ſent particularly to invite the Duke of *Muſcovia*: and howſoever he knew not well that he had invited other of the *Greek* Church in ſpecial, yet it ought to be preſuppoſed that the whole Nation was called, even by ſpecial invitation; beſides, the general intimation was ſufficient, as the Archbiſhop had ſaid. Whereupon the Legates gave order to the Secretary to take that particular out of the petition of thoſe Ambaſſadors, that is, that the *Grecians* have not been called. But as well in regard of their propoſition, as of the opinion of Saint *Ambroſe*, they would not uſe the word *Anathema*, but found a temper, that is, not to condemn thoſe that ſay that Matrimony may be diſſolved for Adultery, and another contracted as Saint *Ambroſe* and ſome *Greek* Fathers did ſay, and as the Eaſtern Church doth practice, but to anathematize thoſe who ſay, the Church may err, teaching that the Matrimonial Bond is not broken by Adultery, and that it is not lawful to contract another, as the *Lutherans* do maintain. This form was generally approved, and many did praiſe it, and ſay, that the Council was aſſembled only to condemn the Opinions of the Proteſtants, and not thoſe of other Nations. Yet ſome doubted how one could be condemned for ſaying the Church did err in teaching an Article, the contrary whereof was not condemned. But ſeeing that it was favoured by ſo many, they contented themſelves.

And becauſe the propoſition about the marriage of Children did bring in a general queſtion, whether the Church could make marriages void, all began to ſpeak of it, howſoever it had been ſpoken of before, the voices collected and the Decree compoſed accordingly, as hath been ſaid. Cardinal *Madruccio* maintained the negative, and alledged many reaſons and arguments, ſaying, that he would oppoſe in Seſſion alſo. And *Varmienſe*, and *Simoneta*, ſpake as much. But *Laynez*, General of the *Jeſuits*, having diſperſed a writing againſt the irritation, made a greater confuſion, and gave occaſion to many to be more conſtant and couragious in the other opinion. And in the Congregations they began to anſwer one anothers reaſons, with ſuch prolixity, that the Legates were almoſt of opinion to omit that matter, for fear it would hinder the Seſſion, and the rather, becauſe the Biſhop of *Sulmona* did firſt make a queſtion in publick Congregation, whether that matter of irritation did belong to Doctrine, or Reformation. The Biſhop of *Segovia*, who ſpake after him, made a long diſcourſe to ſhew that it could not be reduced to Doctrine, and therefore the major part having approved the irritation, the Decree was as good as eſtabliſhed. The Biſhop of *Modena* followed the ſame opinion, adding, that to handle that matter by way of Doctrine, would take away all means of making any Reformation whatſoever. For in all Articles the ſame difficulty might be moved, whether the Church hath authority in that particular which is handled: which would be as much as to put

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Arms into the hands of Heretieks, and to take all authority from the Church, because it would not be fit to meddle with that, to which it might be doubted whether their authority did extend. He complained, that that queſtion was moved by him, who ought to hold it, as clear and decided. This opinion pleaſed many, who ſaid that it never ought to be diſputed whether the Church can do any thing or not, but to take it for granted, that all power in Heaven and earth is given to *Chriſt*, ſo the Biſhop of *Rome*, his *Vicar*, hath as much, which being communicated by him to the general Council, it muſt be defended that it wanteth no power to do whatſoever is profitable, without diſputing whether it concern Doctrine or not. It pleaſed thoſe alſo who deſired the diſpatch of the Council, perceiving that the difficulty promoted might hinder the ending thereof, and cauſe a ſcandal. And the Legates and principal *Italians* uſed perſwaſions that it might not be ſpoken of, in regard there was no cauſe to treat of it with the *French-men* or the *Spaniards*, who did all agree in opinion, that ſecret marriages ought to be made void. And many aſſemblies of Prelates were made, both amongſt themſelves, and with the Legates, to this end; and it was reſolved that the Decree ſhould not only not be placed with the Doctrine, that it might not ſeem to be a part of it, but alſo that it ſhould not be ſo much as in a Chapter a part, leſt it might be doubted whether it was held to be ſuch, or not, but that it ſhould be inſerted amongſt the Articles of Reformation. And to remove all difficulty the more, it was reſolved alſo ſo to compoſe the Decree, that they might not ſeem to handle that matter purpoſely; but to mingle it with the firſt Article of abuſes, which was a proviſion to reſtore the *Banes*, ordained by *Innocentius* the third, which had been intermitted, and in Decreeing as well this, as all the other conditions appropriated for the publick form of Matrimony, it ſhould be added, in two words only, as it were incidently, that all contracts made otherwiſe were void, and ſo paſs it over, and ſay no more. And the Decree was compoſed according to this ſenſe, and reformed often, always very intricately, and the latter had ever more difficulty than the former. And amongſt other alterations, this point, eſtabliſhed before, as hath been ſaid, was changed, that the preſence of three witneſſes was ſufficient for abſolute validity, and in ſtead of one witneſs, it was ſubſtituted, that every Matrimony ſhould be void, contracted without the preſence of the Prieſt; a thing which did much exalt the Clergy, ſeeing that ſo principal an action, in Political and Economical adminiſtration, which until then had been only in the hands of thoſe to whom it belonged, came to be in the Power of the Eccleſiaſtical order, there remaining no means to contract Matrimony, if two Prieſts, that is the pariſh Prieſt, and the Biſhop intereſted for ſome reſpects, ſhall refuſe to afford their preſence. I have not found in the memorials who was Author of this great advantage; as many other particulars of importance are hid from me alſo, whereof I would willingly make mention. I ought not to defraud *Francis Beaupere*, Biſhop of *Metz*, of his due honour, who, thinking it impoſſible to reduce this Decree into ſuch a form as might give ſatisfaction to various opinions, and to repreſent them with reſervations and nice diſtinctions, gave this form to it, in which it now is; which as it is ſubject to divers interpretations, ſo it may be fitted to divers opinions: and being propoſed in Congregation, it had one hundred thirty and three voices in favour of it, and nine and fifty did expreſly contradict.

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The Legates informed the Pope of all, and demanded order what they

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should do, and whether the contradiction of such a number, it being impossible to perswade them, should hinder the Decree, or not. There was a report, which caused some fear amongst the Fathers, that the Plague was in *Ispruc*, and many would have been gone, if the Cardinal *Morone*, who thought that matters were in good term to finish the Council, had not used means to know the certainty; which was, that in *Shorri*, a place twenty distant miles from *Ispruc*, many of those poor men who laboured in the Mines, died of a contagious sickness, by an infection taken under the ground, and that those of *Ispruc* had provided so well, as that there was no danger the disease would come thither, which also did decrease in *Shorri*.

A stir about the *Inquisition* in *Milan*.

A great stir happened likewise amongst the *Italian* Prelates, especially those of the Kingdom *Naples*, and Dukedom of *Milan*. For the Catholick King moved the Pope, the Month before, to place the *Inquisition* in the State of *Milan*, as it is in *Spain*, and to make a *Spanish* Prelate the Head of it, alledging, that in regard of the vicinity of places infected, it was necessary to use exquisite diligence for the service of God, and defence of Religion: and notice came that the Pope had proposed it in Consistory, and did shew (howsoever it was contradicted by some Cardinals) some inclination to it, at the perswasion of Cardinal *Carpi*, who told him, that it was good for the keeping of the City of *Milan* in devotion towards the Apostolick *See*; which Office he performed, for a secret hope, cherished by the *Spanish* Ambassador, that, by this means, he should gain the favour of the King of *Spain* to make him Pope. The Cities of that State sent *Sforza Morone* to his Holiness, and *Cesare Taverna*, and *Principual Bisosto*, to the Catholick King, and *Sforza Brivio* to the Council. This last to pray the Prelates, and Cardinals of that Sate, to have compassion on their Country, which being brought into misery, by excessive impositions, would be wholly dissolved by this, which goeth beyond all, many Citizens preparing themselves to abandon the Country, knowing well that that Office had never proceeded in *Spain* to heal the conscience, but very often to empty the purse, and for many other mundane respects also. And if the *Inquisitors*, under the Kings own eyes do domineer so rigidly over their own Country-men, how much more will they do it in *Milan*, where remedy will hardly be found against them, towards persons whom they care less for? *Brivio* declared how the Cities were generally perplexed with this ill news, desiring the favour of the Prelates. This did more displease the Prelates, than the Seculars, and those of the Kingdom did doubt, that, the yoke being put upon the State of *Milan*, themselves should not be able to keep it from their own necks, as they had done before. The Prelates of *Lombardy* did assemble, and resolve to write Letters to the Pope, and to Cardinal *Borromeo*, subscribed by them all. They told the Cardinal it would be a prejudice to him, to whom it belonged, as Archbishop, to be the chief in that Office. And they said to the Pope, that there were not such causes and respects as are in *Spain*, to put so rigorous an Inquisition amongst them; which, besides the evident ruine which it would bring to the State, will be a great prejudice to the holy *See*. For he could not refuse to place it in *Naples* also; which would give occasion to other Princes of *Italy* to desire the like. And that *Inquisition* having authority over the Prelates, the holy *See* would have but little obedience from them, because they would be forced to seek the favour of Secular Princes, to whom by this means they would be subject, so that, in occasion

occaſion of a new Council, he ſhould have but few Prelates whom he might truſt, and command freely. Neither ought he to believe that which the *Spaniards* might ſay, that the *Inquiſition* of *Milan* ſhould be ſubject to that of *Rome*, as doth appear by their proceeding in the cauſe of the Archbiſhop of *Toledo*, ever refuſing to ſend the Proceſſes which have been demanded from *Rome*, as alſo do the *Inquiſitors* of the Kingdom of *Sicily* who depend on *Spain*. The Prelates not content with this and other reaſons alledged unto the Cardinals, and others of *Rome*, by every one to thoſe with whom he had any power, did perſwade alſo that ſome word might be inſerted in the Decrees of the Council, in favour of the Biſhops, to exempt or ſecure them, and that the manner of making proceſſes in that matter might be decreed, which if it could not be done in the firſt Seſſion, it might in the next. *Morone* gave them hope of ſatisfaction. And this Accident did trouble the Council very much, becauſe many were intereſted in it. But news came a few days after, that the Duke of *Seſſa* had found the general diſtaſte it gave, and for ſome reports which came unto him, doubting that the Dutchy of *Milan* would follow the example of the *Flemings*, who became *Gueux* (for ſo the *Reformiſts* are called in thoſe Countries) by the attempt of putting the *Inquiſition* upon them, knowing it was not a fit time to handle that buſineſs, ſtopped their Ambaſſadors, promiſing to uſe means that the State ſhould have ſatisfaction. And, but for this, ſome matter of great moment had enſued.

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The Pope ſeeing the anſwers of the Ambaſſadors, made to the Articles propoſed by the Legates, was more confirmed in opinion, that it was neceſſary to finiſh the Council; otherwiſe he thought ſome great ſcandal would follow; and the inconveniences foreſeen he eſteemed but light, and feared ſome greater not thought on. But ſeeing the difficulty to make an end, without determining the things for which the Council was called, if the Princes were not content, he reſolved to treat with all of them herein. Therefore he wrote concerning this to his *Nuncii* in *Germany*, *France*, and *Spain*, and ſpake of it to all the Ambaſſadors reſiding with him, and to the Miniſters of the Princes of *Italy* alſo, uſing this conceit, *that to him that aſſiſted to finiſh the Council, he ſhould be more obliged, than if he had aſſiſted him with Arms, in ſome great neceſſity*. To the Legates he anſwered, that they ſhould principally aim at the concluſion of the Council, and ſhould grant whatſoever was neceſſary to obtain it, admitting as few prejudicial things as was poſſible; all which he did refer to their wiſdom who were in the buſineſs, ſo that the Council might end with ſpeed.

The Pope laboureth to finiſh the Council.

But the Legates having together with ſome of the Prelates, conſidered the propoſitions of the Ambaſſadors concerning the Reformation, and at their inſtance, omitted ſix of the Articles propoſed, and reduced them to the number of two and thirty, the one and twentieth of *Auguſt* gave them to the Prelates to be diſcuſſed. *Lorain* made particular Congregations of the *Frenchmen* to examine them: which did pleaſe the Legates, not only becauſe they were aſſured he had the ſame intention as they had, but becauſe they were deſirous to accommodate them to the common ſatisfaction, before they were ſpoken of in general Congregation. And they gave order to the Archbiſhop of *Otranto*, and *Taranto*, and to the Biſhop of *Parma*, to aſſemble their adherents in their private houſes to examine them, and ſearch what would give a general contentment. This continuing ſome days, the

And ſo do the Legates.

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Spaniards, and ſome *Italians*, who were not called, murmured very much, reſolving to make a mutiny, and to oppoſe.

The Archbiſhop of *Otranto* went to the Catholick Ambaſſador; who admoniſhed him, and ſaid, he was not willing to write to the King thoſe things that would not pleaſe him; and told him that thoſe particular Congregations were ſo well underſtood by all Prelates, that he could not chooſe but give his Majeſty an account of it. He excuſed himſelf, and ſaid all was for a good end, to facilitate the matter, and to provide againſt the difficulties before the general Congregation. And the Biſhop of *Iſchia* coming juſt then to ſpeak with the Count, from the Cardinal *Morone*, he told him the ſame, that thoſe private Congregations did diſpleaſe him, and that his opinion was they could not be for any other end than to cauſe difficulties, and to omit part of the Articles, that the Seſſion might ſooner be celebrated. Notwithſtanding the Legates aiming more to ſatisfie the Prelates than the Ambaſſador, having conſidered on the things obſerved in thoſe particular Congregations, held them for good advertiſements, and did alter and compoſe the Decrees according to them.

The Spaniſh Ambaſſador is diſpleaſed with the private Congregations.

But as they were about to give them forth, ſo corrected, the Archbiſhop of *Prague*, upon an inſtruction newly brought unto him by a Currier from the Emperor, did inſtantly deſire the Legates, not to propoſe the Reformation of Secular Princes, until they had anſwer from his Imperial Majeſty; and after was ſeconded by the Count of *Luna*. The Legates were much perplexed herewith, conſidering that *France* firſt, and now the Emperor, and King of *Spain*, were not ſatisfied. And on the other ſide, the common deſire of all the Fathers was, that the Reformation ſhould be made all together. Whereupon being aſſembled in the houſe of *Navaggero*, who was ſick, they propoſed, whether all the Reformation ſhould be put off, or only that part which concerneth Princes. *Lorain* was of opinion that only this ſhould be deferred, and the reſidue propoſed; which would have pleaſed, but that they doubted they ſhould make the Prelates afraid, that the ſecular Reformation ſhould be wholly omitted, whereby they might take occaſion to exclaim both privately, and in the publick Congregations. Whereupon they reſolved to ſatisfy the Ambaſſadors, deferring the Reformation of Princes; and that the Prelates might not take it ill, to defer half at the leaſt of the other Articles, and thoſe the moſt important, giving forth the reſt, as they had corrected them, that the voices might be given, and the Seſſion celebrated, though the difficulty about the Decree of clandeſtine marriages did make them doubt. The ſixth of *September* one and twenty Articles of Reformation were given forth, with order to begin the Congregations on the morrow. In the compoſition of theſe, Cardinal *Simoneta*, and his adherents, uſed all their Arts and ingeny, to proceed with ſuch a temper, that the Court of *Rome* might not be prejudiced, and the world which deſired Reformation, and the Ambaſſadors who did ſolicit it, ſatisfied, and which was of moſt importance, the Biſhops contented. For being deſirous to finiſh the Council, it was neceſſary that they ſhould willingly concur.

The Reformation of Princes, and ſome Articles of the other Reformation are deferred.

The BB. had all one aim, to have the governement more free: which they thought they ſhould obtain, if three proviſions were made. One, that Pariſh Prieſts ſhould depend on them, which would happen, if the collation of Benefices with cure were given unto them, which point, beſides other difficulties, did touch *Reſervations*, and the Rules

of.

of the *Chancery*, which was to diſcover a great part of the ſecrets of the Court of *Rome*. For it did plainly appear, that a gate would be opened to take all collations from them, which was as much as to take from them all power, and life it ſelf. Therefore they came to a temper, to hold the *Reſervations* firm, but to make the Biſhops Patrons to give the Cure to whom they pleaſe, upon pretence of examination. And, to this end the 18. Article was framed, with exquiſite artifice, as every one may ſee; which, with a fair ſhew, giveth power to the Biſhop to beſtow the Benefice on whom he pleaſeth, and yet taketh no profit from the Court. Another point was of exemptions, wherein they had formerly received many ſatisfactions, and now the 11. Article was added for a total complement. The exemptions of the regular Orders remained; and the Biſhops were in hope, either to take them quite away, or, at the leaſt, ſo to moderate them, that they ſhould be ſubject unto them, in a great part.

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Ever ſince the beginning of the year, there was a Congregation erected about the Reformation of the regulars, which, by the aſſiſtance of the Generals, and advice of other religious perſons in Council, had made a great progreſs, and eſtabliſhed good Decrees, without contradiction; for outwardly, and in ſhew the Regulars did not only not abhor, but deſire them; but ſecretly they made account to interpret and practiſe them as they liſted: yea they thought it good to have a ſtrict Reformation in writing: as indeed all their Rules are one thing as they are written, and another as they are obſerved. But when they began to ſpeak of moderating their exemptions, and ſubjecting them, at leaſt in part, to the Biſhops, the Generals, and the Divines of the Orders did mutiny all together; and treating with the Ambaſſadors of Princes, they ſhewed them what ſervice they did to people, Cities, and publick Governments, offering, that if any abuſe whatſoever were amongſt them, it ſhould be amended; that they would be contented with any Reformation, and returning to their Governments, would execute it with more ſeverity than it was ordained; but to ſubject the Monaſteries to the *Ordinaries*, was abſolutely to put them out of order. For they, not underſtanding a regular life, nor the ſeverity of diſcipline wherewith it is maintained, would diſorder every thing. The Biſhops ſaid, that a priviledge is ever with detriment and derogation of the Law, and the revocation favourable, reducing things to their own nature; and therefore to take them away, was not to innovate, but to reſtore things to their ancient ſtate. On the other ſide it was anſwered, that the exemption of the Regulars was ſo well preſcribed by antiquity, that it could no more be called a priviledge but Common-law; that when the Monaſteries were ſubject to Biſhops, the Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline both in them and their Canons, was ſo well governed, and ſo ſevere, that it merited to ſuperinted over all; that if they will reſtore antiquity, they muſt do it in all parts, that if Biſhops would return to be as they were in thoſe times, Monaſteries might be ſubjected to them now, as then they were, but it was not juſt that they ſhould demand the ſuperintendency over Monaſteries, before they made themſelves to be ſuch as was neceſſary the Rectors of a regular life ſhould be. The Regulars were favoured by the Ambaſſadors, and by the Legates, for the intereſts of the Court, which would have loſt a great inſtrument, if they had not depended wholly on it. And they wanted not the favour of ſome Prelates, who confeſſed their reaſons were good. This contention continued certain days, but did abate by little and little, be-

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cauſe the Biſhops who had moved it, did diſcover every day more difficulty in it.

The third Article was concerning the impediments which Biſhops receive from ſecular Magiſtrates, who, to preſerve the temporal power, do not ſuffer them to exerciſe that abſolute dominion which they would, not only over the Clergy, but over the people. To this effect, the Reformation of Princes was made, whereof we have ſpoken already, and will hereafter, more at large. This part, and others which cohere with it, were deferred until another Seſſion, becauſe it was thought a difficult matter, and that it would have much prolonged the buſineſs. But the Biſhops did expound this delay as if they had meant to have done nothing in it. And they complained, that, purpoſing to Reform the whole Church, the Clergy only ſhould be reformed. The Legates uſed all means to appeaſe them, ſhewing, that not this only was deferred, but other matters alſo, which were neceſſary to be handled. Promiſing that the delay was only to proceed with more maturity, and that they ſhould certainly be diſcuſſed; that it was neceſſary to facilitate the diſpatch of that Seſſion, which ſhould be a preparatory for the other, in which all that remaineth ſhould be handled. The Legates were all bent to hold the Seſſion at the time appointed, thinking it neceſſary for the quick diſpatch of the Council: for which the Pope, by every ordinary Currier, and ſometimes by an extraordinary, did ſollicite them, that he might be ſet at liberty from it. In the Congregation of the ſeventh of *Semptember* Fryar *Martinus Roias*, Ambaſſador for the *Hoſpitularies* of *S. John* of *Jeruſalem*, now called knights of *Malta*, was received; which was deferred by reaſon of the great oppoſition of ſome principal Biſhops, that he might not have place above them, ſaying it was not juſt that a Religion of Fryars ſhould precede the whole body of ſo many Prelates. But, finally, the matter was accorded, and publiſhed in Congregation, that place was given him amongſt the Ambaſſadors, without prejudice of the Prelates, who pretend precedence. The Ambaſſador made an Oration, and excuſed their grand *Maſter*, who did not ſend to *Trent* ſooner, by reaſon of the rumours of the *Turkiſh Armada*, and of the incommodities they received by *Dragut*, the Pirate. He exhorted the Fathers to remedy the preſent evils, which alſo did not a little touch the Fryars of their Religion, who are not idle members of the Chriſtian Commonwealth. He perſwaded the extirpation of hereſies, offering that their grand *Maſter*, and Society, would take upon them the patronage and defence of the cauſe, ſpending not their goods only, but, their life and blood. He related the beginning of their Religion, which was fourty years before *Godfrey* did go to the conqueſt of the Holy Land; the heroical works done by their anceſtors, the like whereof they could not perform now, becauſe they were ſpoiled of a great part of their Lands, and poſſeſſions; that they are a *Barricado* of *Sicily* and *Italy* againſt the *Barbarians*. Therefore he prayed the Fathers to take notice of the antiquity, Nobility, Merits, and dangers of that *Society*, and to cauſe their poſſeſſions, and *Commendaes*, uſurped from them, to be reſtored, and that it might be decreed by the Council, that they ſhould be conferred upon none but of their order, ratifying the immunities and priviledges thereof. The *Speaker* received the excuſe in the name of the Synod, and promiſed that they would have that conſideration, as his demand, for the preſervation of the *Commendaes* and priviledges of that Religion, did deſerve. But how-

The Ambaſſador of the Knights of *Malta* is received.

His Oration.

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ſoever he made the ſame inſtance afterwards to the Legates, and the relation to the Pope, his Holineſs would never anſwer any thing, but that it belonged to him only to make proviſion herein, and that he would do it, in time convenient.

In that Congregation and thoſe that followed, voices were given concerning the 21. Articles of Reformation, propoſed; in which though there was nothing of great moment, yet for the order of the ſtory, and declaration of many things which happened afterwards, it is not amiſs to make mention of the principal. In the firſt, which was of the election of Biſhops, it being ſaid that there was an obligation to provide the moſt worthy, the difficulty formerly moved did return, that it would bind very ſtraitly the hands, as of the Pope in collations, ſo of Kings and Princes in the nominations, if they were tied to nominate one perſon only. And the greater part was of opinion to remove the comparative, and to ſay only, that they were bound to provide a worthy perſon. But on the other ſide, ſome conſidered that the Fathers have always uſed this manner of ſpeech, that the moſt worthy ſhould be preferred, and alledged the reaſon, that he cannot be without blame who preferreth the leaſt worthy, though fit, before an other of more deſert. There was much diſputation herein, but a means was found to compoſe all, leaving, in ſhew, the word, *more worthy*, and ſpeaking firſt in poſitive terms, and paſſing afterwards to comparatives, that the proviſion might be underſtood to be free; and ſo that form was uſed which is now in Print: that is, that there is an obligation to provide good and fit Paſtors, and that he doth mortally ſin who doth not prefer the more worthy, and more profitable to the Church; leaving a natural expoſition to theſe words, that many are more worthy and more profitable, in reſpect of others, who are leſs; in which compaſs the will of him that is to provide, hath a large field.

In the promotion of Prelates whether the moſt worthy ought to be preferred.

In the third Article there was ſome difficulty about the viſitation of Archbiſhops. Theſe alledged the Canons, and ancient Cuſtoms, that the Suffragans did ſwear obedience to the Metropolitans, and were wholly ſubject to their Viſitation, Correction, and Government, and would not conſent that their authority ſhould be prejudiced, and amongſt theſe, the Patriarch of *Venice* was exceeding warm. On the contrary, the Biſhops, eſpecially thoſe of the Kingdom of *Naples*, laboured to maintain the Cuſtom, by which they differ not in authority, but in name only. But the number of the Biſhops being great, and of the Archbiſhops ſmall, and the Legates and Papalins favouring thoſe, that theſe might not, by granting authority and reputation by their ſubjection, exempt themſelves more from ſubjection to the Court, they would obtain nothing, but one word only of ſatisfaction; that is, that they were not forbid to viſit, when there was cauſe, approved by the Provincial Council. Whereof the Archbiſhops did complain, and ſay, it was juſt nothing. For there being one Archbiſhop in the Provincial Council, and many Biſhops, it is certain that the cauſe would never be approved.

The ſixth Article was concerning the exemption of Chapters of Cathedrals, from Epiſcopal authority; in which the *Spaniſh* Biſhops, and in contemplation of them, the Count of *Luna* having great intereſt, many reſtrictions and ampliations were made, but not ſuch as did content the Prelates; howſoever they were often changed, and in the end deferred until another Seſſion, as ſhall be ſaid.

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The thirteenth Article, concerning *Penſions*, ſpake generally that no Benefice ſhould be burthened with greater *Penſions* than of the third part of their fruits, or of their value conformable to that which was uſed, when the *Penſions* began. This ſeemed not convenient to the Cardinal of *Lorain*, becauſe there are ſome very rich benefices which could not be ſaid to be burthened, if they ſhould pay two thirds, and others ſo poor, that they cannot bear any *Penſion* at all. And therefore he ſaid, that this was not a juſt diſtribution, and that it was better to prohibit, that Biſhopricks of a thouſand Crowns, and Benefices of an hundred, ſhould be burthened, and concerning the others, to ſay nothing. This opinion prevailed to the great content of the Legates, and Papalins, for the abſolute power which was left to the Pope in good Benefices. Thoſe who demanded a moderation of the *penſions* of *reſervations* of fruits formerly impoſed of *acceſſes* and *regreſſes*, made many and long diſcourſes. But the difficulty compelled every one to bury all in ſilence, for the confuſion and diſorders which were foreſeen would enſue. For all would have excuſed themſelves that they would not reſign their Benefices without thoſe conditions, and thoſe eſpecially who had paid Compoſition to the *Chamber* for the obtaining of ſuch *graces*, would have complained that the *graces* ſhould be taken from them, and the money not reſtored; the reſtitution whereof was a thing impoſſible. Finally every one thought it enough to provide for the future, without thinking of that which is paſt.

The fourteenth Article, which did deteſt and forbid all payment of part of the fruits for the collation, proviſion or poſſeſſion, did much pleaſe the *French-men*. They ſaid the payment of *Annats* was taken away by thoſe words. And indeed he that doth conſider and examine them, cannot give them any other ſenſe, howſoever the event hath ſhewed, that they have not been ſo underſtood in *Rome*. In the ſeventeenth, in which *plurality* of Benefices is forbid, and *dualty* granted when one is not ſufficient, ſome deſired an addition, that they ſhould not be diſtant above a days journey, that the incumbent might make part of his reſidence in each of them. But they could not obtain it, neither did they much labour, foreſeeing that that Addition, as alſo the whole Article, would not be executed, but againſt thoſe of the poorer ſort only. The eighteenth, howſoever it did pleaſe in that it did reſtore in effect the proviſion of Benefices with cure to Biſhops; yet the *French-men* did oppoſe againſt the form of the examination, becauſe it did ſeem to bind the Biſhops hands too ſtrait. Their Reaſon was, that by that concourſe, too open and too publick a way was given to ambition; that antiquity made profeſſion to give Benefices to him that refuſed them; whereas, by this new manner they would not only procure them, but proſeſs themſelves to be worthy of them.

In the nineteenth, the Biſhop of *Conimbria* ſpake at large againſt the *Expectatives* or *Advowſons*, becauſe they did make the incumbents death to be deſired, and ſometimes procured. And for *mental Reſervations*, he ſaid they were Frauds, and near Thefts, and that it was better to leave to the Pope the whole collation of all Benefices, than to uſe ſuch unworthy Artifices as was to give virtue to a ſecret thought, not publiſhed, and to leave a ſuſpicion that it was not a reſervation in the mind, but an invention after the fact. But *Simoneta* croſſed his diſcourſe, ſaying, that it was good to reprehend abuſes for which no proviſion was determined, that it might be procured; but ſeeing a common diſpoſition to the remedy, and the Decree compoſed already,

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already, it was ſufficient to eſtabliſh it, by conſenting, without multiplying words of reprehenſion, ambitiouſly, when there was no need.

The eleventh of *September*, the *French* Ambaſſadors received Letters from the King, of the eight and twentieth of *Auguſt*, in which he ſignified, that he had received the Articles, imparted to them by the Legates, and did ſee that matters were far from the hope he conceived, becauſe to eſtabiſh theſe was to pare the Kings nails, and to make thoſe of the Eccleſiaſticks longer. Which becauſe he would not endure, he commanded to repreſent to the Fathers with wiſdom, dexterity, and courage, that as every Prince, ſo long as the Council doth proceed aright, is bound to favour it with all heat of zeal; ſo to cover the ſore, which cauſeth the preſent evils, and to make a greater, with the prejudice of Kings, is far from that which was expected. That he ſaw how lightly they paſſed over the Reformation of the Clergy, who only have given the ſcandals to thoſe that have ſeparated themſelves from the Romiſh Church, and how they aſſume authority to take away the rights and Prerogatives of Kings, to break their Conſtitutions and Cuſtoms, preſcribed by time out of mind, to Anathematiſe and Excommunicate Kings and Princes, all tending to ſow diſobedience, ſedition, and rebellion of ſubjects againſt their Soveraigns; whereas it is manifeſt to the whole world, that the power of the Fathers, and of the Council, extendeth only to the Reformation of the Clergy, without touching matters of State, or of Secular power and juriſdiction, which is wholly diſtinct from the Eccleſiaſtical, and that always, when the Fathers and Councils have preſumed to handle ſuch things, Kings and Princes have made reſiſtance; whence many ſeditions and wars, to the great damage of Chriſtendom, have proceeded. That they ſhould exhort them to be careful in that which belonged to their charge, and was neceſſary for the preſent occaſions, and to leave thoſe attempts, which, having never done good heretofore, would produce a worſe effect in thoſe times. The King added, that, if the Fathers would not retire upon theſe perſwaſions, they, the Ambaſſadors, ſhould make a ſtrong oppoſition; which being done, without expecting their judgment, or referring themſelves to their diſcretion, they ſhould depart, and go to *Venice*, letting the *French* Prelates know that they ought to continue in Council, and indeavour to do God ſervice, being aſſured, that, in caſe any thing ſhall be treated againſt the Rights, Prerogatives and Priviledges of the King and *French* Church, they will not fail to abſent themſelves, as his Majeſty would have them do. He wrote alſo to the Cardinal of *Lorain* in the ſame manner, as he gave order ſhould be told the other Prelates; that is, that he ſhould not approve any thing with his preſence, that ſhould be handled in Council againſt the Kings rights, but ſhould abſent himſelf, if he ſhould ſee that the Fathers do ſally without the limits of their charge; referring him, for the reſidue, to the inſtructions ſent to the Amdaſſadors.

The French King writeth to *Trent* concerning the Reformation of Princes.

The Ambaſſadors having received theſe Letters, and conſulted of all with the Cardinal of *Lorain*, by his advice, did impart them to the Legates, and cauſed a voice thereof to paſs in the Council, that the Biſhops, hearing of it, might deſiſt from demanding the Reformation of Princes, and themſelves might not have occaſion to oppoſe, and proteſt. But this brought forth a contrary effect. For the Biſhops who were quiet, in regard of the expectation that, when the Seſſion was ended, the reformation of Princes ſhould be propoſed, underſtanding this news, and perceiving that the aim was to paſs it over in ſilence, began

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to treat among themſelves, not to proceed any further in the acts of the Council, if that alſo which concerneth Princes were not given forth; and put in conſultation, together with the other Articles. And they proceeded ſo far herein, that a hundred of them gave their word one to another to be conſtant in this reſolution; and having drawn a writing to this purpoſe, which was ſubſcribed by all, they went to the Legates, requiring that the Articles of the Reformation of Princes might be propoſed and given to the Fathers, declaring, as it were by way of proteſtation, that they would not proceed, nor conclude any thing in the others, but together with theſe. The Legates gave good words, propoſing, and hoping to divert the humor. And, in this trouble, the Count of *Luna* appeared again and demanded, as he had done before, a revocation of the Decree *proponentibus Legatis*, that every Prelate might propoſe what he thought worthy of Reformation: and demanded alſo that the ſixth Article might be amended, to pleaſe the *Spaniſh* Prelates, taking quite away the exemptions of the *Chapters* of the Canons of Cathedral Churches, and ſubjecting them to the Biſhop. And there being in *Trent* a Proctor of thoſe *Chapters*, who laboured to the contrary, he commanded him to ſpeak no more in it.

A combination of an hundred Prelates concerning the Reformation of Princes.

Things ſtanding in theſe terms, the Legates thought to hold the Seſſion with the matter of Matrimony only. But it was oppoſed, that the difficulties of Clandeſtine Marriage were not well digeſted as yet, and that the Ambaſſadors would ſuſpect, that if the Seſſion were held, and the Reformation not ſpoken of, all hope was loſt that it would ever be handled. And it being evident that no part of the Reformation could be in order, at the time determined for the Seſſion, they propoſed, in the general Congregation of the fifteenth of the Month, to prolong it until the eleventh of *November*, and ſo it was reſolved. The cauſe of this long delay was, that the Pope, ſeeing the difficulties to finiſh the Council, ariſing partly by the controverſies of the Prelates, and partly by the oppoſitions of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, put all hope of overcoming them in the Cardinal of *Lorain*. Whereupon he wrote to the Legates, that, in caſe the Seſſion could not be held at the time appointed, it ſhould be deferred for two Months. And this he did, that the Cardinal might have time to come unto him, that he might Treat with him; of that which was impoſſible to do by Letters or Meſſengers, and that, by this means, every previous diſpoſition for the concluſion of the Council, might be prepared. Until that time the Pope had no other determination than to finiſh the Synod, but he firmly reſolved then, that, if that could not be done, there being a neceſſity to rid himſelf of it, he would by all means diſſolve it. He ſent the Legates faculty to make a Suſpenſion, or a Tranſlation as they thought beſt, by advice of the Fathers, and wrote unto them that he would, by all means, be freed from it, by an end of it, if it were poſſible, which he did much deſire, but, if it could not be, they ſhould uſe one of thoſe two remedies: and therefore that they ſhould endeavour to make ſome occaſion ariſe, that they might be requeſted to do it, that he might not ſeem to be the Author; as alſo that they ſhould ſollicite the journey of *Lorain*; who parted the next day after the reſolution was made to prolong the Seſſion.

The Pope's confidence is only in the Cardinal of *Lorain*.

The Pope is reſolved by all means to be freed from the Council.

The Cardinal of *Lorain* goeth to *Rome*.

All the diſtaſtes of *France* for matter of the Council were ceaſed in the Pope, though he received continual troubles from that Kingdom. He was much vexed with the daily inſtance, made unto him, that he would not conſent to the alienation of 100000. Crowns of Eccleſiaſtical

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ſtical goods, and by continual detraction which he underſtood the Hugonots uſed againſt him, and the Apoſtolick *See*. And particulary, he was grieved at the Cardinal *Chaſtilion*, who, as hath been ſaid, laid aſide the Clerical habit, and called himſelf Count of *Beauvois*; and, underſtanding that the Pope in Conſiſtory had deprived him of the Cap, the laſt of *May*, he reſumed he habit of a Cardinal, and was Married in it: and in a great Solemnity in *Roan*, the thirteenth of *Auguſt*, when the King was declared in Parliament to be of age, he appeared in the Solemnity, in the ſame habit, in preſence of all the *French* Nobility; which was generally thought to be a great contempt of the Papal dignity. Wherewith the Pope being moved, he made his deprivation to be printed at this time, and many Copies to be diſperſed in *France*.

The Cardinal *Chaſtillion* mocketh the Pope.

And is deprived by him.

The Popes *Nuncio* reſident in *France*, came to *Rome*, a few days before the arrival of the Cardinal of *Lorain*; who was diſpatched by the Queen, to propoſe to the Pope a conference between his Holineſs, the Emperor, and King of *Spain*; and the King her Son, in whoſe Train her ſelf would be. The propoſition did not diſpleaſe the Pope, becauſe it might ſerve him to finiſh the Council; but he thought the execution was impoſſible. And he promiſed to ſend *Nuncii* to the Emperor and King of *Spain*, to this end; and appointed the Biſhop of *Vintimiglia* for *Spain*, whom he therefore recalled from *Trent*, and the Biſhop of *Iſchia* for the Emperor.

How the Cardinal of *Lorain* was treated in *Rome*.

To the Cardinal of *Lorain* he made exceſſive demonſtrations of honour, lodged him in the palace, (a thing unuſual) went publickly to viſit him in his lodging. Their diſcourſes were partly about the Conference, though the Cardinal did not think it feaſable. They treated about the ſale of a 100000. Crowns, which whether the Cardinal did promote or draw back, was not diſcovered. But the Pope having, upon a new inſtance made by the *French* Ambaſſador, anſwered, that he did refer it to the Council, many thought it to be an excuſe invented by *Lorain*. But the principal buſineſs was about finiſhing the Synod, which the Pope thought to be of greateſt importance, and knew to be moſt difficult. Wherein there was great confidence between them. For the Cardinal diſcovered to him, that his intereſts were turned the ſame way, and that, ſince the death of his Brothers, he ſaw plainly, that there was no means to maintain Religion in *France*, and his houſe, but his conjunction with the Apoſtolick *See*. The Pope promiſed to make Cardinals at his inſtance, and give him ſuch words as ſhewed an intention to make him his Succeſſor in the Popedom: and that they might have more credit, he made ſhew, that the greatneſs of that Cardinal was profitable for the ends he had, in aiming at ſome matter of great moment. And the concluſion of his diſcourſes to every one was; *We muſt ſhut up the Council, provide money, and afterwards that will happen which ſhall pleaſe* God.

The Pope told the Cardinal, that as often as he heard of the diſcords, and delays, which ſome did plot, he thought to ſuſpend the Council; but changed his opinion, for fear of the ſcandal which the World would take, which knew not the truth: and that ſometimes he thought this the greateſt evil that could occur, and ſometimes judged it leſs than the danger in which his authority was, which was the mark at which the Princes, Biſhops and all ſorts of perſons did ſhoot: but finally, that it was neceſſary to lay aſide all reſpects, and come to this reſolution. The Cardinal diſſwaded him, ſhewing that this was not a medicine

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dicine to cure the evil, but to defer it only, with greater danger; because he would, in a ſhort time, have new demands to reſtore it, and plots would be laid by thoſe who were not ſatisfied with him; and that to ſuſpend was as difficult as to finiſh it. For there was no need to alledg cauſes for this, it being ſufficient to bring things to the concluſion, and ſo to end, whereas the ſuſpenſion did require an allegation of the cauſe, whereof every one would ſpeak his opinion; that it was more honourable to finiſh than to ſuſpend it; and he uſed other reaſons, which made the Pope know that his Counſel was good and faithful. And afterwards he adviſed him to deal plainly with the King of *Spain.*

Therefore calling the Ambaſſadors of that King, he complained in grievous terms, ſaying, that he had called the Council, upon hope and promiſe, that the affairs of the Papacy would have been favoured by his Majeſty, to whom he had given all imaginable ſatisfaction, and would give him more, according to his demands, if the impediments, cauſed by the Council, were taken away; that he had not demanded any favour of his Majeſty and his Miniſters, but the ending of the Council, for the ſervice of *God*, and the publick good, and therein was ill uſed, though it was rather a loſs to the King, than a benefit. Therefore he was forced to hold eſteem of him by whom he was eſteemed, and to caſt himſelf into the Arms of thoſe that would aſſiſt him. And he diſpatched alſo a Currier to the King, with a Letter of his own hand, complaining of the Offices, done by his Ambaſſador and Prelates in *Trent*, contrary to his Miniſters in *Rome*, each party ſaying, he doth the Commiſſion of his Majeſty. He ſhewed that it was convenient for the ſervice of God, of the Apoſtolick See, and of his Majeſty, that the Council ſhould end; and in concluſion, he deſired him to declare himſelf plainly whether he would aſſiſt him herein, or not. The Cardinal did counſel him alſo not to be averſe from granting to the Emperor, the Cup, and marriage of Prieſts, by which means he ſhould gain both him and the King of the *Romans*, not to conſent only to the ending of the Council, but to be favourable, and to promote it. He told him likewiſe, that it was neceſſary to omit the Reformation of Princes, becauſe it would prolong the buſineſs more than any thing beſides.

After the departure of *Lorain*, nine *French* Biſhops parted from *Trent*, and returned home, ſo that there remained but eight, beſides ſix who went with the Cardinal to *Rome*. This departure cauſed an opinion, that they were recalled, and that there was a purpoſe, at the perſwaſion of the *Hugonots* to recal the others, that the end of the Council approaching, no *French-men* might be preſent when they ſhould be anathematized. The Legates, to facilitate the difficulties of ſecret marriage, cauſed the Divines who were maintainers and oppoſers of it, to make a publick diſputation. This was never done before in any occurrence, and then did ſo little good, that every one was more confirmed in his own opinion. After this, to reaſſume the Congregations, and to handle the Reformation, they gave forth the reſidue of the Articles, the laſt of which was the Reformation of Princes, being forced thereunto by the mutiny of the Prelates.

Of which matter concerning Princes having often made mention, and now being come to a place, in which it is neceſſary to recite it, for the underſtanding of the things that follow, it muſt be known that it did contain a proheme, with thirteen Articles, and a very pregnant Epilogue;

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Epilogue; the ſubſtance whereof was, That the Synod, beſides the things conſtituted concerning Eccleſiaſtical perſons, hath thought fit to correct the abuſes of the Seculars, brought in againſt the immunity of the Church, hoping that the Princes will be content, and cauſe due obedience to be rendred to the Clergy. And therefore it doth admoniſh them to cauſe their Magiſtrates, Officers, and Temporal Lords, to yeild that obedience to the Pope and conſtitutions of the Council, which themſelves are bound to perform. And, for facilitation hereof, it doth renew ſome things decreed by the holy Canons, and Imperial Laws, in favour of Eccleſiaſtical immunity, which ought to be obſerved upon pain of *Anathema*. 1. That Eccleſiaſtical perſons may not be judged in a Secular Court, howſoever there may be doubt of the title of the Clerkſhip, or themſelves conſent, or have renounced the things obtained, or for any cauſe whatſoever, though under pretence of publick utility, or ſervice of the King; nor ſhall be proceeded againſt there, in cauſe of murder, if it be not truly and properly a murder, and notoriouſly known, nor in other caſes permitted by the Law, without the Declaration of the Law going before. 2. That in cauſes Spiritual, of Matrimony, Hereſy, Patronage, Beneficial, Civil, Criminal, and mixt, belonging, in what manner ſoever, to the Eccleſiaſtical Court, as well over Perſons, as over Goods, Tithes, Fourths, and other portions appertaining to the Church, or over beneficial Patrimonies, Eccleſiaſtical Fees, temporal juriſdiction of Churches, the temporal Judges ſhall not meddle, neither in the *Petitory*, nor in the *Poſſeſſory*, taking away all appeal upon pretence of juſtice denied, or as from an abuſe, or becauſe the things obtained are renounced: and thoſe who ſhall have recourſe to the Secular Magiſtrate, in the cauſes aforeſaid, ſhall be Excommunicated, and deprived of their rights, belonging unto them in theſe things. And this ſhall be obſerved alſo in cauſes depending in what inſtance ſoever. 3. That the Seculars ſhall not appoint Judges in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, though they have Apoſtolick authority, or a Cuſtom time out of mind: and the Clerks who ſhall receive ſuch Offices from the Laicks, though by vertue of any priviledge whatſoever, ſhall be ſuſpended from their Orders, deprived of their Benefices, and Offices, and made uncapable of them. 4. That the Secular ſhall not command the Eccleſiaſtical Judge, not to Excommunicate without Licence, or to revoke or ſuſpend the Excommunication denounced, nor forbid him to examine, cite and condemn, or to have Sergeants, or Miniſters for execution. 5. That neither the Emperor, Kings, nor any Prince whatſoever, ſhall make Edicts or Conſtitutions, in what manner ſoever, concerning Eccleſiaſtical cauſes, or perſons, nor meddle with their perſons, cauſes juriſdictions, or tribunals, no not in the *Inquiſition*, but ſhall be bound to afford the ſecular Arm to the Eccleſiaſtical Judges. 6. That the temporal juriſdiction of the Eccleſiaſticks, though with meer and mixt power, ſhall not be diſturbed, nor their ſubjects drawn to the Secular tribunals, in cauſes temporal. 7. That no Prince or Magiſtrate ſhall promiſe by *Brief*, or other writing, or give hope to any to have a Benefice within their dominion, nor procure it from the Prelates, or Chapters or Regulars, and he that ſhall obtain it by that means, ſhall be deprived, and uncapable. 8. That they ſhall not meddle with the Fruits of Benefices Vacant, under pretence of cuſtody or patronage, or protection, or of withſtanding diſcords, nor ſhall place there either Bayliffs, or Vicars: and the Seculars who ſhall accept ſuch Offices, and Cuſtodies,

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Cuſtodies, ſhould be Excommunicated, and the Clerks ſuſpended from their Orders, and deprived of their Benefices. 9. That the Eccleſiaſticks ſhall not be forced to pay Taxes, Gabels, Tithes, Paſſages, Subſidies, though in the name of gift or loan, either in reſpect of the Church goods, and of their Patrimonial, except in Provinces, where by ancient Cuſtom, the Eccleſiaſticks themſelves do aſſiſt in publick Parliaments, to impoſe Subſidies both upon the Laiety and the Clergy, to make War againſt the Infidels, or for other urgent neceſſities. 10. That they ſhall not meddle with Eccleſiaſtical goods, movable or immovable, Vaſſallages, Tenths or other rights, nor in the goods of communities or private men, over which the Church hath any right: nor ſhall rent out the paſturing or herbage which groweth in the Lands and poſſeſſions of the Church. 11. That the Letters, Sentences and Citations of Judges Eccleſiaſtical, eſpecially of the Court of *Rome*, ſo ſoon as they be exhibited, ſhall be intimated without exception, publiſhed, and executed: neither ſhall it be neceſſary to require conſent or Licence, which is called *Exequatur*, or *Placet*, or by any other name either for this, or for taking poſſeſſion of Benefices, though upon pretence of withſtanding falſhoods, and violences, except in fortreſſes in thoſe Benefices in which Princes are acknowledged by reaſon of the temporality; and in caſe there ſhould be doubt of falſity, or of ſome great ſcandal or tumult, the Biſhop, as the Popes delegate ſhall conſtitute what he thinketh needful. 12. That Princes and Magiſtrates ſhall not lodge their Officers, Servants, Souldiers, Horſes, or Dogs, in the Houſes or Monaſteries of the Eccleſiaſticks, nor take any thing from them for their food or paſſage. 13. And if any Kingdom, Province, or place ſhall pretend not to be bound to any of the things aforeſaid, by vertue of priviledge from the Apoſtolick *See* which are in actual uſe; the priviledges ſhall be exhibited to the Pope, within a year after the end of the Council, which ſhall be confirmed by him, according to the merits of the Kingdoms or Provinces; and, in caſe they be not exhibited before the end of the year, they ſhall be underſtood to be of no force. And, for the Epilogue there was an admonition to all Princes to have in veneration the things which concern the Clergy, as peculiar to God, and not to ſuffer them to be offended by others, renewing all the conſtitutions of Popes and holy Canons, in favour of Eccleſiaſtical immunity, commanding under pain of *Anathema*, that neither directly nor indirectly, under any pretence whatſoever, any thing be conſtituted, or executed, againſt the perſons or goods of the Clergy, or againſt their liberty, any priviledges or exemptions, though immemorial notwithſtanding.

Are diſtaſtful to the Emperor.

And this is it which was firſt imparted to the Ambaſſadors, and by each of them, ſent to their Princes, whereupon the *French* King gave the order to his Ambaſſadors before mentioned. And the Emperor having ſeen them, wrote to the Cardinal *Morone*, that he could not poſſibly aſſent, either as Emperor or as Arch-Duke, that they ſhould ſpeak in Council of Reforming the juriſdiction of Princes, nor to take from them authority to receive aſſiſtance and contributions from the Clergy; putting him in mind, that all the former evils did ariſe from the oppreſſion attempted by the Eccleſiaſticks againſt people and Princes. That they ſhould beware not to provoke them more, and cauſe greater inconvenierces to ariſe.

After *Lorain* was departed, the *French* Ambaſſadors put their proteſtation

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teſtation in order, to make uſe of it if need were. In the Congregation of the two and twentieth of *September* one of the Fathers made a long ſpeech to ſhew that the cauſe of all deformation proceeded from Princes; that they had more need of Reformation; that the Articles were already in order, and it was now time to propoſe them, that they might not vaniſh to nothing by delaies. After he had ſpoken, the Ambaſſador *de Ferrieres* made a long querulous Oration, or, as the *French-men* ſay, a complaint. The contents, whereof, in the principal points, were. That they might ſay to the Fathers as the Ambaſſadors of the Jews did to the Prieſts, Ought we alſo to continue faſting and lamenting? That there are more than 150. years paſt ſince the moſt Chriſtian Kings have demanded of the Popes a Reformation of the Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline; that for this end only they have ſent Ambaſſadors to the Synods, of *Conſtance*, *Baſil*, and the *Lateran*, to the firſt of *Trent*, and finally to this ſecond. What their demands were, *John Gerſon*, Ambaſſador in that of *Conſtance*, the Orations of *Petrus Daneſius*, Ambaſſador in the firſt of *Trent*, of *Guido Faber*, and of the Cardinal of *Lorain* in this ſecond, do teſtify: in which nothing was demanded but the Reformation of the manners of the miniſters of the Church; and notwithſtanding this they muſt ſtill faſt and lament, not ſeventy years, but two hundred, *God* grant they be not three hundred, and many more. And if any ſhould ſay, that ſatisfaction hath been given them, by Decrees and *Anathematiſmes*, they did not think that this was to ſatisfy, to give one thing in payment for another. If it ſhall be ſaid that they ought to be ſatisfied with a great bundle of Reformations propoſed the month before, they had ſpoke their opinion concerning that, and ſent it to the King, who had anſwered, that he ſaw few things in it befitting the ancient diſcipline, but many things contrary. That that is not the plaiſter of *Iſaias*, to heal the wound, but of *Ezekiel*, to make it raw, though healed before. That theſe additions of Excommunicating and anathematizing Princes, was without example in the ancient Church, and did make a way to rebellion; and all the Articles concerning the Reformation of Kings and Princes, have no aim but to take away the liberty of the *French* Church, and offend the Majeſty of the moſt Chriſtian Kings, who, by the example of *Conſtantine*, *Juſtinian*, and other Emperors have made many Eccleſiaſtical Laws, which have not only not diſpleaſed the Popes, but they have inſerted ſome of them in their Decrees, and judged *Charles* the great, and *Lewis* the ninth, principal authors of them, worthy of the name of Saints. He added, that the Biſhops had, with them, governed the Church of *France*, not only ſince the times of the *Pragmatick*, or *Concordate*, but four hundred years and more before the Book of the *Decretals*; and that theſe Laws have been defended and renewed by the later Kings ſince that the *Decretals*, ſubſtituted in place of them, have derogated from them in the times following. That the King, being now of age, would reduce thoſe Laws, and the liberty of the *French* Church into obſervation, becauſe there is nothing in them contrary to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church, to the Ancient Decrees of Popes, nor to the Councils of the Church univerſal. He ſaid moreover, that thoſe Laws do not prohibit Biſhops to reſide all the year, and to preach every day, not only nine Months, and in the Feaſts, as was Decreed in the laſt Seſſion; nor forbid them to live in ſobriety and Piety, and having the uſe only, and not the benefit of the revenues, to diſtribute them, or rather to render them to the poor, who

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are owners of them. And he proceeded in naming other things of the Council, with the like ironical manner, that he ſeemed to jeſt at them. He added, that the power given by *God* to the King, the Laws of *France*, and the liberty of the *French* Church, have always forbid *Penſions*, *Reſignations* in favour or with *Regreſs*, *plurality* of Benefices, *Annates*, *Preventions*, and to litigate for the *Poſſeſſory* before any but the Kings Judges, or for the propriety, or other cauſe, civil or criminal, out of *France*, and forbid alſo the hindering of appeals, as from abuſe, or to hinder that the King, Founder and Patron of almoſt all the Churches in *France*, may not make uſe of the goods, and revenues, though Eccleſiaſtical, of his Subjects, for inſtant and urgent neceſſity of the Common-wealth. He ſaid afterwards, that the King marvelled at two things. One, that they, the Fathers, adorned with ſo great Eccleſiaſtical power in the miniſtery of *God*, aſſembled only to reſtore Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, not regarding this, ſhould bind themſelves to reform thoſe whom they ought to obey, though they were ſtiff-necked. Another, that they ſhould think they can and ought, without any admonition, Excommunicate and Anathematiſe Kings and Princes, which are given by *God* to men, which ought not to be done to any ordinary man, though perſevering in a moſt grievous offence. He ſaid, that *Michael*, the *Archangel*, durſt not curſe the Devil, or *Micheas*, or *Daniel*, the moſt wicked Kings, and yet they, the Fathers, were wholly converſant in maledictions againſt Kings and Princes, and againſt the moſt Chriſtian, if he will defend the Laws of his anceſtors, and the liberty of the *Gallican* Church. His concluſion was, that the King did deſire them not to decree any thing againſt thoſe Laws, or, if they ſhould, that he commanded his Ambaſſadors to oppoſe the Decrees, as then they did oppoſe them. But if, omitting the Princes, they would attend ſeriouſly to that which all the world expecteth, it would be moſt acceptable to the King, who did command them, the Ambaſſadors, to further that enterpriſe. Hitherto he ſpake in the Kings name. Afterwards he did invocate the Heaven, Earth, and the Fathers, to conſider whether the Kings demand were juſt, whether it were honeſt for them to make orders for themſelves throughout the whole world; whether this were a time to take compaſſion, not upon the Church, nor upon *France*, but upon themſelves, the Fathers, their dignity, reputation, and revenues, which cannot be preſerved but by the Arts by which they were gained in the beginning; that in ſo great confuſions they muſt be wary, and not cry when *Chriſt* cometh, *ſend Us into the herd of Swine*; that if they would reſtore the Church to the ancient reputation, compel the adverſaries to repentance, and reform Princes; they ſhould follow the example of *Ezekias*, who did not imitate his Father, nor his firſt, ſecond, third, and fourth Grand-father, who were unperfect, but went higher to the imitation of his perfect Anceſtors; ſo it was not fit at that time to reſpect the next peedeceſſors; though very learned, but to aſcend as far as *Ambroſe*, *Auguſtine*, and *Chryſoſtom*, who overcame the Hereticks not by arming Princes to the War, themſelves in the mean while picking their Nails at home, but with Prayers, good life, and ſincere Preaching. For they, having framed themſelves firſt like *Ambroſe*, *Auſtine*, and *Chryſoſtom*, will make the Princes alſo to become *Theodoſii*, *Honorii*, *Arcadii*, *Valentiniani*, and *Gratiani*; which he ſaid they hoped for, and prayed God it might be ſo; and here he ended. The Oration, when it was pronounced, did anger very much, not only the Papalins, but the

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the other Prelates more, and *French-men* alſo: and when it was ended, there was ſuch a whiſpering, that it was neceſſary to finiſh the Congregation. Some did tax it of Hereſy; and others ſaid, it was much to be ſuſpected, at the leaſt; and others, that it was offenſive to godly ears. They ſaid, he had taken occaſion to do it, in abſence of the Cardinal of *Lorain*, who would never have endured thoſe terms, and that his end was to diſſolve the Council; that he did attribute to Kings more than belongeth to them: that he inferred that the Popes authority is not neceſſary for the uſing of Church goods; that he made the *French* King like to the Queen of *England*. But nothing did ſo much offend, as that he ſaid that the authority of the *French* Kings over perſons and goods Eccleſiaſtical, was not founded upon the *Pragmatique*, *Concordates*, and priviledges given by Popes, but upon the Law of Nature, holy Scripture, ancient Councils, and Laws of the Chriſtian Emperors.

The *French* Ambaſſadors were reprehended alſo, becauſe they did not follow the ſteps of the Emperor's and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadors, who, though they had the ſame intereſts, made not ſuch a commotion, becauſe they knew there was no reaſon for it. *De Ferrieres* defended himſelf, and ſaid, that the Legates had promiſed the Cardinal of *Lorain*, that this matter ſhould not be ſpoken of, but with ſuch moderation, as that it ſhould not touch the affairs of *France*, which was not performed; that the Kings inſtruction had been imparted to the Cardinal, who, if he had been preſent, would not only have conſented to, but counſelled a Proteſtation; that thoſe were great *Ignorantes*, who having ſeen nothing but the *Decretals*, Laws of four hundred years, did think that there were no Eccleſiaſtical Laws before them; that if any would reform the King by the *Decretals*, he would reform them by the Decrees, and lead them alſo to more ancient times, not only of St. *Auſtin*, but of the *Apoſtles* alſo; that he did not make the *French* King as the Queen of *England*, but did oppoſe them, who have begun long ſince to enlarge their own authority, by diminiſhing the Kings; that if thoſe Articles did ſo much damnifie the Emperour and Catholick King, as they do *France*, they would never have been propoſed, and therefore he was not to take example by thoſe, who have not equal intereſts. The Arch-Biſhop of *Sans*, and the Abbat of *Claraval* were diſtaſted moſt of all, who went up and down, ſaying, that the Ambaſſadors had done ill to proteſt, and that their end was to make a confuſion, and give occaſion for a National Council in *France*; that they were men not well affected, creatures of the King of *Navar*, ſent by him to the Council, for his own deſigns, had proteſted without the Kings Commiſſion, and that it was fit to make them ſhew their inſtructions, and to frame an *Inquiſition* againſt them, as not having a good opinion in matter of faith. Wherein great differences did ariſe between the Ambaſſadors and them. The next day the Ambaſſadors gave the King an account of the cauſes why they had deferred the proteſtation until then, and how they were forced at that time, to come unto it, adding, that they would defer the regiſtring of it in the acts of the Council, until his Majeſty had ſeen it, and commanded them what they ſhould do.

The Legates not having a Copy of the Oration, made a collection of it by the memory of thoſe who had been moſt attentive, to ſend it to the Pope; of which *de Ferrieres*, having gotten a Copy, complained, that many things were expreſſed againſt his intention, and in particular, where he named Eccleſiaſtical Laws, it was repeated, ſpiritual

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Laws, and that Kings might take Church goods at their pleaſure, whereas he had ſaid only for neceſſary cauſe. By this he was forced to give forth his Oration, and ſent a Copy of it to *Rome*, to the Cardinal of *Lorain*, excuſing himſelf for not having uſed words of ſuch acrimony as he was commanded in the laſt inſtructions, and in the firſt, which are reconfirmed in thoſe; adding alſo that he thought it neceſſary to obey the King, and was not willing to undergo the reprehenſions of the Counſellors of Parliament, who would have taxed him, if in a General Council, matters of ſo great importance had been determined againſt that which hath been by them ſo exactly maintained; beſides, the Kings authority, which he defended, having been upheld four hundred years by the Kingdom of *France*, againſt the War, in oppoſition of it, made by the Court of *Rome*, it was not juſt that the Fathers of the Council, the greater part of whom are Courtiers, ſhould be Judges of the ancient differences, which the Kingdom hath with that Court. He gave a Copy of the Oration to the Ambaſſadors alſo, and to as many as did deſire it; and ſome ſaid, that he had pronounced it otherwiſe than it was written. Whereunto he replyed, that that could not be ſaid by any that had any mean underſtanding of the *Latin*, and that howſoever it was the ſame pronounced, and written, yet if they thought otherwiſe, they muſt remember that the ſtile of the Synod was never to judg of things as they were delivered in voice, but as they were exhibited in writing, and therefore they ſhould move no controverſie herein, or if they would, himſelf was to be believed before any other.

And anſwered

The oration being publiſhed, it was anſwered in the name of the Synod, by a nameleſs man. He ſaid, that the *French* Ambaſſadors had reaſon to compare themſelves to the Ambaſſadors of the *Jews*, becauſe they had both made an unjuſt complaint againſt God; and that the ſame anſwer might be given them, which the Prophet gave to that people, in the name of *God*, that if they had faſted and lamented ſo many years, or ate and drunk, all was for their own intereſts; that the Kings of *France* were cauſe of all the abuſes of that Kingdom, by naming to Biſhopricks unlearned perſons, ignorant in Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, and more inclined to a laſcivious than to a Religious life; that the *French-men* would not have a reſolution in the controverſies of faith, that Chriſtian Doctrine might always be uncertain; and place might be given to new maſters, who might rub the itching ears of that unquiet Nation; that they ſpared not to ſay in thoſe turbulent times, that it belonged to the King, though very young as yet, to diſpoſe of all the government of the Church; that they had ſaid, with aſſeveration, that beneficed men had only the uſe of the revenues, whereas in *France*, time out of mind, they have carried themſelves for *Uſufructuaries*, making Teſtaments, and receiving inheritances from their kinſfolk, who die inteſtate; that to ſay the poor are owners of the revenues, was much contrary to another ſaying in the ſame Oration, that the King is Patron of all Eccleſiaſtical goods, and might diſpoſe of them at his pleaſure; that it was a great abſurdity, to ſay, that the King might not be reprehended by a general Council, ſeeing that *David* was reprehended by the Prophet *Nathan*, and took it in good part; that it did a little ſavour of Hereſy to tax Biſhops of theſe later times, as if they were not true Biſhops. In the end, he ſpake at large againſt the ſaying of the Ambaſſador, that Kings are given by *God*, confuting it as heretical, condemned by the *extravagant* of *Boniface* the eighth, *Unam ſanctam*, if he

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he did not diſtinguiſh, that they are from *God*, but by mediation of his *Vicar*.

The Ambaſſador publiſhed an Apology, in anſwer of this writing, as if it had been made to the Synod, ſaying, that the Fathers could not anſwer them as the Prophet did the *Jews*; for they demanded a reformation of the Clergy, principally in *France*, knowing the defects of it, and not as the *Jews*, to whom the cauſe of their faſting and lamentation was imputed, becauſe they were ignorant of their own defects; that the Fathers, aſcribing the cauſe of the Eccleſiaſtical deformation to their Kings, ſhould take heed they did not like *Adam*, who laid the blame upon the woman which God had given him for company; ſaying, it was a great fault in the Kings to preſent unworthy Biſhops, but a greater in the Popes to admit them; that they had deſired the reformation before the Doctrine, not to leave it uncertain, but becauſe, all Catholicks conſenting therein, they thought it neceſſary to begin with corrupted manners, the fountain and ſource of all Hereſies; that he was not ſorry he had ſaid, that, in the Articles propoſed, there are many things repugnant to the ancient Decrees, yea he would add, that they did derogate alſo from the conſtitutions of the Popes of later times; that he had ſaid that *Charles* the great, and *Lewis* the ninth, had conſtituted Eccleſiaſtical Laws, by which *France* had been governed, not that the preſent King did mean to make new, and if he had, he had ſpoken conformably to the holy Scripture, the civil Laws of the *Romans*, and to that which the Eccleſiaſtical authors, *Greek* and *Latine*, do write, before the Book of the Decrees; for ſaying that beneficed men had only the uſe of the revenues, he asked pardon, becauſe he ſhould have ſaid that they were only Adminiſtrators, and that thoſe who take his ſaying in ill part, muſt complain of *Jerom*, *Auſtin*, and the other Fathers, who did not ſay only, that the Eccleſiaſtical goods did belong to the poor, but that Clergy-men, like ſervants, did gain all for the Church; that he never ſaid that the King had free power over Eccleſiaſtical goods, but that all did belong to the Prince, in time of inſtant and urgent publick neceſſity, and he that knew the force of thoſe words, did underſtand well, that, in ſuch a time, neither requeſt, nor authority of the Pope could take place; that he had reprehended the *Anathema* againſt Kings in that manner as it was ſet down in the Articles, and did grant that Princes and Magiſtrates might be reprehended in that ſort as *Nathan* did, but that they ſhould not be provoked with injuries and maledictions; that having incited them, by the example of *Ezekias*, to make a reformation, according to the pattern of the ancient times, it could not be inferred that he did not think the Biſhops of the laſt times, to be lawful, knowing very well that the Phariſees and Popes ſit in *Moyſes* Chair: that in ſaying the power of Kings cometh from God, he hath ſaid abſolutely and ſimply, as the Prophet *Daniel*, and *Paul* the Apoſtle have written, not remembring the diſtinction of *mediate & immediate*, nor the Conſtitution of *Boniface*, of which if he (being a *French-man*) had thought, he would have repeated what the Stories ſay of the cauſe and beginning of that *extravagant*.

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This Apology did not diminiſh the bad opinion conceived againſt the Ambaſſadors, but increaſed it rather, it being (as they ſaid) not an excuſe of the error committed, but a pertinacy in maintaining it. And many diſcourſed not ſo much againſt the Ambaſſadors, as againſt the Kingdom. They ſaid, it did plainly appear of what mind they were who managed the affairs of *France*. They noted the Queen Mother,

The government of *France* is taxed by the Fathers.

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Mother, that ſhe gave credit to the *Chaſtilons*; eſpecially to him that had quitted the Cardinals Cap: that the Chancellor, and the Biſhop of *Valence* had too much power with her, at whoſe inſtance that unlucky check had been given to the Parliament of *Paris*, with the detriment of Religion; that ſhe had inward familiarity with *Curſor*, and with his Wife, whom, in reſpect of their Religion, ſhe ſhould not have endured to look upon; That the Kings Court was full of Hugonots, exceedingly favoured; that ſolicitation was ſtill uſed to ſell Eccleſiaſtical goods, to the great prejudice of the Church; and other things they ſaid of this nature.

The abrogation of *proponentibus Legatis* is promoted again.

But while the Council was in this motion, by means of theſe differences, the Count of *Luna*, according to his uſe, to add difficulties to thoſe which were propoſed by others, made inſtance for the abrogation of *proponentibus Legatis*. A thing which did much trouble them, becauſe they knew not how to content him, without prejudice of the former Seſſions. For not only the revocation, but every modification or ſuſpenſion, did ſeem to be a Declaration, that they had not lawfully proceeded in the things paſt. But the Ambaſſador, ſeeing nothing done concerning his demand, ſo often made, ſaid, that hitherto he had negotiated modeſtly, but ſhould be forced to alter his courſe; and ſpeak more boldly, becauſe the Pope, upon his former inſtances, had written that they ſhould do that which was convenient, and did wholly refer himſelf unto them. The Legates, to be quit of his importunity, anſwered, that they would leave it in the liberty of the Council, to make the Declaration, if he thought good; and ſo the name of liberty of the Council, did ſerve to cover that, which did proceed from others. For the Legates did at the ſame time, uſe ſtrong perſwaſions with the Prelates their friends, that a delay might be interpoſed, to refer this particular to the end of the Council, and to enjoy the Benefit of time, that ſome overtue might be made to ſome courſe leſs prejudicial. But the Count, having diſcovered the practiſes, prepared a proteſtation, deſiring the Emperors, *French* and *Portugal* Ambaſſadors to ſubſcribe it; who perſwaded him not to be ſo earneſt, at that time. For *Morone*, having promiſed the Emperor, that proviſion ſhould be made herein before the end of the Council, until it were underſtood whether that would be performed or not, they knew not how he could proteſt concerning the other. And Cardinal *Morone*, to pacify the Count, ſent *Paleotto* often to negotiate with him, in what manner his requeſt might be granted: which himſelf did not well underſtand; becauſe his meaning was not to prejudice the Decrees paſt, and, with this condition, it was hard to find a temper. In concluſion, the Legates gave the Count their word that the Declaration ſhould be made in the next Seſſion, ſo that a means were found to ſatisfy the Fathers.

News being come to *Rome* of the *French* proteſtation, the Pope and the whole Court were wonderfully moved, thinking it was purpoſely done to diſſolve the Council, and imputed it unto them. But the Pope complained above all, that while the King did demand a favour, and a grant of a hundred thouſand Crowns of the revenues of the Clergy of *France*, his Ambaſſadors ſhould ſay, in the face of the whole Council, that he might take them without him. And the Cardinal of *Lorain* was troubled more, becauſe he thought it would be a great croſs to his negotiation with his Holineſs. He laboured to make it appear, that this did happen againſt his will, and that he would have diverted it, if he had been in *Trent*; that that inſtruction was a remnant of

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of the Counſels taken in the life-time of the King of *Navar*, and the execution procured by the dependants of that faction, of which *de Ferrieres* was one; that that faction, though it profeſſed the Catholick Religion outwardly, did hold ſtrict intelligence with the *Hugonots*, who deſired a diſſolution of the Council without a quiet end, that they might not be anathematized. But he ſaid, that thoſe who govern the affairs in *Trent*, were not without blame, in regard, that before his departure from that City, the things concerning that matter ſtood in good terms, the Legates having promiſed two things, with which the Ambaſſadors were contented. One, that they would not ſpeak of Kings and Sovereign Princes, but only of certain little Lords, who grant to Biſhops no exerciſe of Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction; the other, that all things depending on Graces done by the Pope, ſhould be excepted, as *indulgences*, priviledges, and grants of the holy *See*, and notwithſtanding, ſince his departure, they had given to the Fathers the firſt form, with the ſame things in it, which they had promiſed to take away. But he aſſured his Holineſs, that, notwithſtanding this, the Council ſhould have a quiet end, and promiſed to write to the King, and complain of that which was done, and to uſe means that the Ambaſſadors ſhould return to *Trent*, which he hoped to obtain.

According to this promiſe, he wrote into *France*, and to the Ambaſſadors. Theſe, he told that their action had this excuſe, that it was done, but that hereafter they ſhould continue in doing their duty, without making any more innovations. He wrote to the King, that the oppoſition made by the Ambaſſadors ſeemed unto him very ſtrange; and the rather, becauſe they had done it without his privity, and that there was neither reaſon, nor occaſion for it; that his abſence from *Trent* was the cauſe why the Ambaſſadors had applied, out of ſeaſon, a ſharp Plaiſter, to a ſmall Sore; that at his return, he would make proviſion therein with great eaſe. But becauſe things done already, could not be undone, he prayed his Majeſty to write to the Ambaſſadors, to continue in doing their duty, and to abſtain from violent courſes. He added, that he found the Pope well inclined, and diſpoſed to an holy and ſerious Reformation of the Church; that Chriſtendom was happy in having ſo worthy a *Paſtor*, that he ſent him back to *Trent*, ſo well inſtructed of all his holy intentions, for the ending and concluſion of the Council, that he might hope for an happy ſucceſs. And becauſe, in the end of the Council, the Decrees muſt be ſubſcribed by the Fathers and Ambaſſadors, who have aſſiſted in the name of their Princes, he deſired the King to cauſe his Ambaſſadors to return, that they may be preſent, and accompliſh that which is the complement of the protection, and of all the favours done to the Council by his Majeſty, by his Brother, Father, and Grandfather.

The Cardinal had much ado to defend himſelf, not only with the Pope, but with the Colledg of Cardinals alſo in Conſiſtory; who ſaid, that Princes deſired the liberty of the Council; yet not in the leaſt and juſteſt thing that concern them, but only for the deſtruction of the Eccleſiaſticks. The Pope gave order that better conſideration ſhould be had of that which was to be written to *Trent* about that Reformation, ſaying, he did it, not to meddle in the affairs of the Council, becauſe he meant to let the Fathers alone, but only to inſtruct the Legates, by way of counſel. But, in the mean while, he wrote to the Legates, that if the *French-men* would depart, they ſhould do it, but that they ſhould not give them occaſion, but ſhould be very careful

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For the Reformation, howſoever twenty Articles were concluded, and the one and twentieth treated on with the Count of *Luna*; the *Spaniſh* Prelates complained that the Article of the exemption of Chapters, and the laſt of the firſt Inſtances, and Appeals, were altered from that which was noted by the Prelates. Whereat the Legates, and Deputies for making the Decrees, diſdaining, anſwered, that either they ſhould juſtifie what they ſaid, or hold their peace. And ſome words of diſtaſte paſſing, the Count of *Luna* appeared in their favour, demanding that the oppoſitions made by his Prelates againſt thoſe two Articles might be conſidered on. Afterwards, he deſired that in the firſt Article, in which the Criminal Cauſes of Biſhops were reſerved to the Pope, a declaration ſhould be made, that no prejudice ſhould be done to the *Inquiſition* of *Spain*; which requeſt the Ambaſſador of *Portugal* had firſt made for his Kingdom. And the Legates anſwering, that thoſe matters were already decided, the Count replied, that if they ſhould be propoſed ſo, he would not go into the Seſſion, nor ſuffer any of his Prelates to enter. Whereupon Cardinal *Morone* ſaid, that if they would not go into the Seſſion, it ſhould be done without them. The Count aſcribing this rigidity of the Legates to the Proctor of the Chapters of *Spain*, he commanded him to depart immediately from *Trent*; which diſpleaſed the Legates. But that nothing might hinder the Seſſion, the time whereof did draw nigh; to pleaſe the Ambaſſador in the Article of the Cauſes of Biſhops, they cauſed Kingdoms, where the *Inquiſition* was, to be excepted. For that of the firſt inſtances, becauſe they would wholly take from the Pope all authority to make Commiſſions in *Rome*, the Legates thought it too hard; the ſixt alſo did import very much. For the Chapters of *Spain* are a very principal member, and do more depend on the Apoſtolick See than Biſhops do; becauſe theſe are all by the nomination of Kings, whereas more than half of the Canonries are of the Popes pure collation. Therefore they reſolved to defer this matter until the next Seſſion, rather than to prejudice the Canons. And they employed the Emperors Ambaſſadors to perſwade the Count to be content with it, by which means that difficulty alſo was overcome.

The Declaration of *Proponentibus Legatis* did remain. For which not being able to find a temper, they told the Count that he ſhould propoſe a form how he would have it done. Wherein he excuſing himſelf, they deputed three Canoniſts to treat with him, and to find a means that might pleaſe him, ſo that it were not to alter the way preſcribed by the Pope. But the Cardinal of *Lorain* came fitly for that occaſion; who, being parted from *Rome* with inſtruction and concluſion of all things, and having took *Venice* in his way, to perſwade the Ambaſſadors to return before the end of the Council, and now arrived in *Trent*, cauſed, with his dexterity, the Count to approve that manner, by which that difficulty, ſo much agitated, received an end, with ſatisfaction of all; and it was made the one and twentieth Article of Reformation, propoſed in the Congregation of the ninth of *November* held for this purpoſe, and approved with ſmall reſiſtance. After this, the ſecond Article was taken away; which being done, all the Articles were read over again, and the Suffrages briefly delivered. In which, *Lorain*, to ſalve his honour, ſaid, that howſoever he deſired a greater Reformation, yet, knowing that in the beginning one could not come to the laſt Remedies, he aſſented to the Decrees, not judging them ſufficient, but hoping that the Pope, either by bringing the old Canons into

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into uſe, or by celebrating other General Councils, would add a perfection.

It is worthy of memory, that, in this Congregation, he made a long digreſſion, in form of an encomiaſtical Oration, of the Popes good will, of his deſire to ſee the Church reformed, the Epiſcopal degree reſtored to its ancient dignity, and the Council ended, with the fruit of all Chriſtendom. The Archbiſhop of *Granata*, when it was his turn to ſpeak, brake out into the Popes commendation alſo, attributing as much unto him as the other; but added, that either the Pope did judg that he could not do as he would, or had not authority to make his Miniſters and Dependants to execute his Will. Here I muſt make a great mutation of ſtile. For whereas in the former narration I have uſed that which is proper to deſcribe variety of minds, and opinions, one croſſing the deſigns of another, and delays of reſolutions interpoſed, framing my ſelf to declare the counſels of divers, ſometimes contrary amongſt themſelves; hereafter I muſt make relation of one aim only, and uniform operations, which ſeem rather to flye than run to one only end, whereof I can give but one cauſe, not to repeat it in all places; that is, the joint reſolution to precipitate the Council

He maketh an Oration in praiſe of the Pope.

The ſtate of the Council is quite altered.

Therefore to ſpeak ſimply, I muſt ſay, that Letters came from the Pope, with reſolution that the Council ſhould be ended, though with diſtaſte of the King of *Spain*, becauſe he had means to make an agreement with him that they ſhould eſtabliſh the Decree of ſecret marriage, with as much union as was poſſible, but yet to do it, though the ſame oppoſition ſhould continue; that for the Reformation of Princes, and reſtitution of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction and Liberty, they ſhould not deſcend to any particular, but renew the ancient Canons, and without *Anathemaes*; that if any difficulty did ariſe, concerning the other Articles, they ſhould reſerve it for him, who would make proviſion therein; referring them, for the reſidue, to the Cardinal of *Lorain*, who was fully informed of his whole will, whom they ought to believe. Afterwards, he ſent a form in what ſort they ſhould finiſh the Council; which did contain, that all things done under *Paul* and *Julius* ſhould be confirmed, and declared that they were all done in this one Council, and that in all things, the authority of the Apoſtolick See ſhould be preſerved; that of the things decreed, the Popes confirmation ſhould be demanded; that all the Fathers ſhould ſubſcribe, and after them, according to the example of the ancient Emperors, there ſhould be a ſubſcription of the Ambaſſadors, that the Princes might be bound to the obſervance of the Decrees, and to perſecute with Arms thoſe of the contrary Religion, leaving it in the power of them, the Legates, together with *Lorain*, to add, diminiſh, or alter, according to opportunity. All which things were kept moſt ſecret until after the Council, that they might manage them the better, as ſhall be ſaid.

The eleventh of *November* came, in which the Seſſion was held with the uſual Ceremonies. Voices being to be given in the matter of clandeſtine marriage, Cardinal *Varmienſe*, who held it a matter of Faith, and thought the Church had no authority over it, would not be preſent, excuſing himſelf, that in a matter of Poſitive Law, he thought it not inconvenient to deliver his mind freely, though the contrary were decreed, but in this he ſhould be forced to ſay, for ſatisfaction of his conſcience, that the Synod could not make that Decree, which might have cauſed ſome diſtaſtes, ſuch as he was not willing to give. *Francis Richardot* made the Sermon; in which he admoniſhed

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the Fathers, that this moſt holy Synod having been in travel theſe two years, and every one being in expectation of what it will be delivered, it was not fit it ſhould produce a mangled or maimed Child, becauſe the World doth expect a ſound and perfect Iſſue. For effecting hereof, it was convenient to imitate the Apoſtles, Martyrs, and Primitive Church, making them a pattern whence to take the lineaments of the Infant which is to come into the World. Theſe were (he ſaid) Doctrine, Religion, and Diſcipline, all which, being degenerated in theſe times, muſt be reſtored to their ancient integrity. And that this is it which hath been expected ſo long, and is expected ſtill. The Ceremonies being ended, the Letters of Madam, Regent of *Flanders*, concerning the ſending of three Prelates to the Council, were read, as alſo the Mandates of the Duke of *Florence*, and of the Grand Maſter of *Malta*. Afterwards the Doctrine and the *Anathematiſms* of Matrimony were read by the Maſs Biſhop, to which all conſented. The Articles of Reformation of Matrimony being read, to the firſt, of the annullatian of the clandeſtine, Cardinal *Morone* ſaid, that it pleaſed him, if it pleaſed the Pope. *Simoneta* ſaid, it did not pleaſe him, but referred himſelf to the Pope. Of the others, ſix and fifty did abſolutely deny, and all the reſt did approve it.

Variety of opinions about clandeſtine Marriages.

Afterwards the Decrees of Reformation were read. And being come to the fifth, of the Criminal Cauſes of Biſhops, perceiving the Kingdoms, where the Inquiſition is, were excepted, a great Commotion was raiſed amongſt the Fathers, the *Lombards* and *Neapolitans* ſaying confuſedly, that that Exception was never propoſed in Congregation, and that it ought to be removed; which they were forced preſently to do. Afterwards, the Cardinal of *Lorain* ſaid, concerning the ſame point, that he did approve the Decree, upon condition that it did not prejudice any of the Priviledges, Rights, and Conſtitutions of the Kings of *France*, as had been concluded in the Congregation the day before, declaring that they did not prejudice the authority of any Prince. And in the end of the Decrees, he made a Proteſtation, in his own name, and of the other *French* Prelates, wholly conformable to that other, made two days before, in the Congregation; that is, that their Nation did receive thoſe Decrees, not as a perfect Reformation, but as a preparation to one entire, hoping the Pope would ſupply the defects in time, and occaſion, by bringing into uſe the old Canons, or by celebrating other General Councils, to give a perfection to the things begun. And he deſired in the name, of all the *French* Biſhops, that this might be inſerted in the Acts of the Council, and a publick Inſtrument made of it. Divers other things were added by others, and ſome oppoſitions, of no great moment, made againſt ſome of the Articles; wherein ſome differences ariſing, it was ſaid they ſhould be accommodated in a General Congregation, becauſe it was then late, two hours within night. And for the concluſion of the Seſſion, the Decree of the intimation of the next, for the ninth of *December*, was read, with power to anticipate, declaring that the ſixth Article now deferred, and other Articles of Reformation exhibited, and other things belonging thereunto, ſhould then be handled; adding, that in caſe it ſhall ſeem fit, and the time comport, ſome Doctrines may be handled, as they ſhall be in their times propoſed in the Congregations.

The Decree of Reformation.

The Doctrine of the Sacrament of Matrimony did contain, That *Adam* did pronounce the bond of Matrimony to be perpetual, and that only two perſons may be joined therein, a thing more plainly declared by

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by *Chriſt*, who alſo by his paſſion, hath merited grace to confirm it, and to ſanctifie thoſe who are joined. Which is intimated by Saint *Paul*, when he ſaid, that this was the great Sacrament in *Chriſt* and the Church. Whereupon Matrimony in the Evangelical Law, exceeding the ancient Marriages, by addition of grace, it is juſtly numbred amongſt the Sacraments of the new Law. Therefore the Synod condemning the Hereſies in this matter, doth conſtitute the *Anathematiſms*. 1. Againſt him that ſhall ſay, that Matrimony is not one of the ſeven Sacraments, inſtituted by Chriſt, and doth not confer Grace. 2. Or that it is lawful for Chriſtians to have many Wives at once, and that this is not forbidden by any Law of God. 3. Or that only the degrees of affinity, and conſanguinity, expreſſed in *Leviticus* may nullifie the marriage, and that the Church may not add others, or diſpenſe with ſome of them. 4. That the Church cannot conſtitute impediments, or hath erred in conſtituting them. 5. That one of thoſe who are married may diſſolve the Matrimony, for Hereſy, troubleſom converſation, or voluntary abſence of the other. 6. Or that lawful Matrimony, not conſummated, is not diſſolved by a ſolemn Religious Vow. 7. Or that the Church hath erred in teaching, that the Matrimonial Bond is not diſſolved by Adultery. 8. Or that the Church doth erre, in ſeperating thoſe who are married for a determinate or indeterminate time, in reſpect of carnal conjunction, or cohabitation. 9. Or that the Eccleſiaſticks of Holy *Order*, or profeſſed Regulars may marry, as alſo all thoſe who find they have not the giſt of Chaſtity, in regard that God doth not deny the gift to him that doth demand it. 10. Or that ſhall prefer the ſtate of Marriage to Virginity, and Chaſtity. 11. Or that the Prohibition of Marriage, in certain times of the year, is Superſtition, or ſhall condemn the Benedictions and other Ceremonies. 12. Or that Matrimonial Cauſes do not belong to Eccleſiaſtical Judges.

The Decrees of the Reformation of Matrimony did contain. 1. That howſoever it be true, that clandeſtine Marriages have been true and lawful, ſo long as the Church hath not diſallowed them, and that the Synod doth *anathematiſe* him who doth not hold them for ſuch, as alſo thoſe who affirm, that Marriages, contracted without conſent of Parents, in whoſe power the married parties are, is void, and that the Fathers may either approve or diſprove it, yet the Church hath ever forbid, and deteſted them. And becauſe Prohibitions do no good, the Synod doth command, that the Matrimony ſhall be denounced in the Church three Feſtival days, before it be contracted, and no impediment being found, ſhall be celebrated in the face of the Church, where the Pariſh prieſt having interrogated the Man and the Woman, and heard their conſent, ſhall ſay, *I joyn you in Matrimony in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*; and ſhall uſe other words accuſtomed in the Province. Notwithſtanding the Synod doth refer it to the Will of the Biſhop, to omit the *Banes*; but doth declare thoſe to be uncapable of Marriage, who attempt to contract it without the preſence of the Pariſh Prieſt, or another Prieſt of equal authority, and of two or three witneſſes, making void and nullifying ſuch Contracts, and puniſhing the Tranſgreſſors. Afterwards it doth exhort the parties married, not to dwell together, before the Benediction, and command the Pariſh Prieſt to have a Book, in which Marriages, ſo contracted, ſhall be written. It doth exhort the Parties that are to be married, to confeſs, and communicate before the Contract, or conſummation of the Marriage; reſerveth the Cuſtoms and Ceremonies of every

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every Province; and will have this Decree to be of force within thirty days after it ſhall be publiſhed in every Pariſh.

Secondly, concerning the impediments of Marriage, the Synod doth affirm, that the multitude of Prohibitions did cauſe great ſins and ſcandals. Therefore it doth reſtrain that of ſpiritual cognation, to that which the baptiſed and their Parents have with the God-fathers and God-mothers, and the number of theſe, to one Man and one Woman only. Ordaining the ſame about the Kindred which doth ariſe by the Sacrament of Confirmation. 3. It doth reſtrain the *impediment of honeſty*, which hath its beginning from contracts, to the firſt degree only. 4. That of affinity by Fornication, to the firſt and ſecond. 5. It doth take away all hope of Diſpenſations for Matrimony, wittingly contracted in degrees prohibited, and to thoſe who have ignorantly contracted, without the Solemnities, in caſe of probable ignorance, a Diſpenſation may be given *gratis*. But to Contract in degrees prohibited, a Diſpenſation ſhall never be granted, or ſeldom only, for a juſt cauſe, without coſt; nor in the ſecond degree amongſt Princes, except for a publick cauſe. 6. Matrimony ſhall not be contracted with a Woman ſtollen away, ſo long as ſhe is in the power of him that did ſteal her; and doth declare thoſe *Raptors*, and thoſe that do aſſiſt them with counſel, aid, or favour, excommunicated, infamous, uncapable of all dignity, and the *Raptor*, whether he marry the Woman or not, ſhall be bound to give her a Dowry, at the pleaſure of the Judge. 7. It doth ordain, that Vagabonds ſhall not marry, without a diligent inquiſition firſt made, and Licenſe of the Ordinary, exhorting the Secular Magiſtrates to puniſh them ſeverely. 8. It doth ordain againſt *Concubinaries*; that being admoniſhed thrice by the Ordinary, in caſe they ſeperate not themſelves, they ſhall be excommunicated; and perſevering one year after the Cenſure, the Ordinary ſhall proceed ſeverely againſt them, and the *Concubines* after three admonitions, ſhall be puniſhed, and, if the Biſhop ſhall think fit, chaſed alſo out of the Territory, by aſſiſtance of the Secular Power. 9. It commandeth every Temporal Lord and Magiſtrate, upon pain of Excommunication, not to compel their Subjects, or any others, to marry, directly or indirectly. 10. It doth reſtrain the ancient Prohibitions of Nuptial Solemnities, from *Advent* to the *Epiphany*, and from *Aſh-Wedneſday*, to the *Octaves* of *Eaſter*.

The Decrees of Reformation.

The Decrees of Reformation, not as they were read in Seſſion, but as they were corrected the next day in Congregation (which was appointed to be done) did contain, 1. That Publick Prayers ſhall be made, though the Church be vacant; that whoſoever have right in the Promotion, ſhall be admoniſhed that it is a mortal ſin, if they ſhall not uſe all diligence to promote the moſt worthy, and profitable for the Church, born of lawful Matrimony, worthy in regard of their Life, Age, Doctrine, and of other qualities required by the Holy Canons, and Decrees of this Council. That in every Provincial Synod, a form of examination ſhall be preſcribed, by approbation of the Pope, fit for every place, and the Examination made according to that Preſcript ſhall be ſent to the Pope, to be diſcuſſed by the Cardinals, and propoſed in Conſiſtory; and all other thing required by the Synod for Age, Life, Doctrine, and other qualities in the Promotion of BB. ſhall be required in the Creation of Cardinals, though but Deacons, which the Pope, if he can conveniently, ſhall take out of all Nations, and thoſe that are fit. And it was added; that the Synod being grieved

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to ſee ſuch great incommodities of the Church, cannot chuſe but call to mind, how neceſſary it is, that the Pope, in regard of his duty, ſhould endeavour to aſſume Cardinals of excellent worth, and to provide the Church of fit Paſtors, becauſe if the Flock ſhould periſh by their negligence, *Chriſt* will demand an account of his Holineſs. 2. That the Provincial Council ſhall be called by the Metropolitan, or the moſt ancient Suffragan, within one year at the moſt after the end of this Synod, and afterwards every two years at the leaſt. That Biſhops ſhall not be forced hereafter to go to the Metropolitan Church. That thoſe who have not an Archbiſhop ſhall elect one in the Provincial Synod, in which he ought to aſſiſt, and receive the Conſtitutions thereof, their Exemptions and Priviledges otherwiſe remaining firm. And the Dioceſan Synods ſhall be celebrated every year, in which the exempted, except thoſe who are ſubject to general Chapters, ſhall aſſiſt. Which general Chapters having Secular Churches annexed, in regard of them, ſhall aſſiſt alſo. 3. Biſhops ſhall be bound to viſit the Dioceſs every year, either in Perſon, or by Viſitors, and all of it, if they can, or, if it be large, in two years at the leaſt. Metropolitans ſhall not viſit the Dioceſs of the Suffragans, but for a cauſe, approved in the Provincial Council. The Archdeacons, and other inferiors, ſhall viſit in perſon, and ſhall take a Notary, by conſent of the Biſhop. The Viſitor ſhall go with a modeſt train of Men, and Horſes, diſpatching the Viſitation as ſoon as may be; and ſhall not receive any thing but frugal and moderate Diet, which may be given either in kind or money; yet ſo, as that if there be a Cuſtom in any place not to receive ſo much as theſe, it ſhall be obſerved alſo. That Patrons ſhall not meddle with that which concerneth the adminiſtration of Sacraments, or the viſitation of the Ornaments of the Church, immovable Goods, or Rents of Houſes, except it do belong unto them by right of the Foundation. 4. That Biſhops ſhall be bound to preach in perſon, or, having a lawful impediment, by others. And in caſe the Pariſh Prieſt be hindred that he cannot preach in his own Church, he ſhall, at his charge, maintain another to do it, deputed by the biſhops. And he ſhall preach every *Sunday* and ſolemn Feaſt, and in *Advent* and *Lent*, every day, or thrice a week at the leaſt. That the Biſhop ſhall admoniſh every one to go to his own Pariſh, to hear the Sermon. That none ſhall preach againſt the Biſhops will, whoſe care ſhall be, that Chriſtian Doctrine be taught in every Pariſh. 5. That Criminal Cauſes againſt Biſhops that be of great weight, ſhall be judged by the Pope, and if there ſhall be occaſion to commit them to any out of the Court, they ſhall be committed only to the Metropolitan, or to Biſhops elected by the Pope, and to take information only, reſerving the definitive to the Pope; but ſmall matters ſhall be judged in the Provincial Council, or by Judges deputed by them. 6. That the Biſhops ſhall diſpenſe in the Court of Conſcience, with all their Subjects, in all their Irregularities, and ſuſpenſions for ſecret offences, except voluntary Murther, and abſolve from all caſes reſerved to the Apoſtolick See, either by himſelf or his Vicar, as alſo from the exceſs of Hereſie, by himſelf, but not by a Vicar. 7. That the Biſhop ſhall have care that the force and uſe of the Sacraments ſhall be expounded to the People in the Vulgar tongue before they be adminiſtred, according to the form of a Catechiſm, which the Synod will compoſe, which the Biſhop ſhall cauſe to be faithfully tranſlated into the Vulgar, and to be expounded to the people by the Pariſh Prieſts. 8. That to publick Offenders Publick

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Penance ſhall be given; but the Biſhop ſhall have power to change it into a ſecret. In every Cathedral Church a *Penitentiary*, Maſter, Doctor, or Licentiate in Theology, or Canon, of the age of forty years, ſhall be appointed by the Biſhop. 9. That the Decrees of the Council, under *Paul* the Third, and *Pius* the Fourth, concerning viſitation of Benefices exempted, ſhall be obſerved in the Churches which are not of any Dioceſs, which ſhall be viſited by the next Biſhop, as Delegate of the Apoſtolick See. 10. That where viſitation or correction of manners is in queſtion, no exemption or appeal, though to the Apoſtolick See, ſhall hinder or ſuſpend the execution of that which is decreed or adjudged. 11. That for Titles of Honour which are given to Protonotaries, Count *Palatines*, Kings Chaplains, or Servants in War, Monaſteries, Hoſpitals, thoſe perſons ſhall not be exempt from the Authority of Biſhops, except they ſhall reſide in the Houſes, or under their obedience; and Kings Chaplains, according to the Conſtitutions of *Innocentius* the Third. And Exemptions granted to the Servants of Cardinals, ſhall not be extended to that which concerneth Benefices. 12. That no perſon under the age of twenty-five years, ſhall be promoted to Dignities with Cure; and the Archdeacons, if it may be, ſhall be Maſters in Theology, or Doctors, or Licentiate in the Canon-Law: And none, under the age of two and twenty years, ſhall be promoted to any Dignity without Cure. Thoſe that are promoted to Benefices with Cure, ſhall be bound to make profeſſion of their Faith within two Months, and Canons ſhall do the ſame. And none ſhall be received to any Dignity, Canonry, or portion, exeept he ſhall have that order, which it doth require, and that age which is neceſſary for the receiving of it. That in Cathedral Churches, all the Canons and Portionaries ſhall be Prieſts, Deacons, or Subdeacons, and the Biſhop, with the *Chapter*, ſhall Diſtribute how many ſhall be of every Order, but ſo, as that one half at the leaſt ſhall be Prieſts. The Synod doth exhort alſo, that all the Dignities, and half the Cononries in the Cathedral and famous Collegiate Churches, may be conferred upon Doctors in Divinity, or in the Canon-Law, and that none may be abſent more than three Months in the Year. That the daily Diſtributions may not be given upon any pretence whatſoever, to any that hath not been preſent in the Offices; and that every one ſhall perform his Office in his own perſon, not by Subſtitutes. 13. There being many poor Cathedral Churches, a remedy ſhall be conſulted on in the Provincial Council, and the Pope deſired to make Proviſion according to his Wiſdom. The Biſhop alſo ſhall have care to provide for poor Pariſh Churches, either by union of ſome Benefice not Regular, or by aſſignation of firſt Fruits, or Tithes, or by Contributions and Collections of the Pariſhioners. Pariſh Churches ſhall not be united to Monaſteries, Canonries, ſimple Benefices, and religious orders of Souldiers, and thoſe that are united ſhall be reviewed by the *Ordianaries*; and the Cathedral Churches, not exceeding a thouſand Crowns, and the Pariſh Churches not exceeding a hundred Crowns, ſhall not be hereafter burthened with Penſions, or Reſervations of Fruits. Where the Pariſhes have no certain Confines, but the Sacraments are adminiſtred indifferently to thoſe that do demand them, the Biſhop ſhall confine them, and they ſhall have their proper pariſh Prieſt. And in Cities which have no pariſhes, they ſhall be erected as faſt as may be. 14. The Synod doth deteſt, and forbid all Inſtitutions or Cuſtoms of paying any thing for the obtaining of Titles or Poſſeſſions, except it be converted into pious

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uſes, declaring them to be ſimoniacal, who ſhall uſurp herein. 15. In Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, where the Prebends and diſtributions are too ſmall, the Biſhop ſhall have power to unite ſimple Benefices, or to reduce them to a ſmaller number. 16. The Epiſcopal See being void, the Chapter ſhall elect one or two Economicks, or a Vicar, within eight days, or if not, this authority ſhall be devolved to the Metropolitan. And the Biſhop when he ſhall be created, ſhall take of them an account of the adminiſtration, and puniſh them if they have offended. 17. That no Eccleſiaſtical perſon, though a Cardinal, ſhall have more than one Benefice, which not being able to maintain him honeſtly, another ſimple Benefice may be added, ſo that they do not both require perſonal Reſidence, which ſhall be underſtood of all Benefices, as well Secular as Regular, of what title or quality ſoever, though commended. And he that hath now more Benefices than one, ſhall be bound to leave all but one within ſix months; or if not, they ſhall be all void. Notwithſtanding, the Synod doth deſire that ſome proviſion ſhould be made for thoſe that reſign, in ſome convenient manner, as ſhall ſeem beſt to the Pope. 18. In caſe of vacancy of any Church in any manner whatſoever, all ſhall be written down that are propoſed or do propoſe themſelves, and ſhall be all examined by the Biſhop with three examiners, at the leaſt, and amongſt all thoſe which ſhall be judged fit, the Biſhop ſhall elect the moſt ſufficient, upon whom the collation of the Church ſhall be made; and in Eccleſiaſtical Patronages, the Patron ſhall preſent to the Biſhop him that is moſt worthy. But in Laick Patronages, he that is preſented by the Patrons, ſhall be examined by the examiners, and not admitted, except he be found to be fit. And ſix Examiners ſhall be propoſed every year in the Dioceſan Synod, of which the Biſhop ſhall elect three, who ſhall be Maſters, or Doctors, Secular or Regular, ſhall ſwear to perform their duty, and ſhall not receive any thing, either before or after the examination. That expectative graces for Benefices ſhall not be granted hereafter, nor any other, extending to Benefices that ſhall be vacant; and withall, the mental reſervations ſhall be prohibited. 19. That Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, even beneficial alſo, ſhall be judged by the Ordinary in the firſt inſtance, and ended within two years at the moſt. That there ſhall be no appeal but from the definitive ſentence, or from that which ſhall have the force thereof, except in thoſe which the Pope ſhall think fit to call to himſelf, for an urgent and reaſonable occaſion. That Matrimonial and Criminal Cauſes ſhall be reſerved to the Biſhop only. That in Matrimonial, thoſe that are proved to be poor, ſhall not be forced to litigate out of the Province, neither in the ſecond or third inſtance, except the adverſe part will allow food and charges of the ſuit. That the Legates, *Nuncii*, and Eccleſiaſtical Governours, ſhall not hinder Biſhops in their Cauſes, nor proceed againſt Eccleſiaſtical perſons, but in caſe of the Biſhops negligence. That the Appellant ſhall be bound to bring at his charge, the Acts made before the Biſhop, to the Judg of the Appeal, which the Notary, being conveniently payed, ſhall be bound to give within one Month at the fartheſt. 20. That in the words of the Decree, made in the firſt Seſſion under the preſent Pope *Pius* the Fourth, that is, *Proponentibus Legatis*, the meaning of the Synod was not to change in any part the uſual manner of handling matters in General Councils, nor to add or detract any thing, beſides that which hath been conſtituted heretofore by the ſacred Canons, and by the General Synods. In the end, the next Seſſion was intimated

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for the ninth of *December*, with power of anticipation to handle the ſixth Article, and the other which were propoſed, and deferred, and other points alſo, as opportunity ſhould ſerve, and as they ſhould be propoſed in Congegation.

There was not ſuch expectation of the iſſue of this Seſſion, as of the laſt, as well becauſe the general curioſity was then ſatisfied, as becauſe it did ſeem that the matter of Matrimony could not afford any thing of any great obſervation. The world was more attentive to ſee what iſſue the Proteſtation made by the *French* Ambaſſadors would have: which was read with variety of affections. Thoſe who were ill affected to the Court of *Rome*, did commend it, as true and neceſſary. But the Popes Adherents thought it as abominable, as the Proteſtations formerly made by *Luther*.

The Cenſure of the Decrees.

In the ſixth *Anathematiſm* of Matrimony many did wonder, that the diſſolution of Marriage not conſummated, for a ſolemn Vow, ſhould be made an Article of Faith, becauſe the Matrimonial Conjunction, though not conſummated by carnal copulation, is a bond inſtituted by the Law of God. For the Scripture doth affirm that there was a true Marriage between *Mary* and *Joſeph*, and the Solemnity of the Profeſſion being *de jure poſitivo*, as *Boniface* the Eighth hath decreed, it ſeemed ſtrange, not ſo much that an humane bond ſhould diſſolve a Divine, as that he ſhould be condemned for an Heretick, who will not believe that an invention of man, born many hundred years ſince the *Apoſtles*, ſhould prevail againſt a Divine inſtitution, made at the firſt creation of the World.

In the ſeventh it was thought to be a captious ſpeech, to condemn for an Heretick him that ſhall ſay that the Church hath erred, in teaching that Matrimony is not diſſolved by Adultery. For if one ſhould ſay abſolutely, that Matrimony ought to be diſſolved for that cauſe, without ſaying or thinking that one hath erred, or not erred, in teaching the contrary, it ſeemeth that this man ſhould not be comprehended: and yet it doth not appear how one can think ſo, except he hold the contrary to be an error. It was judged, that they ſhould have ſpoken plainly, and ſaid abſolutely, that it is not diſſolved by Adultery, or that both opinions are probable, and not to make an Article of Faith concerning a word only. But theſe men would not have made the difficulty, if they had known the cauſes before mentioned, why they did ſpeak in that manner.

The ninth Canon did afford matter of ſpeech alſo, by that affirmative, that God doth not deny the gift of Chaſtity to him that doth demand it aright, becauſe it did ſeem to be contrary to the Goſpel, which affirmeth that it is not given to all; and to Saint *Paul*, who doth not exhort to demand it, which was more eaſie than to marry.

The Politicians knew not what to think of the twelfth *Anathematiſm*; that it ſhould be Hereſie to hold that Matrimonial Cauſes do not belong to Eccleſiaſtical Judges, it being certain that the Laws of Marriage were all made by the Emperours, and the Judicature of them adminiſtred by the Secular Magiſtrates, ſo long as the *Roman* Laws were in force; which the reading only of the *Theodoſian* and *Juſtinian Codes*, and of the *Novels*, doth evidently demonſtrate. And in the forms of *Caſſiodore*, there is mention of terms uſed by the *Gothiſh* Kings in the Diſpenſations of Degrees prohibited, which then were thought to belong to Civil Government, and not to be matters of Religion, and to him that hath any skill in ſtory, it is moſt known, that the

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Eccleſiaſticks began to judg cauſes of this nature, partly by Commiſſion, and partly by negligence of Princes and Magiſtrates. 1563 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip* II.

But in the beginning of the Decree of Reformation of Matrimony, many wondered, how it could be defined as an Article of Faith, that clandeſtine Marriages are true Sacraments, and that the Church hath always deteſted them, becauſe it doth imply a contradiction to deteſt Sacraments. And to command that the Pariſh Prieſt ſhould interrogate thoſe that are joined, and underſtanding their conſent, ſhould ſay, *I join you in Matrimony in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt*, was derided by the Criticks: ſaying, that either they are joined by thoſe words, or not; if not, then that is not true which the Council of *Florence* hath determined, that Matrimony receiveth perfection from conſent; if ſo, what conjunction is that which the Prieſt maketh of perſons joined before? And if the word, *I join*, ſhould be expounded, *I declare them joined*, a way would be laid open to conclude, that the words of the abſolution are declaratory alſo. But howſoever it was, they ſaid that the Decree was made to no other end, but that within a ſhort time it might be made an Article of Faith, that thoſe words pronounced by the Pariſh Prieſt, were the form of the Sacrament.

For making void clandeſtine Marriages, they ſpake as much as was ſpoken of it in the Council it ſelf. For ſome did extol the Decree to the Heavens; and others ſaid, that if thoſe Matrimonies were Sacraments, and conſequently inſtituted by *Chriſt*, and the Church hath always deteſted them, and finally made them void, it did not appear how thoſe who had not made proviſion for it in the beginning, could be excuſed from the blame of ignorance or negligence. And when the diſtinction on which they founded the Decree, was publiſhed, that the Contract was nullified, which is the matter of the Sacrament, it was hard to underſtand a long time, becauſe the Matrimonial Contract hath no diſtinction from the Matrimony, nor the Matrimony from the Sacrament: and the rather, becauſe the Matrimony was indiſſoluble before it was a Sacrament, in regard *Chriſt* doth not pronounce it inſoluble, as inſtituted by him, but as by *God*, in the earthly Paradiſe. But it being admitted, that the Matrimonial Contract is an Humane and Civil thing, ſeparate from the Sacrament, which is nullified, ſome ſaid this annullation would not belong to the Eccleſiaſtical Judg, but to the Secular, to whom the diſcuſſion, and cognition of all Civil Contracts doth appertain.

The cauſe alledged to moderate the impediments of Marriage, was much commended, as reaſonable; but it was obſerved withal, that it did neceſſarily conclude many more reſtrictions than thoſe that were decreed, in regard there are no leſs inconveniences by the impediments confirmed, than by thoſe that were aboliſhed. The end of the Article of Matrimonial Diſpenſations moved a vain queſtion in the curious, whether the Pope, by reſerving them to himſelf alone, did more good or hurt to his Authority. For the good, was alledged the great quantity of Gold which did flow into the Court, through this Channel, and the obligations of ſo many Princes, gained by this means, as to be ſatisfied in their appetites, or intereſts, ſo to defend the Papal Authority, on which only the legitimation of their Children was grounded. For the hurt, the loſs of the Revenues of *England*, and of the obedience of that Crown was produced, which did weigh down all gain or friendſhip, which the Diſpenſations might procure.

The *French-men* did not like the Decree, that he that ſtealeth a

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Woman, ſhall be bound to endow her, at the pleaſure of the Judg, ſaying, that the Law concerning Dowries, cannot be made by Eccleſiaſtical Authority, and that it was an artifice to take the Judicature of that Delict from the Secular Magiſtrate. For if the Eccleſiaſtick may make the Law, he may judg the Cauſe. And howſoever they ſaid abſolutely, at the pleaſure of the Judg, yet there is no doubt, but that in the declaration, they would ſay they meant the Eccleſiaſtical only. And they thought it an Uſurpation of Temporal Authority, to puniſh Seculars with infamy, and incapacity of dignities. Neither did they approve the Conſtitution againſt *Concubinaries*, perſevering a year in Excommunication, that they ſhould be puniſhed by the Eccleſiaſtick, becauſe excommunication is the extreme, laſt, and greateſt of Eccleſiaſtical puniſhments, according to the Doctrine of all the Fathers; ſo that to paſs that, was to enter upon the Temporal Power; and the rather, becauſe they give themſelves power to courſe Concubines out of their Countries, deriding the Secular Magiſtrates, by imploring their arm, if there ſhall be need; which is as much as to affirm, that, ordinarily, the execution of this Baniſhment may be made by the Eccleſiaſtick himſelf.

The Decree of Reformation in the firſt Article was noted either of defect, or of preſumption. For if the Synod had authority to give Law to the Pope, eſpecially in things ſo juſt, it was not fit to do it by way of Narration, or by obloquity of words. But if it ought to receive Law from the Pope, it cannot be excuſed for having paſſed its bounds, becauſe it doth ſharply reprehend the former actions of this and other Popes, though it doth it obliquely: Thoſe that were ſeen in the Eccleſiaſtical ſtories, ſaid, that to draw all the cauſes of Biſhops to *Rome*, was a new policy to make the Court great, whereas all the examples of Antiquity, and Canons of the Councils of thoſe times, do ſhew, that the cauſes of Biſhops, though of Depoſitions, were handled in the Countries of each of them. Thoſe who expected a proviſion againſt the abuſe of Penſions, ſeeing what was decreed in the 13. Article, did judg that the matter would paſs to a greater corruption, as the event alſo hath ſhewed. The fourteenth Article was commended by every one, becauſe it did ſeem to take away the *Annates*, and paying for *Bulls*, diſpatched at *Rome*, for collation of Benefices. But in progreſs of time, it appearing that thoſe remained ſtill, and that there was not ſo much as any cogitation either to remove or moderate them, they remembred, that only the ſmall abuſes of other Churches being provided againſt, the ſaying was verified, that only moats were taken out of the eyes, and beams never. Every wiſe man thought that this age was not worthy of that Decree for the unity, or, at the moſt, dualty of Benefices, and that it would not be obſerved, but in the poorer ſort only. Likewiſe for the examination in concurrence, in the collation of Benefices, every one did prognoſticate that it would be deluded by ſome ſiniſter interpretation. And the Prophecy was quickly verified. For in *Rome*, within a ſhort time, they began to declare, that concurrence was not to be obſerved in caſe of reſignation, but that he only was to be examined, to whom the reſignation was made, which was as much as to aboliſh the Decree for the moſt part, becauſe the better ſort were excluded by reſignation, and he only preferred, who pleaſed the reſignant: and Benefices are not vacant for any other cauſe, but caſually. The Decree of the cognition of cauſes in the firſt inſtance was quite deſtroyed, by the exception added, that is, except thoſe which the Pope will commit, and call to himſelf.

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himſelf: For cauſes were never taken from the lawful Tribunals, but by Commiſſions, and avocations of Popes; and now the cauſe of the diſeaſe was preſerved, and the *ſymptom* only cured. And howſoever the adjunct (for urgent and reaſonable cauſes) did ſeem to moderate the matter well, yet men of underſtanding knew that it was as much as to ſay, for any arbitrary cauſe.

But in the laſt point, which was in expectation ſo many Months, touching the eſſential liberty of the Council, ſeeing it was declared, that the meaning of the Synod was, not to change the manner of proceeding, nor to make any addition, or diminution of the old conſtitutions, wiſe men ſaid, that concerning this Council it was a declaration contrary to the fact, and publiſhed when it did no good: neither was there any more uſe of it, than of a medicine applyed to a dead body. And ſome mocked, and ſaid, that it was as much as the conſolation of an honeſt man, whoſe Wife had brought him Children by other men, and ſaid ſhe did it not to do him wrong. But, by an example given to poſterity, it did teach how all violence and exorbitancy might be uſed in Council, from the beginning to the end, and all inconvenience done, excuſed by ſuch a declaration, yea juſtified, and maintained for lawful.

At this time, beſides the advice of the Seſſion held, three other ſorts of diſtaſteful news came into *France*. The firſt was the Popes anſwer about the hundred thouſand Crowns. The ſecond, the Proteſtation made in Council, and the diſpleaſure taken at it, in *Trent* and *Rome*. The laſt was the ſentence againſt the *French* Biſhops, and the citation of the Queen of *Navarre*: The *Frenchmen*, having much conſidered on theſe things, reſolved not to treat any more with the Pope for his favour in the alienation, but to execute the Kings Edict, approved in Parliament, without any conſent of his Holineſs. This being ſuddenly performed, few Buyers could be found, as well becauſe men do not eaſily reſolve to lay down their money, as becauſe they were diſſwaded by the Eccleſiaſticks, who told them, that the ſale, wanting the Popes confirmation, would not hereafter be eſteemed to be good. This was a hindrance to the King, and no favour to the Clergy. For the ſale was made, but it was done at a low rate; neither was there raiſed more than two millions and half of Francks, ſmall, in regard of the things alienated, ſeeing that it was made at twelve for an hundred, whereas it had been a ſmall price if they had given an hundred for four. And it was worthy to be repeated here, that, amongſt the things ſold, one was, the juriſdiction which the Archbiſhop of *Lions* had held until that time, over that City, which was ſold at the outcry for thirty thouſand Francks. But the Biſhop complained ſo much, that in ſupplement of the price, he had given unto him 400 Crowns yearly.

The Alienation of Eccleſiaſtical Revenues in *France*.

Concerning the Proteſtation made in Council, the King wrote to his Ambaſſadors the ninth of *November*, that, having ſeen what the Cardinal of *Lorain* had written againſt their Proteſtation, and heard the relation made by the Biſhop of *Orlience*, of all things done in *Trent*, he was pleaſed with it, as alſo with their retire to *Venice*, and commanded, that *de Ferrieres* ſhould not depart thence until he had new order, which ſhould be when he was adviſed that the Articles were ſo reformed that the rights of the King, and of the Gallican Church were not put in queſtion. And he wrote to the Cardinal of *Lorain*, that himſelf and his Council knew that his Ambaſſadors had proteſted upon great and juſt occaſion. For as he would continue in the union and obedience

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dience of the Church, ſo he would preſerve inviolable the Rights of his Crown, without ſuffering them to be queſtioned, or diſputed, or himſelf forced to ſhew them. That they ſhould not think to ſatisfie him, with ſaying in the end, *Saving and reſerving the Rights, &c.* becauſe, under this colour, they would bind him to ſhew a reaſon in every oppoſition. That if he had ſeen the Articles as they were propoſed, he would have judged, that the Ambaſſador could not have done otherwiſe than make the oppoſition: which his deſire was they ſhould firſt have ſhewed to him, but ſaid they were to be excuſed, in regard of the occaſion ſuddenly ariſing, and of the circumſtances which did produce it; and of the ſuſpicions, which made them doubt of ſome artifice to precipitate the deciſion. And if the Pope had no intention, as he, the Cardinal, giveth him to underſtand, that the Rights of the Emperor, and Kings, ſhould be touched, and diſputed, his Holineſs muſt turn his anger upon the Legates, who propoſed the Articles, and named Kings, Emperors, and Republicks, and not upon the Ambaſſadors. That he thinketh the Proteſtation may be juſtified before all Chriſtendom, when the Articles ſhall be ſeen. That the Legates having propoſed thoſe Articles againſt the intention of his Holineſs, he ought not to refer himſelf to their diſcretion hereafter, nor to cauſe his Ambaſſadors to return, until he had full aſſurance, that thoſe Articles ſhould not be ſpoken of any more, which being done, he will command them to go again to the Council.

The French King taketh part with the Queen of Navarre.

Concerning the Citation and Sentence, the King gave order to *Henry Clutin*, Lord *d' Oyſel*, to tell the Pope, that his Majeſty had underſtood, to his great diſpleaſure, that which he did not believe by the fame which was ſpread, until he had ſeen a Copy of the Monitories affixed in *Rome*, that the Queen was ſo proceeded againſt, as that he was bound to defend her. Firſt in regard the cauſe and danger was common to all Kings, who therefore were obliged to protect her; and the rather, becauſe ſhe was a Widow, and his obligation was the greater, in reſpect of the near Kindred he hath with her, by both Lines, and by agnation with her Husband, who died but a little before in the War againſt the Proteſtants, leaving his Sons Pupils. Therefore he could no abandon her Cauſe, following the Examples of his Anceſtors; and the rather, becauſe he ought not to endure that any ſhould make War againſt his Neighbours under Colour of Religion; adding, that it was not Pious to put the Kingdoms of *Spain* and *France*, lately joined in friendſhip, in danger of a bloody War, for this cauſe. He ſaid moreover, that the Queen, having many Fees in *France*, ſhe could not, by the Rights and Priviledges of that Kingdom, be compelled to appear, either in perſon, or by Proctor, adding many examples of Princes and Popes, who have proceeded with due and lawful moderation. He touched the form of the citation by Edict, a thing not heard of in former times, invented by *Boniface* the Eighth, and, as too hard and unjuſt, moderated by *Clement* the fifth, in the Council of *Vienna*. He ſaid that ſuch Citations could, by no means, take place, but againſt the Inhabitants to whom the acceſs is not ſecure, and that, the Queen remaining in *France*, a great injury was done to him and the Kingdom, by uſing that form; as alſo was done by expoſing to prey, and granting to the Uſurpers, the Fees ſhe holdeth in *France*, the right whereof belongeth to him. And every one marvelled (he ſaid) that his Holineſs who did favour ſo affectionately the Cauſe of King *Antony* while he lived, in being his mediator with the King of *Spain*, would now oppreſs his

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Children, and Widow, but he complained moſt of all, that ſo many Kings, Princes, and Cities having departed from the Church of *Rome*, within forty years, he had not ſo proceeded with any other; which ſhewed well that he did it not for the good of her Soul, but for other ends. He wiſhed his Holineſs to conſider, that Power was given to Popes for ſalvation of ſouls, not to deprive Princes of their States, nor to order any thing in earthly Poſſeſſions, which having been formerly attempted by them in *Germany*, did much trouble the publick quiet. He intreated the Pope to revoke all his Acts againſt the Queen, proteſting, that, in caſe he would not, he would proceed to thoſe remedies which his Predeceſſors have uſed. He complained alſo of the cauſe of the Biſhops, and commanded his Ambaſſador, that, declaring unto him the ancient Examples, the Liberties and Immunities of the *French* Church, and the authority of the Kings in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, he ſhould pray the Pope not to make any innovation. *Monſieur d' Oyſel* performed this Office with great vehemency, and, after many Treaties with the Pope, obtained of him to ſpeak no more either of the Queen, or of the Biſhops.

And with the Biſhops.

But in *Trent*, the Seſſion being ended, and matters well agreed on between the Legates and *Lorain*, and the buſineſs imparted to the principal Papalins, *Otranto*, *Taranto*, and *Parma*, as alſo to the Emperors Ambaſſadors, *Lorain* began to publiſh their deſign, that the Council might be finiſhed with one Seſſion more. He ſaid he could not be in *Trent* at *Chriſtmas*: that himſelf, and all the *French* Biſhops muſt depart before that time; that he deſired to ſee the Council ended, and was loth to leave ſo honourable an Aſſembly; but that he could not otherwiſe do, being commanded by the King. The Imperialiſts alſo did publiſh in the Council, that the Emperor did deſire the diſpatch, and that the King of the *Romans* did write, that his deſire was it ſhould be finiſhed by Saint *Andrews* day, or, at the longeſt, in the beginning of the next Month by all means. And indeed that King, not to pleaſe the Pope, but becauſe it was his opinion, did ſollicite the concluſion. For being to hold a Diet, he was not willing his Father ſhould have Ambaſſadors in the Council; and ſaid, that if that were ſhut up, the Affairs of Religion in *Germany* would be in far better caſe.

The Card. of *Lorain* publiſheth the deſign to finiſh the Council.

The greater part of the Fathers were glad to hear this; and *Morone* making a Congregation in his Houſe, the fifteenth of *November*, of the Legates, two Cardinals, and five and twenty Biſhops, the principal of every Nation, he propoſed, that the Council having been aſſembled for the neceſſities of *Germany* and *France*, and now the Emperor, King of the *Romans*, Cardinal of *Lorain*, and all Princes deſiring, that it ſhould be finiſhed, they would ſpeak their opinion concerning the concluding of it, and the manner. *Lorain* ſaid, it was neceſſary to finiſh it, not to hold Chriſtendom in ſuſpence any longer, to ſhew the Catholicks what they ought to believe, and to take away the *Interim* of *Germany*, which could not be done by any other means, becauſe it was to continue until the end of the Council; and to continue it longer, could not be without great damage of the Catholick Church. And that it was needful to finiſh the General Council in *Trent*, to hinder a National in *France*. For the manner he ſaid it might be ended with one Seſſion, handling in it the reſidue of the Reformation, and diſpatching the *Catechiſm*, and the *Index* of the Books prohibited, which were in order already, referring other

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matters to the Pope, not diſputing the Articles of *Indulgences* and *Images*, nor anathematiſing particular Hereticks, but proceeding with general terms only. They all agreed in ſome ſort, to finiſh the Council, except the Archbiſhop of *Granata*, who referred himſelf to the Ambaſſador of his King. Some ſaid it could not abſolutely be ended, becauſe ſo many matters did remain to be handled: but that it might be done by intimating another ten years after, which alſo would ſerve to hinder the calling of National Councils, and to defer the determination of the things remaining, and the *Anathematiſms*. The Biſhop of *Breſcia* proproſed a middle courſe between an abſolute end, and a ſuſpenſion: becauſe the former would make the Hereticks deſperate, and the latter not ſatisfie the Catholicks. But theſe opinions had no followers, all the others adhering to that which the Cardinal had ſaid.

For the manner, *Otranto* thought it neceſſary to anathematize the Hereticks, becauſe it hath been uſed in all Councils, and is the principal thing which is required of Synods. For many are not capable to underſtand the truth or falſhood of opinions, by their own judgment, but do follow or abhor them according to the credit or deſeredit of the Authors. He ſaid that the Council of *Chalcedon*, full of Learned men, to clear themſelves whether *Theodoret*, Biſhop of *Ciros*, were a Catholick or not, would not hear an account of his Faith, which he deſired to render, but only wiſhed him to denounce a plain *anathema* againſt *Neſtorius*; that if *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, dead, and their followers alive, were not anathematiſed, it might be ſaid, that the Council had laboured in vain. The Cardinal replyed, that divers Times did require divers counſels, that the differences in Religion were then between the Biſhops and the Prieſts; that the people were but as an acceſſory; that the Grandees either did not meddle, or if they did adhere to any Hereſie, they did not make themſelves Heads and Leaders. But now all was quite contrary: becauſe the Heretick Miniſters, and Preachers could not be ſaid to be Heads of the Sects, but the Princes rather, to whoſe intereſts their Miniſters and Preachers do accommodate themſelves. He that would name the true Heads of Hereticks, muſt name the Queen of *England*, the Queen of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, the *Elector Palatine* of the *Rhine*, the *Elector* of *Saxony*, and many other Dukes and Princes of *Germany*. He ſaid, that this would make them unite, and ſhew they were ſenſible of it; and that the condemnation of *Luther* and *Zuinglius* only would ſo provoke them, that ſome great confuſion would certainly ariſe. Therefore to do, not what they would, but what they could, he thought that the more univerſal reſolution was the better.

Morone ſent to call the Eccleſiaſtical Ambaſſadors: to whom having imparted the Propoſition and opinion of that Aſſembly, they conſented to the end and the manner, according to the opinion of *Lorain*. Which reſolution being alſo communicated to the Secular Ambaſſadors, they did all aſſent, except the *Spaniard*, who ſaid, he knew not the expreſs will of his King, and deſired time that he might underſtand it. Notwithſtanding this, the Legates, reſolute to execute this determination, gave the matter concerning Princes, omitting the *Anathematiſms*, and all the particular Articles, only renewing the old Canons of Eccleſiaſtical Liberty and Juriſdiction, ſpeaking of Princes with much reverence, only exhorting them to cauſe their Miniſters not to violate them. The ſame day at night a Congregation was made, to begin to ſpeak of the Reformation, and an order was ſet down, that there ſhould be two Congregations a day, until all the Voices were given.

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Which were delivered with great ſhortneſs and reſolution except by ſome few *Spaniards*, who deſired to hinder, whereas all the others did endeavour to promote the expedition, with brevity. The greateſt difficulty was concerning the Sixth Article, of the ſubjection of *Chapters* to Biſhops, in regard of the great intereſt, which not only the Biſhops, but the King alſo had in diminiſhing the *Capitular* authority, that they might not oppoſe the Subſidies which are often impoſed in *Spain*, and, on the other ſide, for the favours the Legates did the *Chapters*, by whoſe means, and for the reaſons alledged, many *Italians*, who firſt ſeemed to favour the Biſhops, turned on the *Chapters* ſide. The Count of *Luna* ſent a Currier to *Rome*, in diligence, by whoſe advice *Vargas*, the Ambaſſador, entreated the Pope for his favour to the Biſhops. Who, according to his Cuſtom, referring himſelf to the Council, the Ambaſſador complained that the *Italian* Prelates had been perſuaded to change their opinion in that matter. Whereunto the Pope readily anſwered, that they changed, becauſe they were free, but that the departure of the Agent for the *Chapters* from the Council was not free, having been driven from thence, and, upon that occaſion, complained, that the Count of *Luna*, in *Trent*, did diſſuade the finiſhing of the Council. Notwithſtanding he wrote, according to the Ambaſſadors requeſt, but in ſuch terms, as did not disfavour the pretenſions of the *Chapters*. And finally the Decree was made, with ſome enlargement of the Epiſcopal Authority in *Spain*, but not ſo much as they deſired.

A difficulty about ſubjecting the *Chapters* in *Spain* to the Biſhops.

The *Venetian* Ambaſſadors made inſtance, that, in the Article of Patronages, thoſe of the Emperour and Kings being excepted, thoſe of their Republick might be excepted alſo. The Legates were willing to pleaſe them, but could hardly tell how. For to except all Republicks was too much, and to name them particularly would breed matter of jealouſie. They found a temper, to comprehend that in the number of Kings, declaring that amongſt thoſe are contained the poſſeſſors of Kingdoms, though they have not the Name.

In the Congregation of the Twentieth day, a Propoſition was made, to demand the Popes Confirmation of all the Decrees of the Council, as well under *Paul* and *Julius*, as under his Holineſs. The Archbiſhop of *Granata* oppoſed; ſaying, that in the Sixteenth and laſt Seſſion under *Julius*, when the Council was Suſpended, it was Ordained, that all the Decrees made by the Synod until then ſhould be obſerved, without ſaying that there was any need of Confirmation, ſo that to demand it now would be to condemn thoſe Fathers, who then thought that the Decrees might be Executed, without any Confirmation at all. He profeſſed he did not ſay this, becauſe he diſliked the demand of a Confirmation, but that means might be found to uſe Words not prejudicial. *Otranto* anſwered, that the Decree, named by *Granata*, did not only not favour the oppoſition which he drew from it, but did reſolve it rather, ſhewing plainly, that the Council did not think the Ordinations Obligatory, becauſe it did not command, but ſimply exhort that they ſhould be received and obſerved; whereof no other cauſe could be alledged, but the want of Confirmation. *Granata* was quiet, and reſolved to demand the Confirmation, as it was propoſed by the common conſent. But in the Manner there was ſome difference. Some were of opinion that the Council ſhould demand Confirmation, and diſſolve without expecting anſwer; ſaying, it could not otherwiſe be done with dignity, either of the Apoſtolick See, or of the Council, and that it would ſeem to be an accord made between them;

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them; and if any thing ſhould not be confirmed, the proviſion muſt be made by the ſame Council. To ſatisfie theſe, who were many, *Morone* was willing, that, in the Seſſion of the Ninth, which, in regard of the multiplicity of the matters, was thought would continue three days, the firſt day a Currier ſhould be diſpatched to demand the confirmation, at whoſe return another Seſſion ſhould be held without any action, but to diſſolve the Synod. But this opinion had much contradiction. For if the Pope would confirm the Decrees without examining them, the ſame difficulty did return; if with examination, the time of ſome months was neceſſary. Finally, the Cardinal of *Lorain* told the Fathers, that theſe difficulties were to prolong the Council; that himſelf and the other *French-men* muſt needs depart, being ſo commanded by the King, and that after their departure the Council could not be called General, there wanting a Nation, whereby the dignity and honor of it would be diminiſhed, and National Synods and other difficulties might be raiſed. This half-proteſtation, with the perſuaſions of the *Imperialiſts* for the expedition, was cauſe (after many conſultations,) of a reſolution, to demand the confirmation, and diſſolve the Synod in the ſame Seſſion.

De Ferrieres refuſeth to return to *Trent.*

The Cardinal of *Lorain* wrote preſently to *de Ferrieres*, who was at *Venice*, that the matter concerning Princes being accommodated, he might return to *Trent*. Who anſwered he could not, without particular commiſſion out of *France*, becauſe the King in his Letters of the Ninth had written to him, as alſo to him the Cardinal, that when the Decree was made, and himſelf adviſed thereof, he would ſend him back; ſo that it was neceſſary to expect the order of his Majeſty. But he wrote to the King, that he thought it not fit for his ſervice to return, in regard that the rights of the Crown, and the liberty of the *Gallican* Church were violated in other Decrees alſo, publiſhed in that Seſſion.

The Reformation ſtanding in good terms, the care of compoſing the Decree of *Purgatory*, Invocation, Worſhip, Reliques, and Images of Saints was committed to the Cardinal of *Varmia*, and Eight Prelates; who, though they all reſolved not to move any difficulties, yet they did not agree. Some were willing to make mention of the place of *Purgatory*, and of the Fire, as was done in the Council of *Florence*. Others ſaid, that this being hard to do, and impoſſible to find Words to expreſs it, which might give ſatisfaction to all, it was better to ſay only, that the good Works of the Faithful did help the Dead for the Remiſſion of their Sins. The Archbiſhop of *Lanciano* ſaid, that in handling the *Maſs*, mention was made, that the Sacrifice is offered for thoſe that are deceaſed in *Chriſt*, not intirely purged; by which words the Doctrine of *Purgatory* was ſufficiently defined: So that nothing remained to be done, but to enjoyn the Biſhops to cauſe it to be preached, and to take away the abuſes, taking care alſo that there be no want of due Prayers for the Dead. And ſo the Decree was made.

The manner of the Decrees concerning Purgatory.

Opinions about the adoration of Images.

In matter of the Saints they eaſily agreed to condemn, particularly all the opinions, contrary to the uſes of the *Roman* Church. Only about Images there was ſome difference. The Archbiſhop ſaid, no honour was due unto them, but by relation to the thing ſignified. But *Lainez*, the General, who alſo was one of the compoſers, added, that when they were dedicated, and put in place of adoration, a worſhip did belong unto them, beſides the adoration due unto the Saint worſhipped in them, calling this adoration *Relative*, and the other *Objective*.

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He proved his Opinion, becauſe the Veſſels and Veſtments conſecrated deſerve a reverence belonging unto them, by vertue of the conſecration, though they do not repreſent any Saint; and ſo an adoration is due unto the Image dedicated by vertue of the dedication, beſides the reaſon of the repreſentation. The Cardinal of *Varmia*, for ſatisfaction of both, concluded, that the Opinion of the Archbiſhop ought to be expreſſed, as more facil, and plain, but without words which might prejudice the other.

Deputies were appointed alſo to review the Reformation of Fryars and Nuns, beſides thoſe Prelates who had compoſed it, and the Generals of the Orders were added unto them. Theſe changed nothing, but that it being generally granted, in the Third Article, to all Monaſteries of *Regular Mendicants* to poſſeſs immoveable goods, though it be contrary to their inſtitution, Fryar *Francis Zamotra*, General of the *Minor Obſervants*, deſired that his Order might be excepted; ſaying, he meant to live according to the rule of Saint *Francis*, from which it was not fit to exempt thoſe who did not demand it. And ſatisfaction was given him by excepting his Order: As alſo the *Capuchins*, at the inſtance of Fryar *Thomaſo di Caſtello*, their *General*. *General Lainez* deſired alſo the exception of the company of *Jeſu*, ſaying, that, howſoever the Colledges depute to entertain Scholars, who were not yet *Religious*, might enjoy moveable goods, yet the houſes profeſſed, in which the ſociety doth eſſentially conſiſt, might not live but by begging, without poſſeſſing any immoveable thing whatſoever. This was eaſily granted. But he returned the next day, deſiring the exception might be removed, and ſaid, that his ſociety would always preſerve themſelves in pure Mendicity, in the houſes profeſſed, but did not care to have this honour with the World, thinking their deſert in the ſight of God to be ſufficient; which would be the greater, if, being able to make uſe of the power given them by the Council, they ſhould forbear to do it. This reſolution was made by conſent of all the four *Jeſuites* in the Council, propoſed by Father *Torres*, who ſaid, they ſhould by this means have liberty to uſe or not to uſe the grant of the Council, according to opportunity.

The *Jeſuites* profeſs to live with begging, but will not be bound unto it.

In the Fifteenth Article it was conſtituted, that none ſhould profeſs before the Age of Eighteen compleat, and that every one ſhould be a *Novice* two years at leaſt, at what Age ſoever he entred. The *Generals* oppoſed; ſaying, it was not juſt to hinder any from entring into Religion, who was capable to know what the Regular Vows did import; which capacity was judged by the Church to be at the Age of Sixteen years, in a time when the World was not ſo well awake, and therefore that it was fit rather to make the Age leſs than greater; which reaſon they uſed alſo againſt the two years of the *Noviceſhip*. In the end, becauſe they were willing to pleaſe all, they reſolved to ſatisfie the *Generals* alſo, and to make no innovation herein.

Beſides the Twenty two Articles, there was another, in which power was given to the *Provincials*, *Generals*, and Heads of the Orders to expel the incorrigible out of the Order, and to deprive them of the habit. Which *Johannes Antonius Fachinnettus*, Biſhop of *Nicaſtro*, oppoſed ſharply; ſaying, that the profeſſion and Act of admiſſion to it are a mutual contract, and, as it were, a Marriage, by which the profeſſed is bound to the Monaſtery, and the Monaſtery to him, and as the one could not depart, ſo the other could not put him away, and that, by means

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of this Decree, all Cities would be filled with expelled Fryars, to the great ſcandal of the World. The Archbiſhop of *Roſano* ſaid to the contrary, that the Relation was not as between Man and Wife, but as between Father and Son, and that the Son could never lawfully refuſe the Father, but the Father might emancipate his Son, eſpecially if he were Diſobedient, and that it was a leſs evil to ſee expelled Fryars in the Cities, than incorrigible in the Monaſteries. The Generals were not all of one opinion. The perpetual did approve the expulſion, but the temporary did not. The Major part inclined (according to the Cuſtom of a Multitude, when it conſulteth,) to leave things in the ſtate they were, and not to Decree either for the one ſide or the other. But, in this conſultation, it was often repeated, and by many, that the People did receive great ſcandal to ſee ſome wear a Religious Habit many years, and afterwards become Seculars. This brought the ſecret profeſſion into Queſtion, and made a Conſultation to begin, whether they ought to declare it to be of force, as it had been until that time, or that no Profeſſion doth bind, but that which is expreſs. But this had difficulties alſo; for temper whereof, this reſolution was taken, that the Religious Prelate, the year of Probation being ended, ſhould be bound either to give the Novice leave to depart, or admit him to the Profeſſion. And this was inſerted in the Sixteenth Article, as in a place convenient.

General Laynez commended the Decree very much, as neceſſary; but deſired that his Society might be excepted, alledging, that the condition of it was different from that of other Regular Orders; that in thoſe, tacite Profeſſion hath place, by ancient Cuſtom, and approbation of the Apoſtolick *See*, which in their Society is prohibited; that the cauſe of ſcandal which the People receiveth in ſeeing ſome in a ſecular Habit, who have long worn the religious, doth ceaſe in them, in regard the habit of the *Jeſuites* doth not differ from the ſecular; that their ſociety hath alſo a confirmation from the Apoſtolick *See*, that the Superiour may admit to the Profeſſion after a long time, which hath never been made to any Regular. All inclined to favour him with this exception; for extention whereof he contended, that the Rules of ſpeaking *Latine* did require that the expreſſion ſhould be in the plural, ſaying, that by theſe things the Synod doth not intend to alter the Inſtitution of the Jeſuits, *&c.* And it was not conſidered that this manner of Speech might be referred both to the admitting or diſmiſſing of *Novices* in the end of the year of Probation, and to the whole Contents of the Sixteenth Article; as alſo that it might be referred to all the things contained in the Sixteen Heads. But the Father knew how to make uſe of the negligence of others, laying a Foundation, on which the ſucceeding *Jeſuites* might build that Singularity which now appeareth in their Society.

Laynez maketh uſe of the negligence of the Fathers in *Trent.*

The Congregation of the Two and Twentieth treated of Indulgences; the difficulty and length of which matter made the *major* part to be of opinion to ſpeak of it no more, in regard all were reſolved before to avoid Impediments. But ſome deſired to handle them, ſaying, that otherwiſe the Hereticks would ſay, that they were omitted, becauſe there was no ground to maintain them. Others thought it ſufficient to ſpeak of their uſe only, and to take away the abuſes which the corruption of times hath brought in. The Ambaſſador of *Portugal* ſaid, he was ſorry that Proviſion was not made for the *Cruſadoes*, but would be ſilent leſt occaſion might be taken to prolong the Council. The Emperours

perours Ambaſſadors, though they did joyntly ſollicite the Expedition, by Commiſſion from their Maſter, were not of accord in this. *Prague* would not have them ſpeak of the points of Doctrine. *Five Churches* ſaid, that if they were omitted, and the abuſes of Reliques, Images, and Purgatory not taken away, the Synod was quite ſhamed.

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The Biſhop of *Modena* told the Fathers, that, in caſe they would handle *Indulgences*, as they had done Juſtification, conſidering all the Cauſes, and reſolving all the Queſtions, they would find it difficult, and to require a long time, it being impoſſible to make that matter plain, but by determining firſt whether they be Abſolutions, or Compenſations only, and Suffrages; or whether they do remit the penalties impoſed by the Confeſſor only, or all that are due: Likewiſe whether the Treaſure, which is put for their foundation, doth only conſiſt of the Merits of *Chriſt*, or whether thoſe of Saints be required alſo; whether they may be given, though the Receiver perform nothing; whether they extend to the dead alſo; and other things of no leſs difficulty. But to determine, that the Church may grant them, and hath done ſo in all times, and that they are profitable for the faithful, who do worthily receive them, needeth no great diſputation. The Authority to grant them is proved by the Scripture; their continual Uſe by Apoſtolical Tradition, and Authority of Councils; and the Perſpicuity of the whole matter by the uniform Doctrine of the Schoolmen. Upon this a Decree may be compoſed without difficulty. The opinion had many followers; and he, with other Fryar Biſhops, was deputed to make a Decree in this ſenſe, adding a proviſion againſt abuſes.

The Council dareth not handle the matter of Indulgences exactly.

In the Congregations following they handled the *Index* of Books, *Catechiſm*, *Breviary*, *Miſſals*, and *Agends*. And all things, determined in the particular Congregations of the Prelates, deputed for theſe matters ſince the beginning of the Synod, were read. Wherein they did not all agree. Some thought, that certain Authors and Books were cenſured without reaſon; and ſome, that others were omitted which did more deſerve cenſure. And there was no leſs difficulty about the Catechiſm, ſome thinking, that that which was made was not fit to be made the common for the whole Church, in which the greater part are ſimple, and ſome deſiring that more matter might be put into it. And they differed as much about the *Ritual* Books, ſome deſiring an Uniformity in the whole Church, and ſome maintaining their own. But it appearing that theſe Matters could not be decided in a whole year, the Legates propoſed that all ſhould be referred to the Pope. Whereunto ſome few Prelates did not conſent, and namely the Biſhop of *Lerida* made a long Oration to ſhew, that if any thing were proper to the Council it was the *Catechiſm*, it being a Book, which, after the Symbol, ought to hold the firſt place in the Church; that the *Ritual* Books ought to hold the ſecond, in correcting of which there was need of an exquiſite knowledge of Antiquity, and of the Cuſtoms of all Countries, which will not be found in the Court of *Rome*; where, though there be Men of excellent Wit, and of great Learning, yet they want skill in this kind which is neceſſary to do any thing commendably herein; and that this is more proper to the Council. But the reſolution to finiſh, and the deſire to depart from *Trent*, cauſed him to have but ſmall audience.

The *Index*, *Catechiſm*, &c.

The Five and Twentieth of this Month, the Count of *Luna* came to the

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the Legates, with an inſtance in Writing. He complained that the moſt principal matters for which the Council was aſſembled were omitted, and the others precipitated; that they went about to finiſh the Synod without the privity of his King; concluding, that they ought to hear the opinions of the Divines concerning the points of Doctrine, and expect an anſwer out of *Spain* for the end of the Council. The Legates anſwered, that things were in ſuch forwardneſs, that there was no time to expect, nor was it poſſible to withhold ſo many Biſhops, who were already in order to depart. The Count replied, that if the Council were ended without the knowledge of his King, beſides the inſtance, he would do ſomething elſe, as he thought convenient. Hereupon the Legates ſent preſently to the Pope, and the Count to the Ambaſſador *Vargas*, to treat with his Holineſs. But *Vargas* thought it ſuperfluous to ſpeak any more herein, both becauſe, at the coming of the Currier, the Pope fell extream ſick, and becauſe having made the ſame inſtance a few days before, the Popes final anſwer was, that he referred it to the Council, the liberty whereof, ſo much deſired by his King alſo, he would not impeach. And the Ambaſſador ſaying, that the Council ought to be held open, becauſe all the World did deſire it, the Pope demanded, what that World was which would have it open? The Ambaſſador anſwered, *Spain* would; the Pope replied, Write into *Spain*, that if they buy and ſtudy *Ptolomy*, they ſhall find that *Spain* is not the whole World. The Legates uſed many perſuaſions to the Count of *Luna*; and ſo did *Lorain* alſo, and the Emperours Ambaſſadors. But, not being able to prevail, they laboured againſt him, the Ambaſſadors in the name of the Emperour, King of the *Romans*, and of all *Germany*, and *Lorain* in the name of his King, and of the Kingdom of *France*. The Legates, reſolving to finiſh the Council, according to the Popes order, howſoever the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador might oppoſe, were diligent in diſpatch of the matters.

The Popes ſickneſs

While theſe things were in doing, the firſt of *December*, a Currier came from *Rome* late at night, with advice, that the Pope was ſuddenly fallen into a dangerous infirmity. He brought Letters from Cardinal *Borromeo* to the Legates and Cardinal of *Lorain*, that they ſhould haſten the Council as much as might be, and finiſh it without reſpect of any, to withſtand the inconveniences which might occur about the election of the Pope, in caſe the Council ſhould be open in time of vacancy. In the Letters there were ſome few words written with the Popes own hand, who did commit the ſame abſolutely, and told *Lorain* he ſhould remember his promiſe. It is certain, (to ſpeak this particular here, though out of place,) that the Pope was reſolved, in caſe he did not recover quickly, to create eight Cardinals, and to take order that no confuſion might ariſe in the election of his Succeſſor. The Legates and *Lorain* purpoſed to anticipate the time of the Seſſion, and either with the propoſitions, or without, to finiſh the Council within two days, that the news of the Popes Death might not firſt come. Therefore they ſent to communicate the advice received, and their reſolution, to the Ambaſſadors, and did negotiate with the principal Prelates. They all agreed, except the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who ſaid he had order from his King, that if the *See* were vacant, he ſhould not ſuffer the Pope to be elected in Council, but that the election ſhould be by Cardinals, ſo that there was no need to precipitate. But *Morone* anſwered, he knew for certain, that the Ambaſſador of *France*, who was as yet in *Venice*, had order from his King, to proteſt

Cauſeth the end of the Council to be haſtned.

teſt that the Kingdom would not obey any Pope, but him that ſhould be elected in Council; ſo that it was neceſſary by all means to finiſh it, for avoiding of danger. The Count of *Luna* made a Congregation of *Spaniſh* Prelates in his Houſe, and ſpread a fame, that he was reſolved to proteſt and oppoſe.

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Notwithſtanding, the Legates held a Congregation the next Morning, in which the Decrees of *Purgatory* and of the Saints were read, as they were compoſed by the Cardinal of *Varmia*, and the other Deputies. Afterwards the Reformation of Fryars was read, and all approved with very great brevity, and a little contradiction. Then the Articles of Reformation were read. In the firſt, of the Manners of Biſhops, at the paſſage, where it is ſaid, that they ſhall not inrich their Kinred and Family by the Revenues of the Church, it was ſaid, of the Revenues of the Church of which they are faithful Diſpenſers for the Poor. The Biſhop of *Salmona* did oppoſe this point, ſaying, That the Portions of the Poor being divided, by ancient Canon, as alſo of the Fabrick and of the Epiſcopal Table, it cannot be ſaid that Biſhops and other beneficed Perſons are Diſpenſers, but were Lords of their own part; which if they did ſpend ill, they did ſin and incur the wrath of God, as every other Man did, who ſpendeth his Goods amiſs; but if they were Diſpenſers for the Poor, they ſhould be bound to Reſtitution, which cannot be ſaid. There were many Diſcourſes, the *major* part defending that beneficed Men were Lords of the Fruits, or Uſufructuaries, and others ſaying, as the *French* Ambaſſador had done in his Oration, that they have but the uſe only. Some defended the words of the Decree, that they were Diſpenſers, alledging the place in the Goſpel of the faithful Servant, and the Doctrine of all the holy Fathers. But the precipitation to finiſh the Council, cauſed thoſe words, that is, of which they are appointed faithful Diſpenſers for the Poor, to be omitted, as alſo other difficulties to be paſſed over in ſilence.

Notwithſtanding the oppoſition made by the Count of *Luna*.

In the Articles of Patronages, the Ambaſſadors of *Savoy* and *Florence* made requeſt that thoſe of the Princes might be accepted alſo, or that all might be comprehended but thoſe of the Emperour and Kings. Satisfaction was given them, by accepting, beſides the Emperour, Kings, or Poſſeſſors of Kingdoms, other great and ſupreme Princes, who have Soveraignty in their Dominions. Afterwards a Propoſition was made for the reading in Seſſion of all the Decrees made under *Paul* and *Julius*, to be approved; which *Modena* oppoſed, ſaying, that it would be a Derogation to the Authority of the Council of thoſe times, if it ſhould ſeem that the things then done had need of a new Confirmation of the Fathers, and would ſhew that this and that was not all one, becauſe none can confirm his own things. Others ſaid, it was neceſſary to do it, for that cauſe that Auth rity might not be taken from them, ſaying, that they were not of the ſame Council. And the ſame *Frenchmen*, who did before ſo earneſtly deſire that it might be declared that the Council was new, and not continuated with that under *Paul* and *Julius*, did now labour more than others, that all cauſe of doubting might be taken away, that all the Acts from the year 1545. until the end were not of the ſame Synod. Thus it happeneth, as in humane affairs, ſo in Religion alſo, that one Credulity is changed with his Intereſts. Therefore now, all aiming at one mark, it was determined, ſimply to read them, and ſay no more. For ſo the Unity of the Council was moſt plainly declared, and all difficulty removed which the word Confirmation

A diſpute whether the Decrees made under *Paul* and *Julius* ſhould be read.

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tion might bring, leaving every one to think what he liſted, whether the reading of them did conſequently import a confirmation, or a declaration of their validity, or an inference that it was one Synod which made them with That which read them.

The Seſſion is anticipated,

Finally a Propoſition was made to anticipate the Seſſion, and to celebrate it the next day; and if all the actions could not then be diſpatched, to continue it the day following, and to diſmiſs the Fathers, and ſubſcribe all the Acts of the Council on Sunday. The *Spaniſh* Biſhops oppoſed this, ſaying, that there was no neceſſity to abbreviate the time. Notwithſtanding Cardinal *Morone* ſaid, that the Seſſion ſhould be held. And *Lorain* and the Emperours Ambaſſadors renewed their perſuaſions to the Count of *Luna*, that he would yield to that which is ſo uniformly reſolved. Who in the end, after many things ſpoken and replied, was content upon two conditions; one, that a Decree might be made that the Pope ſhould make proviſion for all things that remain; another, that in the handling of Indulgences it ſhould not be ſaid that they ought to be given *gratis*, nor any other thing that might prejudice the *Cruſadoes* of *Spain*.

And held the 3. *December*. The Sermon.

That day therefore being come, which was Friday, the Third of *December*, they went to the Church with the uſual Ceremonies, and the *Maſs* was ſaid, in which *Jerolamus Ragazzone*, Biſhop of *Nazianzo*, made the Sermon. He ſummoned all the World to admire that moſt happy day, in which the Temple of God was reſtored, and the Ship brought into the Haven, after ſo many Tempeſts, and Storms; and that the joy had been greater, if the Proteſtants would have had their part in it, which was not the Father's fault. He ſaid, they had choſen that City for the Council, ſcituated in the mouth of *Germany* even at the threſhold of their houſes, without any guard, not to give ſuſpicion of want of liberty; that the Proteſtants had been invited, by a Safe-conduct, expected and prayed; that, for the ſafety of their Souls, the Catholick Faith was expounded, and the Eccleſiaſtical diſcipline reſtored. He ſhewed the abuſes taken away in holy *Rites*. He ſaid, that if there had been no other cauſe to call a Council, it had been neceſſary to do it for the prohibition of Clandeſtine Marriages. And, paſſing to the things conſtituted for Reformation, he ſhewed, from ſtep to ſtep, the publick ſervice the Church would receive by thoſe Decrees. He added, that the Explication of faith, with the Reformation of manners, had been handled in former Councils, but not more diligently in any; that the arguments and reaſons of the Hereticks had been often handled and diſcuſſed, and many times with great contention, not becauſe there was any diſcord amongſt the Fathers, which cannot be amongſt thoſe who are of the ſame opinion, but to proceed with ſincerity, and ſo to clear the truth as that more could not have been done if the Hereticks had been preſent. He exhorted all, that, being returned to their Dioceſſes, they would put the Decrees in execution; as alſo to thank God firſt, and then the Pope, ſhewing what he hath done to favour the Council, ſending *Nuncii* into the Proteſtant Countries, Legates to *Trent*, exciting Princes to ſend Ambaſſadors, ſparing no coſt to maintain the Council in liberty. He commended the Legates, as being good guides and moderators, and, in particular, Cardinal *Morone*, and concluded with the commendation of the Fathers.

This Decree of *Purgatory*.

After the Ceremonies were ended the Decrees were read. In the Doctrine of *Purgatory* it was ſaid, that the Catholick Church hath taught, out of the Scripture, Traditions, and in this ſame Synod, that there

there is Purgatory, and that the Souls detained in it are assisted by the Suffrages of the Faithful, and the Sacrifice of the *Mass*. Therefore it doth command Bishops to teach sound Doctrine in this matter, and cause it to be preached, without handling subtile Questions before the ignorant people, not suffering uncertain and unlikely things to be published; prohibiting curiosities, superstition, and unhonest gain, procuring that those Suffrages be fully executed which are usually made for the dead by the living, as also that the things ordained in last Wills, or in any other manner be fully performed. 1563 *Pius* IV. *Ferdinand.* *Elizabeth.* *Charles* IX. *Philip* II.

In matter of the Saints, it doth command Bishops and all others who have the charge of teaching, that they instruct the people, concerning the intercession and invocation of them, honour of Reliques, lawful use of Images according to the ancient Doctrine of the Church, consent of Fathers, and Decrees of Councils, teaching that the Saints do pray for Men, that it is profitable to invocate them, and to have recourse to their Prayers and assistance. Afterwards, all in one period, it doth condemn seven Assertions in this matter. That the Saints of Heaven ought not to be invocated. That they do not pray for Men. That it is Idolatry to invocate them to pray for us, though singularly. That it is repugnant to the Word of God, contrary to the honour of *Christ*, and a foolishness to pray unto them, either with Heart or Voice. That the Bodies of Saints, for whose sake God doth give us many benefits, ought not to be worshipped. That their Reliques and Sepultures ought not to be honoured. And that it is in vain to make mention of them, to obtain assistance. Of Saints.

Concerning Images, that those of *Christ*, of the Virgin, and of Saints, ought to be kept in the Churches, and to have due honour given them; not that there is any Divinity or Virtue in them, but because the honour redoundeth to the thing represented, *Christ* and the Saints being worshipped by the Images, whose similitude they bear; as hath been defined by the Councils, especially in the second of *Nice*. That for Histories, the Mysteries of Religion, expressed in Pictures, are taught to the people, and the Articles of Faith called to their mind; and not only the Benefits of *Christ* are suggested to them, but the Miracles and Examples of Saints are even put before their eyes, that they may thank God for them, and imitate them; anathematizing those that teach or believe the contrary. Of Images.

Afterwards it addeth; that, desiring to take away the abuses and occasions of pernicious errours, it doth ordain, that, if there be cause to make an Image of the Divinity, to declare the Historical Pictures of the Holy Scripture, the People be taught that it is not done because it can be seen with bodily eyes, that all Superstition in invocation of Saints, worship of Reliques, and use of Images be taken away, that all dishonest gain be abolished, all excess avoided, Images not pictured, nor adorned lasciviously, nor Banquets made in the Feasts of Saints, or visitation of Reliques, that no unusual Image be put in any Church or other place, but approved by the Bishop, that no new Miracles be admitted, or new Reliques received, and in case of any doubt or abuse hard to be removed, or great difficulty, the Bishop shall expect the opinion of the Provincial Council, neither shall any thing new, or unusual in the Church be decreed without the consent of his Holiness.

The Decree of the Reformation of the *Regulars* did contain Two and Twenty Heads, with these particular Precepts, in sum. 1. That The Decrees of Reformation of *Regulars*.

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all ſhall obſerve the rule of the Profeſſion, eſpecially in regard of the perfection, which conſiſteth in Vows and eſſential Precepts, as alſo in regard of their common Food and Apparel. 2. None ſhall poſſeſs Goods moveable or immoveable, as their own, neither ſhall their Superiours grant immoveables, ſo much as for Uſe, Government, or *Commenda*, and in the uſe of moveables, there ſhall be neither ſuperfluity nor want. 3. The Synod granteth to all Monaſteries, though *Mendicant*, except the *Capuchins*, and the *minor Obſervants*, to poſſeſs immoveable Goods, with command, that the number of Religious in the Monaſteries may be eſtabliſhed to contain as many as can be maintained by the Rents or uſual Alms, neither ſhall ſuch places be built hereafter without Licence of the Biſhops. 4. No Religious Perſon ſhall go to the ſervice of any place or perſon, without leave of his Superior, nor depart from his Convent, without his command. 5. Biſhops ſhall have care to reſtore, and preſerve the encloſure of the *Nuns*, exhorting Princes, and commanding Magiſtrates, upon pain of Excommunication, to aſſiſt them. *Nuns* ſhall not go out of the Monaſteries, and none ſhall enter, upon pain of Excommunication, without exception of Sex, condition or age, except it be with licence. The Cloiſters of *Nuns*, which are without the Walls of the Cities and Caſtles, ſhall be brought within. 6. That Elections be made by ſecret ſcrutiny, and Titulars ſhall not be created to this effect, or the voice of the abſent ſupplied, otherwiſe the Election ſhall be void. 7. In the Cloiſters of *Nuns* the Superiour ſhall be forty years of age, and eight years profeſſed, or, where this cannot be, of thirty years of age at the leaſt, and five years profeſſed. No Woman ſhall have Superiority in two *Nunneries*, and he that is to overſee the Election, ſhall ſtand without the Gates. 8. The Monaſteries, immediately under the Apoſtolick See, ſhall be reduced into a Congregation, and ſhall give order for their Government, and their Superiours ſhall have the ſame Authority as others have, which have been formerly reduced into a Congregation. 9. The Monaſteries of *Nuns*, ſubject immediately to the Apoſtolick See, ſhall be governed by the Biſhops, as Delegates. 10. The *Nuns* ſhall confeſs and communicate once a Month, at the leaſt, and, beſides the ordinary Confeſſor, one extraordinary ſhall be given twice or thrice a year, and they ſhall not keep the Sacrament within the Monaſtery. 11. That in Monaſteries, which have cure of the Souls of Secular Men, thoſe who do exerciſe it ſhall be ſubject to the Biſhop as far as concerneth the Miniſtery of the Sacraments, except the Monaſtery of *Clugni*, or where the *Abbots*, *Generals*, or *Heads* of the *Orders* do reſide, or where the Abbots have Epiſcopal or Temporal Juriſdiction. 12. The *Regulars* ſhall publiſh and obſerve the Papal and Epiſcopal Cenſures, and Interdicts, as alſo the Feaſts which the Biſhop ſhall command. 13. The Biſhop ſhall be Judge of all Controverſies for Precedence, between Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, whether Secular or Regular, and no Appeal from him ſhall lie; and all ſhall be bound to go to publick Proceſſions, except thoſe who live in ſtrict Incloſures. 14. The *Regular*, who reſideth in the Cloiſter, and committeth an exceſs abroad, ſhall be puniſhed by his Superiour, whom the Biſhop ſhall appoint, who alſo ſhall be certified of the puniſhment, or otherwiſe the Delinquent may be puniſhed by him. 15. Profeſſion made before the Age of Sixteen Years compleat, and a Year of Probation, ſhall be void. 16. No Renunciation or Obligation ſhall be of force, except it be made within Two MONTHS before the Profeſſion,

profeſſion, and with licence of the *Ordinary*; and the time of probation being ended, the Superiors ſhall admit the Novices to the profeſſion, or ſend them out of the Monaſteries; but not meaning to comprehend the Jeſuites. The Monaſtery ſhall not receive any thing of a Novice before the profeſſion, except Food and Apparel, and, at his departure, all ſhall be reſtored that belongeth to him. 17. No Virgin ſhall receive the Habit, or make profeſſion, except ſhe be examined by the Biſhop, and her Will well underſtood, and that ſhe hath the conditions required by the rule of that Monaſtery. 18. That all ſuch be anathematized, of what condition ſoever, who ſhall (except in lawful caſes,) force any Woman to enter into a Monaſtery, receive the Habit, or make Profeſſion, as alſo thoſe who ſhall, without juſt cauſe, hinder thoſe who would enter willingly, except the *Penitenti*, or *Converſite*. 19. He that ſhall pretend a nullity in the profeſſion ſhall not be heard after five years from the firſt day thereof, and ſhall alledge the cauſe before the Superior and Ordinary, before he depoſe the Habit, and none ſhall go to a more large Religion, nor have leave to were the Habit ſecretly. 20. The Abbots and Heads of the Orders ſhall viſit the Monaſteries ſubject unto them, though but by *Commenda*, and the Commendataries ſhall be bound to execute the Ordinations; and, in thoſe, Priors and Superiors, who have ſpiritual Government, ſhall be created by the Chapters, or Viſiters of the Orders. 21. That the Synod doth deſire to reſtore Diſcipline in all Monaſteries, but ſeeth it is impoſſible, in regard of the ſtiffnecked and difficult age, yet they will not omit to uſe means, that hereafter proviſion may be made therein, and do hope that his Holineſs, as far as he ſhall ſee the Times will comport, will provide that a *Regular* profeſſed perſon ſhall be made Governour of *Monaſteries* commended, and thoſe that ſhall be vacant hereafter ſhall not be conferred but upon *Regulars*; and thoſe who have Monaſteries in *Commenda* and are Heads of Orders, if proviſion be not made within ſix Months of a *Regular* Succeſſor, they ſhall make Proviſion, or quit the place, otherwiſe the *Commendaes* ſhall be vacant. And, in the proviſion of Monaſteries, the quality of every one ſhall be expreſſed by name, otherwiſe the proviſion ſhall be accounted ſurreptitious. 22. That it ſhall be underſtood, that all *Regulars* are ſubject to theſe Decrees, notwithſtanding any priviledge, though by foundation; commanding Biſhops and Abbots to execute them immediately, and praying, and commanding Princes and Magiſtrates, to aſſiſt them, as often as they ſhall be required.

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The *Penitenti* or *Converſite* are Nuns who have been Courtiſans.

The reading of the General Reformation did preſently follow; which, after an exhortation to Biſhops for exemplary life, modeſty in Apparel and Food, and Frugality, doth forbid 1. That they ſhould give to their Kindred, or any of their Family, any part of the Revenues of the Church, except they be poor; extending the ſame to all beneficed perſons, Secular, or Regular, and alſo unto Cardinals. 2. That the Biſhops ſhall, in the firſt Provincial Council, receive the Decrees of this Synod of *Trent*, promiſe obedience to the Pope, Anathematize the Hereſies condemned, and every Biſhop promoted hereafter ſhall do the ſame, in the firſt Synod; and all beneficed men, who are to aſſiſt in the Dioceſan Synod, ſhall do the ſame therein. Thoſe who have the care of Univerſities, and Studies general, ſhall endeavour to make the Decrees to be received in them, and the Doctors to teach the Catholick Faith in conformity of them, and ſhall take a ſolemn Oath herein,

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herein every year. And for thoſe which are immediately ſubject to the Pope, his Holineſs will have care that they be reformed in the ſame manner by his Delegates, or as he ſhall think fit. 3. That howſoever the Sword of Excommunication is the ſinew of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, profitable to keep men in obedience, it is to be uſed with ſobriety and circumſpection, having found by experience, that it is more contemned than feared, when it is denounced raſhly, for a ſmall cauſe. Therefore it ſhall not be denounced by any, but by the Biſhop for things loſt or ſtolen; who ſhall not grant it at the perſuaſion of any Secular Authority whatſoever, though a Magiſtrate. And in Judicial Cauſes, in which a real or perſonal execution may be made, they ſhall abſtain from cenſures; and in Civil, belonging in what manner ſoever to the Eccleſiaſtical Court, they may uſe pecuniary puniſhments, or proceed by diſtraining of Goods, or impriſonment of the Parties themſelves, with their Executors or others, and in caſe they be not able to execute really or perſonally, they may proceed to Excommunication. And the ſame ſhall be obſerved in Criminal Cauſes. The Secular Magiſtrates ſhall not prohibit the Eccleſiaſtical to excommunicate, or revoke Excommunication, upon pretence that the Decree hath not been obſerved. The perſon excommunicated ſhall not only not be received to participate with the faithful, but, if he preſevere in the Cenſures, he may be proceeded againſt, as ſuſpected of Hereſie. 4. It doth give power to the Biſhops, in the Dioceſan Synods, and to the Heads of the Orders, in the general Chapters, to ordain for their Churches that which ſhall be for the honour of God, and benefit of them, when there ſhall be an obligation to celebrate ſo many *Maſſes* by teſtamentary Legacies, that they cannot be performed, or that the Alms is ſo ſmall that none can be found to perform the charge, but with condition, that memory be always made of thoſe parties deceaſed who have left the Legacies. 5. That, in the collation, or any other diſpoſition of Benefices, no derogation be made to the qualities, conditions, and charges required, or impoſed in the erection or foundation, or by any other conſtitution, otherwiſe the proviſion ſhall be accounted ſurreptitious. 6. When the Biſhop, not in time of Viſitation, doth proceed againſt the Canons, the Chapter ſhall elect two in the beginning of every year, by whoſe counſel and conſent, the Biſhop ſhall proceed in all the Acts, and the Voices of both ſhall be as one; and in caſe they both diſſent from the Biſhop, a third ſhall be elected by them, who ſhall determine the Controverſie; and if they cannot agree, the third man ſhall be elected by the next Biſhop. But, in cauſes of Concubinaries, or other more hainous, the Biſhop may receive information alone, and proceed to retention; and for the reſidue, ſhall obſerve what is ordained. The Biſhop ſhall have the firſt ſeat in the Quire, Chapter, or other publick places, and ſhall chuſe his place. The Biſhop ſhall preſide in the Chapter, except in caſes belonging to him or his, which authority ſhall not be communicated to his Vicar; and thoſe who are not of the Chapter ſhall, in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, be all ſubject to the Biſhop, and where Biſhops have more juriſdiction than the aforeſaid, the Decree ſhall not have place. 7. Hereafter no *regreſs* or *acceſs* to any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice ſhall be granted, and thoſe which be granted already ſhall neither be extended nor transferred: and herein the Cardinals ſhall be comprehended alſo. *Coadjutors*, with future ſucceſſion, ſhall not be made in any Eccleſiaſtical Benefices whatſoever, and if, in Cathedral Churches or Monaſteries, it ſhall be neceſſary to do it, the Cauſe ſhall

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firſt be known by the Pope, and the due qualities ſhall concur. 8. All beneficed men ſhall uſe as much hoſpitality as their Revenue will give them leave: And it doth command thoſe who have the Government of Hoſpitals, under what title ſoever, to exerciſe it, as they are bound by the Revenues deputed hereunto; and if perſons of that ſort as the Inſtitution doth require be not found in the place, the Revenues ſhall be converted to a pious uſe as near as can be to that, as ſhall ſeem good to the Biſhop with two of the Chapter. And thoſe who will not give ſatisfaction in this charge of Hoſpitality may be compelled (though they be Laicks,) by Cenſures, and other remedies, to perform their duty, and ſhall be bound to the reſtitution of fruits in Court of Conſcience, and ſuch Governments ſhall not be given thereafter to any, for longer time than three years. 9. The title of Petronage ſhall be ſhewed to be authentical by Foundation or Donation, or by Preſentations multiplyed time out of mind, or by ſome other lawful manner. But in Perſons and Communities, in whom Uſurpation is uſually preſumed, the proof ſhall be more exact, and time immemorial ſhall not ſuffice, except Preſentations of fifty years at the leaſt be authentically ſhewed and that they have all taken effect. Other ſorts of Patronages ſhall be underſtood to be abrogated, except thoſe of the Emperor, Kings, Poſſeſſors of Kingdoms, and Supreme Princes, and of general Studies. The Biſhop may refuſe to admit thoſe that are preſented by the Patrons, if they be not fit; and the Patrons ſhall not meddle with the Fruits, neither ſhall the right of Patronage be transferred againſt the Canonical Ordinations: And the Unions of ſimple Benefices to thoſe which have right of Patronage, if they have not really taken effect, ſhall wholly ceaſe, and the Benefices ſhall be reduced to liberty, and thoſe that have been made within forty years, though they have been executed, ſhall be reviewed by the Biſhops, and if any defect be found, ſhall be made void, and likewiſe all Patronages ſhall be reviewed, made within forty years, for augmentation of Dowry of the Church, or for building it anew; and if they ſhall not be found to be for the evident utility of the Benefice they ſhall be revoked, and that ſhall be reſtored to the Patrons which is due unto them. 10. That in Provincial Councils or Dioceſan, four perſons at the leaſt ſhall be elected, endowed with fit qualities, to whom Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes ſhall be committed which are to be delegated by the Legates, *Nuncii*, or Apoſtolick See, and all other Delegations ſhall be thought to be ſurreptitious. 11. Money ſhall not be received before-hand for Eccleſiaſtical Goods in prejudice of the Succeſſors, nor Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdictions rented out, neither ſhall the Farmers of them have power to exerciſe them: And the farming of Eccleſiaſtical things, though confirmed by the Pope, done within thirty years, for a long time, that is, for twenty nine or more years, ought to be judged by the Provincial Synod to have been done with damage of the Church. 12. Thoſe who are bound to pay Tenths, ſhall pay them hereafter to whom they are entirely obliged, and he that with-holdeth them ought to be excommunicated, and not to be abſolved before reſtitution. And it exhorteth all, to whom God hath given Wealth, to impart ſome of it to Biſhops and Prieſts, who have poor Churches. 13. Whereas the fourth of the Funerals was uſually paid, until within theſe forty years, unto the Epiſcopal or Pariſh Church, and was afterwards granted to pious places, it ſhall be reſtored to them again. 14. It doth forbid all Clerks to keep Concubines, or any ſuſpected Women, at home, or abroad, which if they forbear not to do

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after admonition, they ſhall be deprived of the third part of their Eccleſiaſtical Rents, and of all, after the ſecond admonition, and ſuſpended alſo from adminiſtration of the Sacraments; and, incaſe they perſevere, they ſhall be deprived of all Benefices, and made uncapable of any other, until they ſhall be diſpenſed with: And if, after they have forſaken them, they ſhall return, they ſhall be excommunicated alſo, and the cognition of theſe Cauſes ſhall belong only to Biſhops, ſummarily. But Clerks, not beneficed, ſhall be puniſhed with impriſonment, ſuſpenſion, or inhability. And if the Biſhops themſelves ſhall fall into the like errour, and not amend, after admonition given by the Provincial Synod, they ſhall be ſuſpended, and, if they perſevere, they ſhall be delated to the Pope. 15. The Sons of Clerks, not born of lawful Matrimony, ſhall not have any Benefice, or Miniſt'ry in Churches where there Fathers have, or have had a Benefice, nor have any Penſion in Benefices, which the Fathers either have now, or have had: And if, at any time, the Father and Son ſhall be beneficed in the ſame Church, the Son ſhall be bound to reſign within three Months; prohibiting alſo reſignations, which the Father ſhall make to another, that he may reſign his own to his Son. 16. Benefices with Cure ſhall not be converted into ſimple Benefices, and in thoſe which are converted already, if the perpetual Vicar hath not a convenient Revenue, it ſhall be aſſigned to him, at the pleaſure of the Biſhop. 17. Whereas ſome Biſhops carry themſelves baſely towards the Miniſters of Kings, men of preheminence, and Barons, as well in the Church, as without, and not only give them place, with too much indignity, but ſerve them in perſon, the Synod deteſting this, and reviving the Canons concerning the *Decorum* of Epiſcopal Dignity, doth command Biſhops to forbear this, and regard their Degree, both in Church and without, remembring they are Paſtors, and alſo commandeth Princes, and others, to give them honour, and reverence, due to Fathers. 18. The Canons ſhall be obſerved indiſtinctly by all, and ſhall not be diſpenſed, but for a cauſe, heard with maturity, and without coſt. 19. The Emperor, Kings, and Princes, who ſhall grant duel between Chriſtians, ſhall be excommunicated, and deprived of the Dominion of the place in which the duel is committed, if they hold it from the Church; And the Combatants, and the Judges of the combat, ſhall be excommunicated, have their Goods confiſcated, and be perpetually infamous: And if they dy in the duel, they ſhall not be buried in any ſacred place, and thoſe who give them counſel, either *in jure* or *in facto*, or perſuade them to the duel, and the lookers on ſhall be excommunicated. 20. In the end, the Article of Eccleſiaſtical Liberty, or Reformation of Princes, which had been ſo much examined, was read. In it the Synod doth admoniſh Secular Princes, hoping they will grant to the Church the reſtitution of her Rights, reduce their Subjects to reverence the Clergy, and not permit their Officers and inferiour Magiſtrates to violate the immunity of the Church and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, but that, together with themſelves, the Princes, they will be obedient to the Conſtitutions of the Pope, and of Councils, determining that all Conſtitutions of General Councils, and of the Apoſtolick See, in favour of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and liberty, ſhall be obſerved by all: Admoniſhing the Emperor, Kings, Republicks, Princes, and all, to reverence the things that belong to Eccleſiaſtical right, and not to ſuffer them to be violated by inferior Lords, their Magiſtrates, or Miniſters; that the Clerks may reſide and perform their duty, without impediment, and

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with Edification of the People. After this, a Decree was read, never mentioned in any Congregation; by which the Synod doth declare, That in all the Decrees of Reformation, made under *Paul*, *Julius*, and *Pius* in the Council, with what words or clauſes ſoever, it ſhall be underſtood, that the Authority of the Apoſtolick See is excepted and preſerved.

A Decree concerning the Apoſtolick See never mentioned before.

Being not able to diſpatch all, the day being far ſpent, the reſidue was deferred until the next morning, according to a determination made in the General Congregation; in which the Congregation was made before day, howſoever, news was come that the Pope was better, and out of danger of death. The Decrees of Indulgences, finiſhing the Council, and demanding Confirmation were read, and approved by all. After Dinner, the Seſſion was held, in which the Decree of Indulgence was read, containing in ſubſtance. That *Chriſt* hath given Authority of granting them to the Church, and hath uſed the ſame from all Antiquity. And therefore the Synod doth teach, and command, That the uſe of them ought to be continued as profitable for Chriſtian People, and approved by Councils; and doth anathematize thoſe that ſhall ſay, they are unprofitable, and that the Church hath not power to grant them. And to preſerve the ancient Cuſtom, and provide againſt abuſes, it doth command that all thoſe Offices of Pardon-mongers be aboliſhed; and, for the other abuſes, it doth command the Biſhops, that every one ſhall collect all of his own Church, and propoſe them in the Provincial Synod, to be referred to the Pope, who will take order therein. Concerning Faſts, difference of Meats, and Obſervation of Feaſts, it exhorteth Biſhops to obſerve the Precepts of the *Roman* Church; and for the *Index*, howſoever it was finiſhed, in regard the Synod hath not time to judge of it, it doth ordain, that it ſhall be carried to the Pope, and referred to his Cenſure, and the ſame ſhall be done concerning the *Catechiſm*, *Breviary*, and *Miſſal*. It publiſhed alſo another Decree, that, by the places aſſigned to Ambaſſadors, it ſhall be underſtood that no Man is prejudiced. In the end it prayeth the Princes to uſe means that the Decrees of the Council be not violated by the Heretieks, but received and obſerved by them, and by all: In which if any difficulty or neceſſity of declaration ſhall ariſe, the Pope, calling thoſe whom he ſhall judge fit, from the places where the difficulty is, or calling General Councils, or by ſome other means, will make proviſion. Afterwards all the Decrees of Reformation made in this Council under *Paul* and *Julius*, as well of Faith as of Reformation, were recited. For the laſt thing, the Secretary, going into the midſt, did interrogate, whether the Fathers were pleaſed that an end ſhould be made of that Synod, and in the name of it, of the Legates, and Preſidents, a Confirmation demanded of Pope *Pius* the Fourth, of all things decreed under *Paul*, *Julius*, and his Holineſs. And they anſwered not one by one, but altogether, *Placet*. Card. *Morone*, as chief Preſident, granted to every one that was preſent in the Seſſion, or had aſſiſted in the Council, a Plenary Indulgence, and bleſſed the Council, and diſmiſſed them all; ſaying, That after they had given thanks to God, they might go in peace.

The Decrees of the two former Convocations are recited.

The Council is ended. And a Plenary Indulgence is given.

It was an ancient Cuſtom in the Oriental Churches, to handle the matter of Councils in a publick meeting of all, and, upon occaſion, popular acclamations did often happen, and ſomtimes tumultuous, which notwithſtanding did conclude in concord. And, in the end, the Biſhops, tranſported with joy, for the uniform determinations, did paſs

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1563 to acclamations, in praiſe of the Emperours who had aſſembled and favoured the Council, in commendation of the Doctrine declared by the Council, in Prayers to God for his continual Divine aſſiſtance to the Church, for the welfare of the Emperours, and for the health and proſperity of the Biſhops; which were not premeditated, but as the Spirit did excite ſome Biſhop more zealous to break out fitly into ſome one of theſe conceipts, ſo the common concourſe did cry with him. This was imitated in *Trent*, yet not giving place to the extemporary Spirit of any, but meditating what ſhould be propoſed, and anſwered, and repeating it out of a Paper. The Cardinal of *Lorain* took upon him to be the chief, not only to compoſe the acclamations, but to thunder them out alſo; which was generally conſtrued for a lightneſs and vanity not beſeeming ſuch a Prelate, and Prince, to do an Office which did belong rather to the Deacons of the Council, than to ſo principal an Archbiſhop and Cardinal. The Cardinal roaring, and the Fathers anſwering, A long Life for his Holineſs, and Eternal Felicity for *Paul*, and *Julius*, were prayed for; likewiſe Eternal Memory for *Charles* the Fifth, and for the Kings, Protectors of the Council, long Life for the Emperour *Ferdinand*, and for the Kings, Princes, and Republicks, many thanks were given to the Legates and Cardinals, and long Life wiſhed unto them, Life and happy return to the Biſhops, and the Faith of the holy general Synod of *Trent* was commended as the Faith of St. *Peter*, of the Fathers and of the Orthodox. An *Anathema* was denounced againſt all Hereticks in general, in one word only, not ſpecifying either Ancient or Modern. The Fathers were commanded, upon pain of Excommunication, to ſubſcribe the Decrees with their own Hand. The next day, being *Sunday*, was ſpent in this: And to do it in order, there was, as it were, a Congregation. And the Subſcriptions were of four Legates, two Cardinals, three Patriarchs, five and twenty Archbiſhops, 268 Biſhops, ſeven Abbots, nine and thirty Procters of Men abſent, ſeven Generals of Regular Orders. And howſoever it had been determined, that the Ambaſſadors ſhould ſubſcribe after the Fathers, yet a contrary reſolution was then taken, for two reſpects. One was, that the *French* Ambaſſador being not there, if the Subſcriptions of the others ſhould be ſeen, and not his, it might be thought a Manifeſtation, that the *Frenchmen* would not receive the Council. The other, becauſe the Count of *Luna* had ſaid, that he would not ſubſcribe abſolutely, but with reſervation, becauſe his King had not conſented to the ending of the Council. And the Legates publiſhed, that it not being the Cuſtom that the Decrees ſhould be ſubſcribed by any that hath not a deliberative Voice, it would be a thing unuſual, if the Ambaſſador ſhould.

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The Cuſtom of Acclamations is imitated in *Trent.*

Wherein the Card. of *Lorain* was chief.

An Excommunication of Hereticks in general only.

The number of thoſe that ſubſcribed.

The Ambaſſadors did not ſubſcribe, for two cauſes.

In *Rome* when the Pope fell ſick, all fearing his Life, there was much confuſion in the Court. For never having known a Pope die in time of a Council, they were very fearful what might happen. They had the example of the Council of *Conſtance*, which, in the Election, joined other Prelates to the Cardinals; and they were afraid that this, or ſome worſe thing, might happen. And howſoever the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador *Vargas* affirmed, that the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador and Prelates in *Trent* had Commiſſion, that the Election ſhould be made by the Cardinals, yet in reſpect of their ſmall number, theſe words did not fully aſſure them. But the Popes recovery gave them much joy, which was increaſed by the concluſion of the Council, as being now fully delivered from great danger. And the Pope ordained a ſolemn Proceſſion,

The Popes ſickneſs made a great confuſion in the Court.

ceſſion to give thanks to God for this great benefit. In Conſiſtory he ſhewed what contentment he had in the Council. He ſaid he would confirm it, add many Reformations unto it; that he would ſend three Legates, into *Germany*, *France*, and *Spain*, to perſuade the execution of the Decrees, to grant things honeſt, and to eaſe them in matters of poſitive Law.

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The Legates, *Morone* and *Simoneta* returned to *Rome* before *Chriſtmas*, from whom the Pope was willing to have a particular Relation, in many Audiences, of all that happened, and took a note of the names of the Prelates who had taken pains in the Council, that he might create them Cardinals. The Court, underſtanding that the Pope was reſolved for the Confirmation, changed their joy into grief; and all the Officers complained of the Loſs they ſhould receive in their Offices, if that Reformation were executed. And they conſidered moreover, that thoſe Decrees being conceived in general terms, and without clauſes of ſubtile explication, as often as any difficulty did ariſe, the World now accuſtomed to bark againſt the Court would make an interpretation contrary to their intereſts; which would be embraced as a thing of fair ſhew, covered with the title of Reformation. Supplications and Memorials were given to the Pope by thoſe, who, having bought the Offices, and foreſeeing this loſs, demanded Reſtitution: A thing which the Pope did not neglect, and thought it did deſerve a good remedy, leſt there might be a deſolation in *Rome*. Whereof having diligently conſidered, he deputed Cardinals to conſult upon the Confirmation, and to think upon ſome remedy for the complaints of the Court. Some Cardinals did adviſe to confirm immediately the Decrees of Faith, and to proceed with maturity in the other. For ſome did deſerve much conſideration in regard of their ſmall profit, and great confuſion they might bring, and others muſt be neceſſarily diſpenſed with, in regard of their impoſſibility, or great difficulty, at the leaſt; which could not be done with any *decorum*, nor without giving much matter of diſcourſe. Beſides, it would be neceſſary to have much conſideration that they might be ſo executed, that no man might receive loſs or prejudice, that proviſion not deſerving the name of Reformation, which is with the detriment of any, but by deferring time, and the diligence of many would diſcover what might be done with common ſatisfaction of all, without which all Reformations are turned into Deformations. The Pope therefore elected Eight Cardinals to review them, who after long diſcuſſion were almoſt all of opinion, that it was fit they ſhould be moderated before the Confirmation, and thought, that being to ſuffer ſome oppoſition, it was better to do it in the beginning, than giving them reputation by confirming, to moderate them afterwards. It is certain, that they who did procure the Council had no aim but to pull down the Popes Authority; and while the Council did laſt, every one did ſpeak as if it had power to give Laws unto him. Notwithſtanding, it muſt now appear, by nullifying or moderating ſome of thoſe Decrees, that the Pope is not to receive Laws, but to give them to Councils.

A diſpute in *Rome* about the confirmation of the Decrees.

The Pope being of himſelf inclined to the Confirmation, and induced alſo thereunto by the perſuaſions of *Morone* and *Simoneta*, yet perplexed with the querimonies of the Court, and the general opinion of the Cardinals, that he might come to a reſolution, beſides thoſe afore-named, he called the Cardinals of *Bordiſſiera*, and *Amulius*, as alſo the principal Officers of the *Chamber*, *Chancery*, and *Rota*:

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to whom the Matter being propoſed, the four Cardinals did uniformly adviſe, that the Council ſhould be confirmed abſolutely. Cardinal *Amulius*, in whoſe Memorials I have ſeen this negotiation, ſaid, that his Holineſs, by his patience, wiſdom, vertue, and with immenſe charge, and with the pains and charge of ſo many Prelates, had ſeen the end of a great and difficult enterpriſe, to aſſemble, direct, and finiſh the Council; now a greater did remain, but without difficulty, that is, to keep himſelf, the Apoſtolick See, and all the Eccleſiaſtical Order, from returning into the ſame ſtraits, danger, inconveniences, and expences; that, for theſe forty years, the World hath ſpoken of nothing but of the Council, which the Popes could not by any means divert, in regard of the certain perſuaſion conceived of the neceſſity thereof, and of the fruit it would produce. But if, ſo ſoon as it is ended, Queſtion be made of correcting or moderating it, or it be left in ſuſpenſe for want of Confirmation, it will be a manifeſtation, that Proviſion hath not been made in *Trent*, for that which was neceſſary, and expected, and ſuddenly another means of Proviſion will be uſed, either by National Councils, or another General. And here behold the ſame ſtraits out of which the Church, with ſo great difficulty, hath been delivered by God. But approving the Decrees, as a perfect Reformation, and giving them credit, and as much execution as is poſſible, many will believe, that nothing is wanting; and nothing is more profitable for the preſent times, than to ſpread a Fame, and nouriſh it, that the Council hath made an holy, neceſſary, and perfect Reformation, not ſuffering it to be known, that any Cardinal hath doubted, that it hath not performed that for which it was called. By ſo doing, the humour of the World will be quiet by degrees, and his Holineſs may provide for his Miniſters and Servants by Diſpenſations, without violating the Decrees of the Council, becauſe in them the Apoſtolick Authority is reſerved; which may ſerve him for a Buckler to deny the importunate Demands of thoſe whom he will deem unworthy of favour, and, in time, things will inſenſibly, the World not obſerving it, return unto the ſame ſtate. He ſaid, this courſe was taken heretofore, when neceſſity compelled to yield to theſe Humours, which uſually are bred in Subjects againſt the Governours, that when others do oppoſe the Decrees, it was fit to maintain them, for reputation of ſo many of his Creatures, of his Legates, and of himſelf alſo; much more ought he not to nullifie them wholly, as would be done by every little moderation, correction, or delay of Confirmation; which the World would judge to be a mortal wound unto them all. Beſides, the Vulgar, who do always make the worſt Interpretation, will have nothing to ſay, but that the Court and Pope will not endure a Reformation.

This was oppoſed by almoſt all the Officers of the Court, repreſenting their Loſſes and Prejudices, and ſhewing, how all would redound to the offence of his Holineſs, and of the Apoſtolick See, and diminution of his Revenues. Only *Hugo Buoncompagno*, Biſhop of *Beſtice*, who was Cardinal afterwards, a man much converſant in Court Affairs, ſaid he could not chuſe but wonder at this great Fear, which he ſaw did riſe without reaſon; that, by confirmation of the Council, more Authority was not given it; than other General Councils had, or than was given to the Decree, or Decretals, by the great number of which, and by their plain ſpeaking againſt the preſent Manners, many more Prejudices and Offences might ariſe, than could do by theſe few Decrees of *Trent*, much reſerved in the former words; that no Law doth

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conſiſt in the terms, but in the meaning, not in that which the *Vulgar* and Grammarians do give it, but which uſe and authority doth confirm; that Laws have no power but what is given them by him that governeth, and hath the care to execute them; that he, by his Expoſition, may give them a more ample, or a more ſtrict ſenſe, yea and contrary to that which the words do import, and that it would be no more to reſtrain or moderate the Decrees of *Trent* now, than to ſuffer them to be reſtrained by uſe, or by expoſition, in times convenient. He concluded, that he ſaw no cauſe why there ſhould be any difficulty about the Confirmation. But he put them in mind to withſtand preſently the inconveniences which might ariſe by the temerity of the Doctors, who, the more ignorant they are of Government and Publick Affairs, the more they take upon them to give interpretation to Laws, which doth confound Authority; that experience ſheweth, that Laws do no hurt, nor cauſe any ſuit, but by the divers ſenſes given unto them; that by the Conſtitution of *Nicolas* the Third, upon the rule of Saint *Francis*, a matter full of ambiguities in itſelf, never any diſorder did ariſe, becauſe he forbad all Gloſſators, and Commentators to expound it; that if ſuch proviſion be made for the Decrees of *Trent*, and all men forbid to write upon them, a great part of that which is feared will be withſtood. But if his Holineſs will forbid all interpretations, even to the Judges alſo, and ordain, that in all doubts they ſhall come for expoſition to the Apoſtolick See; no Man will be able to make uſe of the Council in prejudice of the Court, which by uſe, and by interpretations, may be accommodated to that which will be for the benefit of the Church. And as there is a Congregation which, with great fruit, doth take care of the Inquiſition, ſo his Holineſs may appoint Another for this particular of expounding the Council, to whom all doubts ſhall be referred from all parts of the World. This being done, he ſaid, he forſaw, that, by the Decrees of the Council, the Authority of the Apoſtolick See, the Rights and Prerogatives of the Church of *Rome* will not only not be diminiſhed, but increaſed and inlarged much, in caſe they know how to make uſe of theſe means. Thoſe that heard him were moved by theſe Reaſons; and the Pope ſaw it was neceſſary to come to the abſolute Confirmation, without any modification; and being perſuaded, that it would fall out as the Biſhop had ſaid, he was preremptory not to hearken to any thing that could be ſpoken againſt it, but, full of hope to collect much fruit by the pains taken for finiſhing the Council, he reſolved to confirm it, to reſerve the interpretation to himſelf, and to inſtitute a Congregation, as the Biſhop had counſelled: And, having imparted this to the Cardinals apart, he determined to effect it.

All Gloſſes or interpretations are forbid to be made upon the Decrees of the Council.

Therefore the ſix and twentieth of *January*, *Morone* and *Simoneta* having related in Conſiſtory the tenor of the Decree, made in the laſt Seſſion, that the Confirmation ſhould be deſired by them, they demanded that his Holineſs would vouchſafe to confirm all that which hath been decreed, and defined in that Council, under *Paul*, *Julius*, and his Holineſs. The Pope, firſt cauſing the Decree to be read, asked the opinions of all the Cardinals. They were all for the Confirmation unformly, except the Cardinals, Saint *Clement*, and *Alexandrinus*; who ſaid, that too much Authority had been given to Biſhops in that Council, and that it was neceſſary to moderate it, and then to make an exception of thoſe points that did inlarge it too much, which were noted already. In the end, the Pope concluded, that it was good to confirm all

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without exception, and ſo he did in words, in the Conſiſtory, confirming them, and commanding that they ſhould be received, and inviolably obſerved by all the faithful; and the ſame day he publiſhed a Bull, ſubſcribed by all the Cardinals; in which, having related the cauſes of calling the Council, the progreſs, the impediments and difficulties which happened from time to time, and his diligence in favouring the liberty thereof, granting them free power over the things reſerved to the Apoſtolick See, he thanked God that it was ended with an intire conſent. Therefore being deſired in the name of the Synod, for confirmation, knowing the Decrees to be all Catholick, and profitable for Chriſtians, he hath confirmed them in Conſiſtory, and doth confirm them by that Writing, commanding all Prelats to cauſe them to be obſerved, and exhorting the Emperor, Kings, Republicks and Princes, to aſſiſt for the obſervation of them alſo, to favour the Prelats, not to permit their people, but rather to prohibit them by all means, to embrace Opinions contrary to the Doctrine of that Council; and to avoid confuſion, he forbad all ſorts of Perſons, as well Clerks as Laicks, to make any Commentaries, Gloſſes, Annotations, or any Interpretation whatſoever upon them, or to make any kind of Statute, though under pretence of great ſtrength, or better execution of the Decrees, but that, if any obſcure place wanted Interpretation or Deciſion, they ſhould have recourſe to the Apoſtolick See, becauſe he did reſerve unto himſelf power to declare the Difficulties or Controverſies, as alſo the Synod had already decreed.

The Decrees of the Council have power from the Popes confirmation.

This conſiſtorial Act of Confirmation, and the Bull, were printed together with the Decrees; which gave matter of Speech, it appearing by the Tenor of them, that the Decrees had not vigour, as conſtituted by the Council, but as confirmed by the Pope. Whereupon it was ſaid, that one had heard the Cauſe, and another had given the Sentence. Neither could it be ſaid, that the Pope had ſeen the Decrees before he confirmed them, becauſe it did appear, by the conſiſtorial Act, that he had only ſeen the Decree for deſiring the Confirmation. They ſaid alſo, that the Decrees made under *Paul* and *Julius* were read in *Trent*, and that it was fit they ſhould be confirmed by thoſe that heard them, rather than by him that did not know them. But others anſwered, That there was no need the Pope ſhould then ſee them, becauſe nothing was done in *Trent*, which was not firſt reſolved by him. In many Conſiſtories following, the Pope ſpake for the obſervation of the Decrees of the Council, ſaying, he would obſerve them himſelf, though he was not bound, and gave his word, that he would never derogate from them, but for evident and urgent Cauſes, and with conſent of the Cardinals. He charged *Morone* and *Simoneta* to be diligent in advertiſing him, if any contrary thing were propoſed, or handled in Conſiſtory: Which was but a ſmall remedy againſt the Tranſgreſſions, becauſe not an hundredth part of the grants made in *Rome* are diſpatched in Conſiſtory. He ſent the Biſhops to their Reſidence, and reſolved to make uſe of the *Protonotaries*, and *Referendaries* in governing the City of *Rome*, and the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate. But however he was freed from great Trouble by the concluſion of the Council, yet there were ſome Remainders of it in all Kingdoms, which brought new difficulties upon him.

And are executed in *Spain* by the King's Authority only.

Advice came out of *Spain*, That the King was offended with the ending of the Council, and determined to call the Biſhops and Agents for the Clergy of *Spain* before him, to ſet down in what manner it might be executed. And the advice was not falſe. For not only all that was done in *Spain*,

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Spain, for receiving and executing the Decrees of the Council that year, partly in the Spring, and partly in the Autumn, was by order and reſolution taken in the King's Council, but the King ſent alſo his Preſidents to the Synods, which were held, cauſing to be propoſed that which pleaſed him, and was fit for his Service; to the great diſtaſt of the Pope, who was angry the King ſhould take ſo much upon him in Matters Eccleſiaſtical. But he made no Demonſtration hereof to his Miniſters, purpoſing to make uſe of it in another opportunity, deſigned by himſelf, which ſhall be related in due place.

Which maketh the Pope angry.

The Preſident *de Ferrieres*, having, while he remained in *Venice*, made Obſervations upon the Decrees of the two laſt Seſſions held after his departure from *Trent*, and ſent them to the Court, the Cardinal of *Lorain*, at his return into *France*, had many Aſſaults and Reprehenſions, for conſenting to things prejudicial to the Kingdom. They ſaid, that by the words of the firſt Article of Reformation in the laſt Seſſion, where it is ſaid, that the Pope hath charge of the Univerſal Church, in *Latin*, *Solicitudinem Eccleſiæ Univerſæ*, he had yielded the point, which himſelf and all the *French* Biſhops had ſo long contended for and obtained, that prejudice might not be done to the opinion of *France*, of the Superiority of the Council above the Pope; that he might have remedied this with one little word, by making them ſay, as S. *Paul* had done, *Care of all the Churches*, becauſe no Man would have denyed that kind of Speech, which S. *Paul* did uſe; that prejudice was likewiſe done to the ſame opinion of the Superiority of the Council in the one and twentieth Article of the laſt Seſſion, ſaving, in all the Decrees, the Authority of the Apoſtolick See: And in the laſt Decree, for demanding the Popes Confirmation. It was oppoſed alſo, that the King, and *French* Church, having conteſted, that the Council might be declared to be new, and not the old continued, the Continuation was declared, that it was one Council with that of *Paul* and *Julius*, in the ſaid one and twentieth Article, and in the Decree for reading the things conſtituted under thoſe Popes; by which all was baſely yielded, which had been two years maintained by the King. They ſaid moreover, that the Approbation of the things done under *Julius* was diſhonorable, and prejudicial to the Proteſtation then made by King *Henry* the Second. But they reprehended above all, that honourable mention having been always made under *Paul* and *Julius* of King *Francis* the Firſt, and King *Henry* the Second, together with *Charles* the Fifth, the Cardinal had not cauſed a Memory to be made of them in the Acclamations, when it was made of *Charles*, nor the preſent King to be named, when the living Emperor was. The Cardinal excuſed other things, ſaying, that with ſix Prelats (for he had no more in his company,) he was not able to reſiſt the conſent of more than two hundred. But this laſt Oppoſition he knew not how to excuſe, though he ſaid it was to preſerve the Peace of the two Kingdoms. For it was replyed, that he might have ſuffered others to make the Intonation, and not to have been the Author himſelf of that prejudice. And ſo it is ſeen, that vain Men oftentimes thinking to gain Reputation by *Retail* do loſe it in *Groſs*.

The Card. of *Lorain* is taxed in *France* at his return;

But the Counſellors of the Parliament found many other things to oppoſe againſt the Articles of Reformation, publiſhed in thoſe two Seſſions, where the Eccleſiaſtical Authority, they ſaid, was enlarged beyond it's bounds, with the wrong and diminution of the Temporal, by giving Power to Biſhops to proceed to pecuniary Mulcts, and Impriſonment againſt the Laity; whereas no Authority was given by Chriſt to his

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his Miniſters, but meer and pure Spiritual; that when the Clergy was made a Member and Part of the Policy, the Princes did, by favour, allow the Biſhops to puniſh interior Clergy-men with temporal puniſhments, that Diſcipline might be obſerved amongſt them, but to uſe ſuch kind of puniſhments againſt the Laicks, they had neither from the Law of God nor of Man, but by uſurpation only; that, in the matter of Duel, they pretend to proceed againſt the Emperor, Kings and other Sovereigns, who grant it in their Kingdoms, even by Excommunication; whereas their Opinion was that to permit Duel, in ſome caſes, was not amiſs; as the permitting of Fornication, and other Offences, howbeit they are Sins, was not ill, in regard of publick utility, and to avoid greater inconveniences. They ſaid, that this power being natural, and given to the Princes by God, could not be taken away, or reſtrained by any power of man. They thought it alſo intolerable, to excommunicate Kings and Princes, holding it for a ſure maxim in *France*, that the King cannot be excommunicated, nor his Officers for the execution of their Offices. They added, that to deprive Princes of their States, Lords of their Fees, and to confiſcate the goods of Private men, were all Uſurpations of the Temporal Authority, becauſe that which was given by *Chriſt* to the Church doth not extend itſelf to the things of this nature.

Concerning Patronages, they ſaid, great wrong was done to the Seculars, in diſabling their proofs, and that the whole Article was grounded upon a falſe *Maxim*, that all Benefices are free, if the Patronage be not proved. For Churches have no Temporal Goods, but granted by the Seculars, who cannot be preſumed to grant them ſo, as that they may be managed and diſſipated at the pleaſure of the Eccleſiaſticks: By which means it ought to be preſuppoſed, that every Benefice had a Patron, from the beginning of it, except an abſolute donation, with a total ceſſion of the Patronage, can be ſhewed. And as the Commonwealth or Prince doth ſucceed him that hath no Heir, ſo all Benefices, the Patronage of which doth not belong to any, ought to be under the publick Patronage. Some mocked that form of ſpeech, that Benefices which had Patrons were in ſervitude, and the others free, as if it were not plain ſervitude to be under the diſpoſition of the Court of *Rome*, which doth manage them contrary to the inſtitution, and foundation, whereas the Seculars do preſerve them. Beſides the Cenſure of ſome Decrees for this Cauſe, they added, that others were againſt the Cuſtoms and Immunities of the *French* Church; as the reſervation of great Criminal Cauſes againſt Biſhops to the cognition of the Pope alone, taking away the power of Provincial and National Councils, which have always adjudged them in all caſes, and burthening the Biſhops, by forcing them to litigate out of the Kingdom, contrary not only to the Cuſtom of *France*, but to the Canons of ancient Councils alſo, which have determined that ſuch Cauſes ſhould be judged, and ended in their proper Countries. They ſaid it was againſt juſtice, and the uſe of *France*, that Benefices ſhould be clogged with *Penſions* and *Reſervations* of Fruits, as was obliquely determined. Likewiſe, that it was not tolerable, that Cauſes of the firſt inſtance ſhould be taken out of the Kingdom by the Pope, becauſe it taketh away a very ancient uſe, confirmed by many Conſtitutions of Kings. Neither could it be juſtified by the exception of urgent or reaſonable Cauſe, experience of all times having ſhewed, that all Cauſes may be taken out of the Kingdom by this pretence. For he that would diſpute, whether the

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the Cauſe were urgent or reaſonable, doth enter into a double charge and difficulty, becauſe not only the principal Cauſe, but that Article alſo, muſt be diſcuſſed in *Rome*. They did, by no means, approve, that the poſſeſſing of immoveables ſhould be granted to begging Fryars; and ſaid, that they having been received into *France* with that Inſtitution, it was juſt that they ſhould be maintained in the ſame State; that this was a perpetual Artifice of the Court of *Rome*, to take Goods out of the hands of Seculars, and to draw them into the Clergy, and afterwards to *Rome*; that the Monks did firſt gain Credit by pretence of the Vow of Poverty, as if they aimed at no Temporal thing, but did all in Charity, for the good of the People; afterwards, having gained Reputation, the Court doth diſpenſe with them for their Vow, by which means the Monaſteries being made rich, are given in *Commenda*, and finally all cometh to the Court. To this they added an Exhortation in the twelfth Article, made to all the faithful, to give largely to Biſhops, and Prieſts; which had been good, in caſe they did ſerve the People as they ought, and were in need. For ſo *Paul* doth exhort, that he, that is inſtructed in matters of Faith, ſhould give ſome part of his Goods to him that doth inſtruct him. But when he, that beareth the name of a *Paſtor*, doth intend rather any other thing than to inſtruct the People, the Exhortation is not fit; and the rather, becauſe Eccleſiaſtical Goods formerly were for maintaining the Poor, and redeeming Slaves; for which cauſe not the Immoveables only, but even the very Ornaments of the Church, and holy Veſſels were ſold. But in theſe laſt times it is prohibited to do it, without the Pope; which hath enriched the Clergy exceeding much. In the *Moſaical* Law, God gave the tenth to the Levites who were the thirteenth part of the People, prohibiting that any more ſhould be given unto them; but the Clergy now, which is not the fiftieth part, hath gotten already not a tenth only, but a fourth part, and doth ſtill proceed and gain, uſing alſo many Artifices therein. They ſaid, that *Moſes*, having invited the People to offer for the Fabrick of the Tabernacle, when asmuch was offered as did ſuffice, did forbid them, in the name of God, to offer any more; but here no end will be found, until they have gotten all, if Men will continue in the *Lethargie*. If ſome Prieſts and religious Perſons be poor, it is becauſe others are exceſſively rich; and an equal diviſion would make them all rich abundantly. But to omit theſe ſo evident Conſiderations, if they did exhort the people to aſſiſt the poor Biſhops and Prieſts in their neceſſities, it would be tolerable; but to ſay, they ſhould be aſſiſted to maintain their Dignity, which is their Pride and Luxury, doth ſignifie nothing, but that they are quite without ſhame. It is true, that in exchange, another Decree was made in the eighteenth Article, in favour of the people, that Diſpenſations ſhould be given *gratis*; which being commanded by *Chriſt*, and not obſerved, there was no hope that this Decree would do any more good.

The defence of the Card. of *Lorain*.

Theſe things being objected to the Cardinal of *Lorain*, that he had authorized them, againſt the expreſs Commandment of the King, in his Letters of the twenty eighth of *Auguſt* before mentioned, he defended himſelf in one word only, that in the Congregation of the tenth of *November*, the Decrees being read, to be publiſhed in the Seſſion, the next day, the Rights and Authority of the *French* King, and Priviledges of the *Gallican* Church were reſerved. Whereunto *Monſieur le Feure* replyed, that himſelf and his Collegue having uſed all diligence to have a Copy of that Decree, they could never obtain it, and that;

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that, in Human affairs, not to appear was as much as not to be. Beſides, this did not ſerve to excuſe the things publiſhed in the laſt Seſſion. But that which was ſaid concerning the Synod in the Councils of the King and Parliament, was nothing to that which the Biſhops and Divines, and their Servants alſo, according to the *French* liberty, did relate to every one, upon all occaſions, making jeſts at the diſcords and contentions between the Fathers, and practices and intereſts with which the matters of Reformation were handled. And thoſe, who were moſt familiar with the Cardinal of *Lorain*, ſpake moſt of all. And it paſſed in *France*, in manner of a *Proverb*, that the modern Council had more authority than that of the Apoſtles, becauſe their own pleaſure only was a ſufficient ground for the Decrees, without admitting the Holy Ghoſt.

The cenſure made by the French Biſhops of the Council, after their return into *France*.

A Proverb made in *France* concerning the Council.

But, in *Germany*, the Decrees of Reformation were not thought conſiderable, neither by the Proteſtants, nor by the Catholicks. The Proteſtants did examine the matter of Faith only. They ſaid, that to have ſpoken one word incidently in handling the *Maſs*, that it doth aſſiſt the dead, which alſo may receive divers ſenſes; and, in the Decree of *Purgatory*, to alledge it as a definition of the Article, was a thing not to be uſed in Councils, eſpecially in This, where the matters were minced, and an Article of Faith made of every queſtion, which could be moved in any matter. And to commend Biſhops to teach the ſound Doctrine of *Purgatory*, without declaring what it is, did ſhew that the Fathers had great haſte to depart from *Trent*. But in the matter of Saints the haſte was greater, condemning, in one breath, and in one period eleven Articles, not declaring what condemnation it was, or whether they were condemned of Hereſie, or for any other cauſe; and, after a long diſcourſe of Images, anathematizing thoſe that ſpeak againſt the Decrees, without letting them know which it doth comprehend under the *Anathema*, whether the immediately precedent concerning Images, or all the others above written. But of *Indulgences* they ſpake more than all the reſt; that Theſe gave occaſion of the preſent diviſion amongſt Chriſtians; that the Council was principally aſſembled for Theſe; that, in that matter, there is no part which is not controverſed, and uncertain, even amongſt the Schoolmen themſelves; and yet the Synod hath paſſed them over, without clearing any doubt, or deciding any controverſie. And concerning the remedy of Abuſes, they ſpake in ſuch ambiguous terms, that it could not be underſtood what they did approve or diſapprove; ſaying, they did deſire a moderation, according to the old cuſtom approved in the Church. For it is certain, and cannot be concealed, that, in no Chriſtian Nation of the Eaſtern Church, either in ancient or modern times, there never was any uſe of *Indulgences*, of any kind whatſoever. And in the Weſt, if by Ancient Cuſtom they mean that which was obſerved before *Urban* the Second, in the year 1095. no proof can be brought of the uſe of *Indulgences*. If from that time until the year 1300. it will appear, that the uſe of them hath been very ſparing, and only to free men from puniſhments impoſed by the *Confeſſor*. Afterwards, from the Council of *Vienna* the Abuſes began, which did increaſe very much until the time of *Leo* the Tenth, ſo that the Council deſiring the reſtitution of the old Cuſtom approved in the Church, it was neceſſary to declare in what Church, and in what time. But thoſe words, that the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline is weakened by too much facility in granting *Indulgences*, are a plain confeſſion,

The cenſure of the Council in *Germany*.

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that they belong not to the conſcience, nor do free Men from any thing in the ſight of God, but touch the external only, that is, the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline. For the difference of Meats and Faſts, they ſaid, that to command them was good, but that was decided of which the World complained, that is, that they did bind the Conſcience. Therefore the Princes of *Germany* held none eſteem of this Council. Only ſome few Miniſters of the *Auguſtan* confeſſion publiſhed a proteſtation, of which but little account was made. The Catholicks did not think of the Doctrine of Purgatory, and of Indulgences, deſiring only to obtain the Communion of the Cup, Marriage of Prieſts, and relaxation in the multitude of precepts *De jure poſitivo*, concerning Faſts, Feaſts, and ſuch other things.

The Emperour writeth to the Pope about the communion of the Cup;

For whoſe ſatisfaction the Emperour, and Duke of *Bavaria* made inſtance to the Pope. The Emperour wrote Letters to him, dated the fourteenth of *February*, ſaying, that, during the Council, he had laboured to obtain the grant of the Cup, not for any private intereſt, or ſcruple of Conſcience which he had, but becauſe he did believe, and doth ſtill, that the grant is neceſſary, to bring back to the Church thoſe that wander; that he did then tolerate the impediments interpoſed, to treat thereof with the principal Prelates, and Princes of the Empire, with whom having conferred whether it were expedient to renew the ſame requeſt, they thought fit he ſhould move his Holineſs therein. Therefore, calling to mind what the Cardinals *Morone* and *Lorain* had cauſed to be told him, which was confirmed alſo by the Biſhop of *Lieſina* his *Nuncio*, he would no longer defer to demand the grace of him, without repeating any more the weighty cauſes that did conſtrain him, deſiring him to aſſiſt the *German* Nation, to which all wiſe Catholicks do think that the grant will be very beneficial; adding, that to preſerve the remainder of Religion in *Germany*, and extirpate Hereſies, it will be of great moment to grant, that Prieſts, who are ſeparated becauſe they are Married, may be reconciled, and retain their Wives, and that hereafter where there is not a ſufficient number of Prieſts, Married Men of good life and fame may be admitted to the Prieſthood. For this he prayed in him his own Name, and in the Name of the Duke of *Bavaria*, his Son in Law, aſſuring him that he ſhould do a thing worthy of his piety, and moſt acceptable.

And ſo doth the Duke of *Bavaria*.

The Letters of the Duke of *Bavaria* did contain; that, having ſent often to his Holineſs, to ſhew the miſerable ſtate of *Germany* in matters of Religion, he did hope he ſhould not long deſire the medicine; which ſeeing it was not applied until then, he, together with the Emperour, and Eccleſiaſtical *Electors*, did pray him to grant power to the Archbiſhop of *Salzburg* to give leave to Catholick Prieſts to adminiſter the Cup to thoſe who have confeſſed, and are penitent, and do believe the other Articles of Religion: Which grant would give ſatisfaction to his Subjects, who remain in his State, and to thoſe alſo who go forth of his Dominions to ſeek thoſe who will Miniſter it unto them; that himſelf will always be content with one kind, nor will force any to uſe the Cup, who, as himſelf, will be content with the Bread only; that for theſe he demandeth nothing, but that it ſeemeth to him not inconvenient for the *Vicar* of *Chriſt* to have pity upon others alſo. Likewiſe he prayed his Holineſs that he would grant, for ſome time at the leaſt, that Married Prieſts may be reconciled to the Church, keeping their Wives, and Married Men ordained alſo.

To theſe Letters was added a Remonſtrance, or conſideration

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composed by the Divines of *Germany*; in which it was said, that it was plain, that the Scripture of the New and Old Testament doth permit Priests to have Wives, because the Apostles, some few excepted, were Married; neither is it found, that *Christ*, after their Vocation, did separate their Wives from them. That in the Primitive Church, as well Oriental as Occidental, the Marriages of Priests were free, until the time of *Calistus* the Pope; that the Civil Laws did not condemn the Marriage of Clerks; that it is certain, that single Life is better in the Clergy, and more to be desired; but that, in respect of the fragility of Nature, and difficulty to be continent, there are but few who do not feel the pricks of the Flesh. Therefore *Eusebius* relateth, that *Dionysius* did admonish *Quintus* the Bishop, that he should consider of the weakness of the major part, and not lay the burthen of single Life upon the brethren. And *Paphnutius*, in the Council of *Nice*, saying, that the use of ones own Wife was Chastity, persuaded the Council not to impose the Law of single Life. And the Synod of *Constantinople* did not forbid the use of Wives, but in the time when they were to offer Sacrifice. That if ever there were cause to permit Matrimony unto Clerks, it was in that age. That amongst Fifty Catholick Priests hardly one can be found that is not a notorious Fornicator. That not the Priests only desire Matrimony, but the Secularsalso, that they may not see such beastly behaviour, and the Patrons of Churches will not give the benefices but to Married Men. That there is great want of Ministers only for the prohibition of Matrimony. That the Church hath formerly remitted the severity of the Canons for this cause alone. That the Pope did confirm a Bishop in *Saragosa*, who had a Wife and Children, and a Deacon, who had been twice Married, and committed the Sacrament of Confirmation to simple Priests, in defect of a Bishop. Therefore many Catholicks did then, and do now think better to dispense with the Law of continency, than, by retaining it, to open a gate to unclean single Life, leaving Marriage free for all; and the rather, because Cardinal *Panormitan* doth hold, that it would be good for the Salvation of Souls to grant Matrimony; and that there are examples of the old Church, and in the *Anciran* Council, of *Adam*, and *Eupsychius Cæsariensis*, Priests. That it is certain, that the Pope may dispense with Secular Priests; which some also extend unto Regulars. That it seemeth a great absurdity, not to admit Married Clerks, and to tolerate Fornicators, and to remove both would be as much as to remain without Ministers, and that if they ought to be bound to the Vow of Chastity, none should be ordained but old Men. That it is not a good reason to retain single Life with the Teeth, to preserve Ecclesiastical goods, it not being just, in respect of Temporal things to make Shipwrack of Souls. Besides, provision might be made herein, by some other means; which being done, Concubinate would be banished out of the Church, and the scandal which offendeth many taken away.

A Remonstrance concerning the same Grant.

The Pope, considering these Remonstrances, was of opinion to call to *Rome* Pious and Learned Men, of all Nations, to handle this point with maturity, and spake of it to the Ambassadors residing with him. But Cardinal *Simoneta* did dissuade, saying, it would be a kind of Council, and that if Men should come out of *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and elsewhere, they would bring intelligences and instructions of Princes, and would be governed and speak according to their interests, and that, when his Holiness would be quit of them, he could not do it at his pleasure; that, if he did not follow their opinion, it would

would diſtaſte the Princes; that he ſhould remember, what troubles the Council put him to, and not fall into the like dangers. The Pope thought the Council was ſincere and profitable, and therefore, thinking no more of Strangers, he deputed Nineteen Cardinals, giving them order to examine diligently the Writing, that came out of *Germany*.

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The Twelfth of *March* the Pope made a Promotion of Nineteen Cardinals, for reward of the great ſervice they did him in Council, in which he reſolved not to comprehend any of thoſe who held the Reſidence and Inſtitution of Biſhops, to be *de jure divino*, howſoever their qualities might otherwiſe deſerve the Degree; and did not forbear to diſcover ſo much to all ſorts of perſons, upon every occaſion. He created *Marcus Antonius Collona*, Archbiſhop of *Taranto*. *Alaiſe Piſano*, Biſhop of *Padua*. *Marcus Antonius Bobo*, Biſhop of *Aoſta*. *Hugo Buon Compagno*, Biſhop of *Beſtice*. *Alexander Sforza*, Biſhop of *Parma*. *Simon Paſqua*, Biſhop of *Serzana*. *Carlo Viſconte*, Biſhop of *Ventimiglia*. *Franciſcus Abondius*, Biſhop of *Bobio*. *Guido Ferrier*, Biſhop of *Vercelli*. *Johannes Franciſcus Commendone*, Biſhop of *Zante*. *Gabriel Paleotta*, Auditor of the *Rota*: All which had laboured faithfully in Council for the ſervice of his Holineſs. To theſe he added *Zacharias Delphinus*, Biſhop of *Lieſina*, who, being Reſident with the Emperour, took no leſs pains for concluding the Council than the others had done in *Trent*.

A Promotion of 19. Cardinals.

TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader,

NOW *that thou haſt peruſed this Hiſtory, I intreat thee to read over theſe ſmall parcels following. The firſt is an Epiſtle of* S. Gregory *the Great, who was Biſhop of* Rome *about Six Hundred Years after* CHRIST, *and was as Learned, and as Conſcientious, as any that preceded in that See, or followed after. Thou canſt not but perceive, that howſoever he aſcribeth to* S. Peter *as much preheminence as any other ancient Writer hath done, if not more, yet he doth renounce in moſt ample terms, or rather abominate, that ſwelling Antichriſtian power which was then challenged by* John *the Patriarch of* Conſtantinople, *but long ſince hath been practiſed by the Biſhops of* Rome, *and never more, nor more prejudicially to the Church Catholick, than in this pretended Council of* Trent.

And that thou mayſt not wonder how theſe Biſhops could ſoar ſo high, as to be at laſt above Kings and Emperours, to whom S. Gregory *and his Predeceſſors profeſſed and performed all dutiful obedience and ſervice, I have tendred unto thee in the next place three ſeveral paſſages out of the Hiſtory of* Francis Guicciardine, *a famous* Florentine, *who knew their Practices as well as any, and hath dared to relate them plainly. The Papalins have been ſo wiſe in their wicked Generation, as in all late Editions, to cauſe them to be left out;*

thereby

thereby the better to conceal their unjuſt uſurpations, againſt both Eccleſiaſticks and Laicks.

Now, leſt any might uncontroulably ſay, that howſoever they might be faulty at other times, yet thoſe were worthy who governed the See of Rome *when this Council was aſſembled; to clear the truth concerning theſe, look over the paſſages following, taken out of ſome Epiſtles written by Men of great eſteem, who reſided in the Council, and gave account to their Superiours of all that paſſed, or by their Superiours to them back again. By theſe it will appear, that the Spirit of Antichriſt, and not the holy Ghoſt, did govern in it. They ſhew the Practices of* Rome *to be ſo groſs, and ſo abominable, that thou mayſt eaſily believe, that* * Papirius Maſſonius, *a Popiſh Writer, had juſt cauſe to ſay, ſpeaking of the Popes who lived in the time of this Council;* In Pontificibus nemo hodiè ſanctitatem requirit; optimi putantur ſi vel leviter mali ſint, vel minus boni quàm cæteri mortales eſſe ſolent. *Engliſhed thus, No Man expects any ſanctity in Popes now a days; they are thought to be excellent Popes, if they have never ſo little honeſty, or be not ſo wicked as other Men uſe to be.*

* In vita Pauli 3.

Laſt of all, thou mayſt read an Epiſtle written by that famous Prelate, Biſhop Jewell, *as an Anſwer to a friend of his, who lived near the place, and in the time of this unlawful aſſembly, or conventicle at* Trent. *In it thou mayſt find reaſon enough, why the Church of* England *did neither ſend Prelates to it, nor receive afterwards the Decrees and Conſtitutions of it. As likewiſe the Church of* France *refuſed to do, though their Biſhops were preſent in it. When thou haſt read theſe things, conſider well of them, and the Lord give thee a true underſtanding in all things.*

GREGORY

GREGORY *to the Emperour* MAURICIUS, *concerning* JOHN *Biſhop of* Conſtantinople, *who hath aſſumed the Name of Univerſal Biſhop.* Chap. 76.

OUR moſt Religious Lord, whom God hath placed over us, amongſt other weighty cares belonging to the Empire, doth labour (by the juſt rule of holy Writ,) to keep the Clergy in Peace and Charity. He truly and piouſly conſidereth, that no Man can well govern matters Terrene, except he can manage well things Divine alſo, and that the Commonwealths peace and quiet depends upon the Tranquillity of the Church Univerſal. For, (moſt Gracious Sovereign,) what human power or ſtrength would preſume to lift up Irreligious Hands againſt your moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, if the Clergy, being at Unity amongſt themſelves, would ſeriouſly pray unto our Saviour *Chriſt* to preſerve you, who have ſo well deſerved of us! Or what Nation ſo barbarous as would exerciſe ſuch cruelty againſt the Faithful, except the lives of us, who are called Prieſts, but indeed are not, were moſt depraved and wicked! But whilſt we leave thoſe things which belong not unto us, and imbrace thoſe things for which we are not fit, we raiſe the *Barbarians* up againſt us, and our offences do ſharpen the Swords of our Enemies, by which means the Common-wealth is weakened. For what can we ſay for ourſelves, if the People of God, over whom we are, though unworthily, placed, be oppreſſed by the multitude of our offences? if our examples deſtroy that which our preaching builds, and our works give, as it were, the lye to our Doctrine? Our Bones are worn with faſting, but our Minds are puft up: Our Bodies are covered with poor Cloathing, but in our Hearts we are as brave as may be: We lye groveling in the aſhes, but aim at matters exceeding high: We are teachers of Humility, but patterns of Pride, hiding the Teeth of Wolves under a Sheeps countenance. The end of all is, to make a ſhew to Men, though God knoweth the truth. Therefore our moſt pious Sovereign hath been moſt prudently careful to ſet the Church at unity, that he might the better compoſe the tumults of War, and to joyn their Hearts together. This verily is my deſire, and I do yield for my part due obedience to your Sovereign Commands. How ſoever, in regard it is not my cauſe, but Gods; and for that not I only, but the whole Church is troubled; becauſe Religious Laws, Venerable Synods, and the very Precepts of our Lord *Jeſus Chriſt* are diſobeyed by the invention of a proud and pompous Speech; my deſire is, that our moſt *Religious Sovereign* would launce this ſore, and would tie the party affected with the Cords of his Imperial Authority, in caſe he ſhall make his reſiſtence. By binding of him the Common-wealth is eaſed, and by the paring away of ſuch excrements as theſe, the Empire is inlarged. All Men that have read the Goſpel do know, that, even by the very Words of our *Lord*, the care of the whole Church is committed to S. *Peter* the Apoſtle, Prince of all the Apoſtles. For to him it is ſaid, * *Peter loveſt thou me? Feed my Sheep*: † *Behold, Satan*

Ep. 32.

* John 21.
† Luke 22.

Satan hath deſired to winnow thee as Wheat, and I have prayed for thee, that thy faith ſhould not fail: And *thou being at the laſt converted, confirm thy Brethren.* To him it is ſaid, * *Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, and the gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt it. And to thee I will give the Keys of Heaven, and whatſoever thou bindeſt on Earth ſhall be bound alſo in Heaven, and whatſoever thou ſhalt looſe on Earth, ſhall be looſed alſo in Heaven.* Behold, he hath the Keys of the Kingdom, and the power of binding and looſing is given unto him. The care and the principality of the whole Church is committed to him; and yet is not called *Univerſal Apoſtle:* Howbeit this moſt holy Man *John*, my fellow Prieſt, laboureth to be called *Univerſal Biſhop.* I am inforced to cry out, and ſay, *Oh Corruption of Times and Manners!* Behold, the *Barbarians* are become Lords of all *Europe:* Cities are deſtroyed, Caſtles are beaten down, Provinces depopulated, there is no Husbandman to till the ground, Idolaters do rage and domineer over Chriſtians, and yet Prieſts, who ought to lie weeping upon the pavement, and in Aſhes, deſire names of Vanity, and glory in new and profane Titles. Do I (moſt *Religious Sovereign,*) plead herein my own cauſe? Do I vindicate a wrong done to myſelf, and not maintain the cauſe of God Almighty, and of the *Church Univerſal?* Who is he, who preſumeth to uſurp this new Name againſt both the Law of the Goſpel and of the Canons? I would to God there might be one called *Univerſal*, without wronging of others. We know, that many Prieſts of the Church of *Conſtantinople* have been not only Hereticks, but even the chief leaders of them. Out of this School proceeded *Neſtorius*, who, thinking it not to be poſſible that God ſhould be made Man, did believe that *Jeſus Chriſt*, the Mediatour between God and Man was two Perſons, and went as far in Infidelity as the *Jews* themſelves. Thence came *Macedonius*, who denied the Holy Ghoſt, Conſubſtantial to the Father and the Son, to be God. If then every one in that Church doth aſſume that Name, by which he maketh himſelf the head of all good Men, the Catholick Church (which God forbid,) muſt needs be overthrown when he falleth who is called *Univerſal.* But let this blaſphemous Name be far from Chriſtians; by which all honor is taken from all other Prieſts, while it is fooliſhly arrogated by one. It was offered to the Biſhop of *Rome* by the Reverend Council of *Chalcedon*, in honour of S. *Peter*, Prince of the Apoſtles: But none of them either aſſumed, or conſented to uſe it; leſt while this priviledge ſhould be given to one, all others ſhould be deprived of that honour which is due unto them. Why ſhould we refuſe this Name when it was offered, and another ſhould aſſume it without any offer at all? This Man, contemning obedience to the Canons, is the rather to be humbled by the commands of our moſt pious *Sovereigns.* He is to be chaſtiſed, who doth injury to the holy Catholick Church, whoſe heart is puft up, who ſeeketh to pleaſe himſelf by a Name of ſingularity, whereby he would make himſelf to be above the Emperour. We are all ſcandalized herein: Let the Author of this ſcandal reform himſelf, and all differences in the Church will ceaſe. I am Servant unto all Prieſts ſo long as they live like themſelves: But if any ſhall vainly ſet up his briſtles contrary to God Almighty, and to the Canons of the Fathers, I hope in God, that he ſhall never be able to bring my neck under his yoke, no not by force of Arms. What hath happened in this City by occaſion of this Name I have more exactly declared to *Sabinianus* the Deacon, my Agent. Let therefore my Religious *Sovereigns* think of

Matth. 16.

me

me their *Servant*, whom they have always cheriſhed and upheld more than others, as of one who deſired to yield them *Obedience*, and yet am afraid to be found guilty of negligence in my duty in the later fearful day of Judgment. Let our moſt pious *Sovereign* either vouchſafe to determine the buſineſs, according to the Petition of the forenamed *Sabinianus* the Deacon, or cauſe the Man, ſo often mentioned, to renounce this Claim. In caſe he do ſubmit to your moſt juſt ſentence, or favourable admonitions, we will give thanks to Almighty God, and rejoyce for the Peace of the Church, procured by your Clemency. But if he ſhall perſiſt in this contention, we will hold the Saying to be moſt true: * *Every one that exalteth himſelf ſhall be brought low.* And again it is written, † *Before a fall the Heart will be lifted up.* In *Obedience* to my *Sovereign*, I have written to my Brother Prieſt both gently and humbly, that he would deſiſt from the perſuit of this vainglory; if he give ear unto me, he hath a Brother devoted unto him; but if he continue in his Pride, I ſee already what will betide him; he will make him his Enemy of whom it is Written, *God reſiſteth the Proud, and giveth Grace to the Humble.*

* Luk. 14. 18.

† Prov. 16.

James 4.

A Part of the Hiſtory of Francis Guicciardine *ſtolen out of his third Book concerning Pope* Alexander *the Sixth.*

BUT he could not always avoid Domeſtical Misfortunes, which troubled the Affairs of his Family with Tragical Examples, proceeding from ſuch Luſt and Cruelty, which would be accounted horrible even in any barbarous Nation whatſoever. For having reſolved, from his firſt entrance into the *Papacy*, to put all the Temporal Greatneſs upon his eldeſt Son the Duke of *Candia*, the * Cardinal of *Valentia*, whoſe mind was wholly averſe from all Eccleſiaſtical Profeſſion, and deſired rather to be exerciſed in Military Affairs, not enduring to be prevented herein by his Brother; and beſides, being impatient that he had a greater ſhare in the Love of the Lady *Lucretia*, who was common Siſter to them both, cauſed him to be Murthered as he rid alone one night through *Rome*, and ſecretly to be caſt into the River *Tiber*; being incited thereunto partly by Luſt, and partly by Ambition, powerful Miniſters to effect any Wickedneſs. There was a Fame, (if poſſibly ſo enormous an abomination may be believed,) that not only the two Brothers, but even the Father himſelf were Corrivals in the Love of this Lady *Lucretia*. Before he was created Pope, he gave her in Marriage to a Man of mean degree; from whom, ſo ſoon as he began to ſit in *Peters* Chair, he did ſeparate her, as being now unworthy of her. Then he Married her to *John Storza*, Lord of *Peſaro*. After that, not enduring that this her Husband ſhould be partaker of her Love with him, he diſſolved the Marriage, although conſummated, by ſuborning falſe Witneſſes to depoſe before Judges, appointed by himſelf for the ſame purpoſe, who gave Sentence, that this *John* was frigid and impotent by nature. This did afflict beyond meaſure, *&c.*

* His ſecond Son.

A Second place, containing a large diſcourſe by what means the Popes of Rome *attained to that Greatneſs which they now enjoy, taken quite out of the fourth Book of the Hiſtory of* Francis Guicciardine.

FOR the Liquidation whereof, and of many other things which hapned in after-Ages, it it is neceſſary to relate what Title the Church hath to the Territory of *Romania*, and to many others which it either hath poſſeſſed at divers other times, or doth poſſeſs at this preſent: As alſo by what means, it being firſt inſtituted (as was fit,) for Spiritual Government, it came to poſſeſs Temporal States and Empires. Likewiſe it is convenient to expreſs, (as a matter belonging to this Argument,) what Contentions have hapned at ſeveral times between the Popes and the Emperors upon theſe and the like occaſions.

The *Biſhops* of *Rome*, the firſt whereof was the *Apoſtle Saint Peter*, their Authority being founded by *Jeſus Chriſt* in things Spiritual only, did abound with Charity, Humility, Patience; and many Miracles were wrought by them. At the firſt, they were not only deſtitute of all Temporal Power, but were perſecuted by it; neither was their Name ſo much as ſpoken of, but for the afflictions and the torments which They and their Followers did endure. For howſoever their proceedings were ſomtimes not obſerved, by reaſon of the Multitude and Variety of Nations and Profeſſions in *Rome*, and ſome of the Emperors did forbear to queſtion them, but only when their Actions did ſeem to croſs the Publick Government; yet ſome others, either becauſe they were inclined to cruelty, or for the love they bare to their own Gods, did bitterly perſecute them, as Inventors of new Superſtitions, and Enemies of true Religion.

In this State of Life they continued, until the time of *Sylveſter* the Pope, to be moſt Famous for their voluntary Poverty, Sanctity of Life, and Martyrdoms. Afterwards, *Conſtantine* the Emperor being turned Chriſtian, moved thereunto by the Holineſs of thoſe who followed *Chriſt*, and by the Miracles done by them, the Popes came to be ſecure from thoſe dangers, to which they had been ſubject for the ſpace of 300 years before, and had free exerciſe of their Chriſtian Profeſſion. Hereupon, for the Reverence which the Holineſs of their Life and Religion had procured them, and becauſe Men are prone to follow the example of their Prince, by reaſon either of Ambition or of Fear, Chriſtianity began marvellouſly to ſpread itſelf, and the Poverty of Chriſtians not to be ſo great as it was. For *Conſtantine* having built the Church of Saint *John* in *Lateran*, of Saint *Peter* in the *Vatican*, of Saint *Paul*, and many others in divers places, not only gave them Plate and Ornaments; but alſo, that theſe might be preſerved and renewed, the Churches repaired, and the Clergy belonging to them maintained, he endowed them with Poſſeſſions and with Revenues. In after times, many, perſuading themſelves that they ſhould gain Heaven more eaſily by being liberal toward Churches, either built and endowed other Churches, or gave to thoſe which were built before. In like manner every one paid them Tithes due either by Law or Cuſtom, as in the Old Teſtament is commanded. Wherein every one was the more forward, becauſe Clergy-men

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in thoſe times contented themſelves with neceſſaries only, and beſtowed the remainder either to repair their Churches, or to adorn them, or in Works of Charity and Piety. Now the Biſhops of *Rome* (pride and ambition having not as yet poſſeſſed their Hearts,) were acknowledged by all Chriſtians to be Superiours of all Churches, in all Spiritual Government, as Succeſſors unto the Apoſtle Saint *Peter*; becauſe that City, by reaſon of the dignity and greatneſs thereof, retained the Name and Majeſty of the Empire as Head of all the reſt, and becauſe Chriſtian Religion was thence diffuſed into the greater part of *Europe*, and becauſe *Conſtantine* (having been baptized by *Sylveſter*,) did willingly acknowledge that ſuch Authority belonged to him and his Succeſſors.

Beſides, there is a Fame, that *Conſtantine*, being conſtrained to Tranſlate the Seat of the Empire to *Byzantium*, now called (by his Name,) *Conſtantinople*, by occaſion of ſome accidents happning in the Weſtern Provinces, gave to the Popes the Lordſhip of *Rome*, and of many other Cities and Provinces in *Italy*. This Fame, though cheriſhed by ſucceeding Popes, and believed by many, by reaſon of their Authority and Credit, is not only diſproved by more probable Authors, but even by the very things themſelves. For it is moſt manifeſt, that *Rome*, as alſo all *Italy*, obeyed the Emperours and their Magiſtrates, both then and many years after. Some will not believe any thing at all that hath been ſpoken concerning *Conſtantine* and *Sylveſter*, (ſuch is the obſcurity of things done ſo long ago,) affirming that they lived not at the ſame time: yet no Man denyeth that the Tranſlation of the Empire was the firſt cauſe of the Popes Authority. For the People of *Rome* withdrew their obedience from the Emperours by occaſion of their abſence, and of the difficulties which they found in the *Eaſt*, and did the rather perform willingly ſome certain obſequiouſneſs to the Biſhops of *Rome*, though indeed no abſolute ſubjection.

Theſe things appeared but ſlowly, becauſe of the Inundations of the *Gothes* and *Vandals*, and other barbarous Nations into *Italy*; by which *Rome* having been often ſacked, the Popes, in reſpect of Temporal matters, were obſcure and mean, and in *Italy* the Emperours had very ſmall Authority, having left it as a Prey to the *Barbarians*. Of theſe Nations, the reſt being paſt away like a Torrent, the *Gothes*, who were Chriſtians both by Name and by Profeſſion, and had their Extract from ſome parts of *Dacia* and of *Tartaria*, continued their power there Seventy years together. When theſe were driven out of *Italy* by the Emperours, the Country began again to be governed by *Greek* Magiſtrates, the chief of which, called (by a *Greek* Word,) *Exarch*, kept his Reſidence at *Ravenna*, a City very Ancient, and then very Rich, and much inhabited by reaſon of the Fertility of the Country. This City, being much augmented by the great Armada which *Auguſtus Cæſar* and other Emperours continually maintained in the Port near adjoining, which now is vaniſhed, was inhabited by many Captains, and after a good while together by *Theodorick* King of the *Gothes*, and by his Succeſſors, who made choice of it for the Seat of their Kingdom, becauſe that See was nearer to the Emperours of *Conſtantinople*, whoſe power they ſuſpected. The *Exarchs* ſeated themſelves in the ſame place, becauſe of the opportunity thereof, though upon a contrary ground, and deputed particular Magiſtrates, whom they called *Dukes*, to govern *Rome* and other Cities of *Italy*. Hence the *Exarchate* of *Ravenna* took the Name, under which was contained whatſoever was not governed by particular *Dukes*. In thoſe times the BB. of *Rome* had

no Temporal Power at all; and having loſt their former Spiritual Reverence, becauſe their Lives began to be more corrupt, they were Subjects to the Emperours, without whoſe Confirmation, or of their *Exarchs*, they durſt not accept the *Papacy*, though they were ſolemnly choſen by the Clergy and People of *Rome*: Nay, becauſe the principal Seat of Religion followeth the power of the Empire, and of Armies, the Biſhops of *Conſtantinople* and *Ravenna* did often juſtle with them for Superiority.

But the State of thoſe Countries was changed not long after. For the *Lombards*, a fiere Nation, entred into *Italy*, poſſeſſed that part which was called *Gallia Ciſalpina*, and now *Lombardia* from their Name, as alſo *Ravenna* and the whole *Exarchat*, and advanced their Forces as far as the *Marquiſate* of *Ancona*, *Spoletum*, and *Beneventum*; in which two laſt places they created particular Dukes. The Emperours made no proviſion againſt theſe things, partly by reaſon of their negligence, and partly becauſe they were hindred by the Affairs of *Aſia*; ſo that *Rome*, having no aſſiſtence from them, and the *Exarchs* being driven out of *Italy*, began to govern herſelf by the Advice and Authority of her Biſhops. Theſe, together with the *Romans* being a good while after oppreſſed by the *Lombards*, did finally implore the aid of *Pipin* King of *France*: Who paſſing into *Italy* with a great Army, chaſed the *Lombards* from a part of their Dominion, which they had enjoyed more than Two Hundred years. This part (being become his by right of War,) he gave to the Biſhop and Church of *Rome*, that is to ſay, *Urbino*, *Fano*, *Agobbo*, and much Land near *Rome*, *Ravenna* and the whole *Exarchat*, under which is comprehended all from the Confines of *Placentia* which are contiguous to the Territory of *Pavia* unto *Arimini*, between the River of *Po*, the *Apennine* Mountain, the Lake of the *Venetians* and the *Adriatique Sea*: As alſo from *Arimini* to the River of *Toglia*, now called *Iſauro*.

The Popes being moleſted by the *Lombards* after *Pipins* Death, *Charles* his Son (juſtly Sirnamed the Great, for the great Victories he atchieved,) utterly rooted them out, and confirmed his Fathers Donation to the Church; and while he made War with the *Lombards*, he gave to the Biſhop of *Rome* the *Marquiſate* of *Ancona*, and the *Dukedom* of *Spoleto*, which comprehendeth the City of *Aquila*, and a part of *Abruzzi*. Theſe things are reported for certain; and ſome Eccleſiaſtical Writers add, that *Charles* gave to the Church *Liguria* unto the River *Varus*, which is the utmoſt Border of *Italy*, *Mantua*, and whatſoever the *Lombards* poſſeſſed in *Friuli*, and *Hiſtria*. Another Writer ſaith as much of *Corſica*, and of the whole Territory between the City of *Luni* and *Parma*. For theſe Merits the Kings of *France* have been magnified by the Popes, and have obtained the Name of *Moſt Chriſtian Kings*.

Afterwards in the year 800 after *Chriſt*, Pope *Leo*, and the People of *Rome*, by the Pope's Authority only as Head of that People, made this *Charles* Emperour of *Rome*, ſeparating this part of the Empire from thoſe Emperours which had their Seat at *Conſtantinople*; becauſe *Rome* and the Weſtern Provinces, being abandoned by them, could not well ſubſiſt without a Prince of their own. The Emperours of the Eaſt were not deprived by this diviſion neither of *Sicily* nor of that part of *Italy*, which, coaſting from *Naples* to *Manſredonia*, is bounded by the Sea, becauſe they were always under thoſe Emperours. By this alteration the Cuſtom that the Pope's Election ſhould be confirmed by the

the Emperours was not changed at all, neither did *Rome* ceaſe to be governed by them: Nay, the Popes did date all their Bulls, Priviledges and Grants with theſe formal Words, *In the Reign of ſuch an Emperour, our Lord and Maſter.* In this eaſie ſubjection or dependency the Popes continued, until their own proſperity gave them courage to govern themſelves. But the Emperours power being weakned by the diſcords of *Charles* the Great his Poſterity, and the Empire being transferred upon the *German* Princes, which were not ſo potent as thoſe who were before, by reaſon of the greatneſs of the Kingdom of *France*, and of the Succeſſors of *Charles*, *Rome* began to be governed by her own Magiſtrates, though but in a tumultuous manner; and the Popes, withdrawing themſelves from the Emperours Obedience as much as they could, decreed that their Election ſhould no more be confirmed by them. This Decree was diverſly obſerved according as the Emperours Power did riſe or fall.

This Power being become great in the *Otho's* of *Saxony*, *Otho* the Third made means to chuſe *Gregory* the Fifth, his own Countryman, for Pope; who, for the Love he bare to his own Nation, and for the Perſecutions which were raiſed by the *Romans*, gave the *Germans*, by his Decree, power to chuſe the *Roman* Emperours, in that form as is now uſed. And (to give ſome preheminence to the Pope,) he forbad them to uſe the Title of *Emperour* or of *Auguſtus*, but only of King of the *Romans*, or of *Cæſar*, until they had received the Crown of the Empire. Hence grew the cuſtom of coming to *Rome* to be Crowned.

After the *Otho's*, the Imperial Power, being not Hereditary to great Kings, was much diminiſhed. Hereupon both *Rome* and many Cities beſides, when *Conrade* of *Suevia* was Emperour, did openly Rebel. The Popes, taking advantage to advance their power, made themſelves Lords of the *Romans*, though many times they were much troubled by them. But the better to repreſs them, they obtained of *Henry* the Second Emperour, when he was at *Rome*, that the Cardinals only ſhould chuſe the Pope.

This their Greatneſs was increaſed by a new Accident. For the *Normans* (the firſt of which was *William* Sirnamed *Ironarm*,) having taken *Puglia* and *Calabria* from the Empire of *Conſtantinople*, *Robert Guicciard*, one of them, either to fortifie himſelf by this colour, or to make himſelf the ſtronger againſt theſe Emperours, or for ſome other reaſon, firſt reſtored *Benevent* to the Church, and then acknowledged that the Dukedom of *Puglia* and *Calabria* were held in Vaſſallage of it. In Conformity of this Example, *Roger*, one of his Succeſſors, having chaſed *William*, a Man of the ſame Family, out of this Dukedom, and then poſſeſſed himſelf of *Sicily*, he acknowledged in the year 1130. that he held theſe Provinces in Vaſſallage of the Church, under the Title of King of both the *Sicilies*, the one beyond, the other on this ſide *Faros*. The Popes refuſed not to cheriſh the Uſurpation and violence of others, in regard it ſerved to advance their own ambition and profit. For they proceeded further (as the deſires of Men are never ſatisfied,) and deprived one of the Kings of theſe Kingdoms for diſobeying their Commands, and gave them to another. By this means they came to *Henry* the Son of *Frederick Barbaroſſa*; from him to his Son *Frederick* the Second, all which three were Emperours of *Rome* ſucceſſively. But *Frederick* being a bitter Perſecuter of the Church, and the Factions of *Guelfs* and *Ghibelins* being on Foot, of the one of which the Pope, of the other the Emperour was *Head*, the Pope after the Death

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of *Frederick*, granted theſe Kingdoms to *Charles*, Earl of *Anjou* and *Provence*, of whom we ſpake before, upon condition he ſhould pay 6000 Ounces of Gold yearly for Tribute, and that neither he nor any of his Succeſſors ſhould accept of the *Roman* Empire. This condition hath been ſpecified ever ſince in the inveſtiture of the Kingdom of *Naples*. The Kingdom of *Sicily*, being uſurped by the Kings of *Aragon*, withdrew itſelf within few years from the Obedience of the Church, both for the Tribute, and for the Vaſſallage.

There hath been a Fame, though not ſo certain as thoſe things which have been ſpoken of, that the *Counteſs Maude*, a potent Princeſs in *Italy*, gave long before to the Church that part of *Tuſcany* which is bounded by the Torrent *Peſcia*, the Caſtle called *Saint Quirico* in the County of *Siena*, the Sea called *Mare inferum*, and the River *Tiber*, now known by the Name of the *Patrimony of Saint Peter*. Some add, that ſhe gave to the Church likewiſe the City of *Ferarra*. Theſe things are not certain: And it is more uncertain (which notwithſtanding is related,) that *Authpertus* King of the *Lombards* then flouriſhing gave the Pope the *Alpes* called *Coccie*, in which they ſay that *Genua*, and all the Tract from thence to *Provence*, is contained: As alſo that *Suithprandus*, King of the ſame Nation, gave him *Sabina*, a Country near to *Rome*, *Narvia*, *Ancona*, and certain other Lands.

As theſe things did vary, ſo the Affairs of the Popes and Emperours did vary alſo. At the firſt, for many Ages together, the Popes were perſecuted by the Emperours: Afterwards they were at quiet, *Conſtantine* being converted to the Faith; but ſo as that they medled with Spiritual matters only, and were little leſs than wholly ſubject to the Emperours. After that, they lived a long time in very mean Eſtate, and had no Commerce at all with them, by reaſon of the great power of the *Lombards* in *Italy*. But after they had gotten Temporal Authority by the aſſiſtence of the Kings of *France*, they adhered very much and very willingly to the Emperours, ſo long as the Empire continued in the Poſterity of *Charles the Great*, in regard of benefits given and taken, as alſo in regard of the greatneſs of the Emperours. But when the Imperial greatneſs declined, they withdrew themſelves from the Emperours, and profeſſed that the Biſhops of *Rome* ought to give Laws to them, rather than to receive any from them. Now becauſe they hated to come under the old yoke, and feared that ſome of the Emperours, according to the example of their moſt potent and braveſt Predeceſſors, would attempt to recover the Rights of the Empire in *Rome*, they openly oppoſed them by War, aſſiſted by ſome Tyrants who called themſelves Princes, and by ſome Cities who had ſet themſelves at liberty, and did no more acknowledge the Authority of the Empire. Hence it came to paſs, that the Popes aſſuming every day more and more, they converted their Spiritual Weapons to maintain their Temporal Affairs. For making this interpretation, that, as *Vicars* of *Chriſt* on Earth, they were above the Emperours, and that in many caſes the whole care of matters Terrene belonged to them, ſomtimes they depoſed the Emperours, and moved the *Electors* to make choice of others in their room, and ſomtimes the Emperours choſe new Popes, or cauſed them to be choſen by others.

By theſe Controverſies, and by the Popes abode Seventy years at *Avignion*, and by means of a *Schiſm* which happened in *Italy* after that the Popes were returned to *Rome*, it came to paſs, that in thoſe Cities which were ſubject to the Church, eſpecially in thoſe of *Romania*,

mania, many potent Citizens, each in his own Country, attained to Sovereign Power. The Biſhops of *Rome* either perſecuted them, or, not being able to overcome them, gave them theſe Cities, to be held of them in *Vaſſallage*, or inveſted other Commanders in them. So the Cities of *Romania* began to have particular *Lords*, by the Name, for the moſt part, of *Vicars* of the *Church*. Thus *Ferrara*, firſt given by the Pope to *Azo de Eſti* to be governed by him, was afterwards granted to him under the Title of *Vicarſhip*. This Family was in proceſs of of time exalted to more Illuſtrious Honours.

Bolonia, being thus poſſeſſed by *John Viſconte* Archbiſhop of *Milan*, was after given him by the Pope, as a *Vicarſhip* of *Rome*. Upon the ſame occaſions there aroſe many particular *Lords* in many places of the *Marquiſate* of *Anconia*, of the *Patrimony of Saint Peter*, and of *Umbria*, now called the *Dukedom* of *Spoleto*: All which was done either againſt the Pope his will, or by his forced conſent. The ſame variations being alſo in *Lombardy*, amongſt the Cities of the Empire, it ſomtimes fell out, that the *Vicars* of *Romania*, and of other Eccleſiaſtical Territories, withdrawing themſelves openly from the Church, acknowledged to hold thoſe Cities in *Vaſſallage* from the Emperors, and thoſe who poſſeſſed *Milan*, *Mantua*, and other Imperial places, were contented to hold them from the Biſhops of *Rome*.

In theſe times, *Rome*, though ſtill named the *Demaines* of the *Church*, was governed by itſelf. When the Popes returned from *Avignion* into *Italy*, for a while they were obeyed as *Lords*: But the *Romans* ſoon after erected the Magiſtracy of the *Bandereſi*, and relapſed into their wonted Contumacy. Hereupon the Popes, retaining but ſmall Authority, abſented themſelves wholly from thence, until the *Romans*, being fallen into great poverty and grievous diſorders, by the abſence of the Court, and the year 1400 approaching, in which they hoped if the Pope were at *Rome*, there would be a great concourſe of all Chriſtendom, by reaſon of the *Jubilee*, they moſt humbly beſought Pope *Boniface* to return to them, offering to put down the Office of the *Bandereſi*, and to yield him abſolute Obedience. Upon theſe conditions he returned to *Rome*, and, while the People were intent upon their gain, made himſelf abſolute *Lord* of the City, and Fortified and put a Garriſon in the Caſtle of S. *Angelo*. Thoſe who Succeeded, until Pope *Eugenius*, found many difficulties; but then the Sovereignty was ſo well eſtabliſhed, that all his Succeſſors governed the City, even at their own pleaſure.

Being raiſed by theſe ſteps unto earthly Power, they laid aſide by little and little the care of Souls, and of Divine Precepts: So that ſetting their Affections wholly upon earthly Greatneſs, and uſing their Spiritual Authority only as an inſtrument of their Temporal, they ſeemed rather to be Secular Princes than Prieſts. After this, their care and buſineſs was no more Sanctity of Life, Increaſe of Religion, Love and Charity towards their Neighbour, but Armies, and Wars againſt Chriſtians, handling the Sacrifices even with bloudy Hands; but heaping up of Wealth; but new Laws, new Arts, new Snares to ſcrape Money from all parts. For this end they uſed their Spiritual Weapons without reſpect, and ſold things both Sacred and Profane, without any ſhame at all. The Popes and the Court thus abounding with Wealth, there followed Pomp, Riot, Diſhoneſty, Luſt, and abominable Pleaſures: No care of Poſterity, no thought of maintaining the perpetual Dignity of the *Papacy*; but in place hereof ſucceeded ambitious and peſtiferous deſires

ſires to exalt their Sons, Nephews, and Kindred, not only to immoderate Riches, but to Principalities and to Kingdoms; beſtowing their Dignities and Benefices not upon virtuous and well-deſerving Men, but either ſelling them to thoſe who would give moſt, or miſplacing them upon ambitious, covetous, and impudently voluptuous Perſons.

Having loſt by this means that reſpect and reverence which formerly the World did give them, they did notwithſtanding maintain in part their Authority by the powerful Name and Majeſty of Religion; and ſomwhat they were helped by the Faculty which they have in gratifying of great Princes, and thoſe who were potent about them, by beſtowing ſome Eccleſiaſtical Favours and Dignities upon them. Hence it cometh to paſs, that they are in high reſpect amongſt Men; ſo that whoſoever taketh Arms againſt them is eſteemed infamous for it, and findeth many oppoſitions by other Princes. Whatſoever hapneth, there is but ſmall gain to be made by ſtriving with them: For thoſe that Conquer them uſe the Victory as the Popes will, who being conquered obtain what conditions they pleaſe. Now becauſe they have a great deſire to raiſe their neareſt Kindred from the ſtate of private Men to be great Princes, oftentimes they have been, for very many years laſt paſt, the Occaſions and Inſtruments of raiſing new Wars and Tumults in *Italy*.

But to return to our principal purpoſe, from which my moſt juſt grief for the publick loſs hath tranſported me further than the Laws of an Hiſtory do well permit, let us declare, that *the Cities of* Romania *being vexed, &c.*

A Part of the Hiſtory of Francis Guicciardine, *ſtoln out of the Tenth Book.*

SAying, that the great Oppreſſion endured by the generous *Romans*, and that thoſe Spirits which conquered the World ſhould become Servile, may in part be excuſed in reſpect of former times. Such honour was then given to Religion, and Religion was ſo graced with Miracles, and Sanctified Manners, that their Anceſtors, without any conſtraint of Arms or Violence, yielded obedience to the Government of Eccleſiaſticks, and willingly ſubmitted their Necks to the ſweet yoke of Chriſtian Piety. But now, what neceſſity, what vertue, what dignity is there, which can cover in any part the infamy and ſhame of this Servility? Is it integrity of Life? Holy Examples given by theſe Prieſts, or any Miracles done by them? What Generation is there in the World more corrupt, or more defiled with brutiſh and debauched Manners? It is miraculous, that God, the Fountain of Juſtice, hath ſo long endured ſuch abominable Wickedneſs. Some peradventure may ſay, that this Tyranny is ſupported by proweſs of Arms, or Mens aſſiduous care and induſtry for the preſervation of the Papal greatneſs. But what Generation is there in the World more averſe from the Studies of War, or more unwilling to endure the labours belonging to it? More given over to idleneſs and pleaſure? More negligent of the honour and profit of their Succeſſors?

The Principality of the *Soldans* of Great *Caire* is the moſt like in all the World to this of the Biſhops of *Rome*. For neither the dignity of the

the *Soldans*, nor the honours of the *Mammalukes* are hereditary, but, paſſing from one family to another, do ſomtimes fall upon ſtrangers. But the ſervility of the *Romans* is more baſe than that of theſe *Egyptians* and *Syrians*. For the infamy of theſe is ſomwhat covered in that the *Mammalukes* are warlike and valiant men, accuſtomed to labour, and wholly averſe from pleaſures. But whom do the *Romans* ſerve? mary idle and ſlothful perſons, ſtrangers, and ſuch as many times are as baſe for their Deſcent as for their Manners. It is high time to awake out of this Lethargy, and to remember, that to be a *Roman* is a moſt glorious name, when it is accompanied with Virtue; and that their ſhame is doubled who have forgotten the Honour and Renown of their Anceſtors. They have now a moſt fit opportunity to free themſelves. For when the *Pope* dyeth, the *Cardinals* are diſunited, the *Grandees* are of divers Factions, *Italy* is full of Arms and Tumults, and the Papal Tyranny is now become more odious to all Princes than ever it was before.

In a Letter of Monſieur de LANSAC *the* French *Ambaſſador, Reſident in the Council of* Trent, *written to the King his Maſter.*

WE have not as yet propoſed the Articles of *Reformation*, becauſe we well perceive, that they will give ear to nothing that may hinder the Profit and Authority of the Court of *Rome*. Beſides, the Pope is ſo much Maſter of this *Council*, that his *Penſioners*, whatſoever the Emperor's Ambaſſadors or We do remonſtrate unto them, will do but what they liſt.

In a Letter of Monſieur de PIBRAC, *the* French *Ambaſſador in the Council, to the* Queen-mother.

MY Lords the Legates, together with the *Italian* Biſhops which came from *Rome*, made a kind of Decree, That nothing ſhould be propoſed for the Fathers to conſult of, but by the Legates only, or, at the leaſt, nothing but what pleaſed them. This we have ſeen obſerved even to the ſhutting up of the Council.

This was done that nothing might be moved in the Council to diminiſh the Popes greatneſs.

In another place of the ſame Letter.

MAdam, that they may the better keep the Power which they have, to be the only Men that may propoſe and put into conſultation what pleaſeth them, they hold it for a matter already determined, that the Ambaſſadors of Princes may not make any Remonſtrances in the Aſſembly of the Prelates; fearing perhaps, that if they were heard and underſtood by the Fathers, they might yield to their Demands, eſpecially being reaſonable.

In a Letter of the Queen-mother *to* Monſieur de LANSAC.

IF the Promiſes which the Legates do make unto you, and the Opinion which I have of their Dignity and Integrity do compel me to hope for ſome good from the *Council*, on the other ſide that

which I have hitherto obſerved concerning their manner of proceeding quite contrary to their words, makes me fear that this whole *Council* of ours is nothing but a fair appearance of Flowers, without any Fruit or Amendment at all.

The King of France, *in a Letter to the Lords du* FERRIER *and* PIBRAC, *his Ambaſſadors in the* Council.

MY Lords, as far as I perceive by your Letters of the Eleventh of this month, I am quite out of all hope of that which I expected from the *Council*, in caſe the Fathers do proceed to determine of the * Articles, which they have been pleaſed to communicate unto you. This would be to pare the Nails of Kings, and let their own grow, *&c.*

* Theſe were Articles for the Reformation of Secular Princes, which the Legates ſet on foot to hinder the propoſing of the Articles for the Reformation of the Eccleſiaſticks.

In a Letter to the King of France *by the Lords du* FERRIER *and* de PIBRAC, *his Ambaſſadors in the* Council, *September* 25. 1563.

OF an hundred and fifty Prelates, which then were preſent in the *Council*, a whole hundred had * conſpired together, and ſubſcribed (as the ſaid Legates have aſſured us,) not to vote any Article of the ſaid Reformation, until the Articles of Princes were propoſed and given to the Fathers. This hath not only been done, but it hath been done more rigorouſly, (contrary to all Law both Divine and Human,) than at the firſt, *&c.*

* A Conſpiracy in the Council to hinder the Reformation of the Eccleſiaſticks.

ANDREW DUDITHIUS, *Biſhop of* Five Churches, *in an Epiſtle to* MAXIMILIAN II. *Emperor, in which he delivereth his Opinion about the miniſtring of the Cup to the Laity, and the marriage of* Prieſts.

WHat good could be done in that *Council*, in which the votes were not weighed, but numbred? If goodneſs of the Cauſe, if reaſon had been the Weapons to fight withal, though we were but few, we had vanquiſhed a great Army of our Enemies. But ſeeing that Number only came into the Field, in which we were far inferiour to them, though our Cauſe were good, we could not poſſibly prevail. The Pope had an hundred for one: And in caſe thoſe had not been enough, he could have created a thouſand more to have helped at a need. We dayly ſaw hungry and needy Biſhops come to *Trent*, Youths for the moſt part, which did but begin to have Beards, given over to Luxury and Riot, hired only to give their Voice as the Pope pleaſed. They were both unlearned and ſimple, yet fit for the purpoſe, in regard of their impudent Boldneſs. When theſe were added to the Popes old Flatterers,

iniquity

iniquity triumphed, and it was impoſſible to determine of any thing but as they pleaſed, who thought it to be the higheſt point of their Religion to maintain the Authority and Luxury of the Pope. There was a grave and learned Man, who was not able to endure ſo great an Indignity: He was preſently traduced as being no good Catholick, and was terrified, threatned and perſecuted, that he might approve things againſt his will. In ſum, Matters were brought to that paſs, by the iniquity of thoſe who came thither fitted and prepared, that the *Council* ſeemed to conſiſt not of Biſhops, but of diſguiſed Maskers, not of Men, but of Images, ſuch as *Dædalus* made, that moved by Nerves which were none of their own. They were hireling Biſhops, who, as Country Bagpipes, could not ſpeak but as Breath was put into them. The *Holy Ghoſt* had nothing to do in this Aſſembly: All the Counſels given there proceeded from human Policy, and tended only to maintain the Popes immoderate and ſhameful Domination. Anſwers were expected from thence, as from the Oracles of *Delphos* and *Dodona*: The *Holy Spirit*, which, as they boaſt, doth govern their *Councils*, was ſent from thence in a Poſtilion's Cloak-bag; which, in caſe of any Inundations, could not come thither (a thing moſt ridiculous,) until the Waters were aſſwaged. So it came to paſs, that the *Spirit* was not upon the Waters, as it is in *Geneſis*, but by the Waters ſide. Oh monſtrous extraordinary Madneſs! Nothing could be ratified, which the Biſhops (as if they had been the common People,) did Decree, unleſs the Pope made himſelf the Author of it.

An Epiſtle written by JOHN JEWELL, *Biſhop of* Sarum, *unto one* Seigniour SCIPIO, *a Gentleman in* Venice, *in Anſwer of an expoſtulatory Letter of his, concerning the Council of* Trent.

1. SIR, according to that intimate Acquaintance, which hath been between us, ever ſince we lived together at *Padua*, (you being imployed in the Affairs of your Common-weal, I in my Studies,) you write unto me familiarly, that yourſelf, and many others there with you, wonder, that ſince a *General Council* at *Trent* hath been ſummoned by the Pope, for the ſetling of Religion, and removing of *Controverſies*; and ſeeing already all other *Nations* from all parts are there aſſembled: The Realm of *England* alone hath neither ſent any *Ambaſſadors* thither; nor by any Meſſage or Letter excuſed their abſence; but, without any *Council*, hath altered almoſt all the Form of the old ancient Religion; the former whereof, as you ſay, argues a proud Stubbornneſs, the other a pernicious Schiſm. For it is a ſuperlative Crime, for any Man to decline the moſt *Sacred Authority* of the *Pope* of *Rome*; or, being called by him to a *Council*, to withdraw himſelf. As for the *Controverſies* about Religion, that it is not lawful to debate them otherwhere than in ſuch *Aſſemblies*; For there be the *Patriarchs* and *Biſhops*: There be the learned'ſt Men of all ſorts; from their Mouths the *Truth* muſt be required: There be the Lights of each *Church*: There is the *Holy Ghoſt*: That all godly *Princes*, if any doubt had riſen concerning God's worſhip, ſtill referred it to a publick Conſultation: That *Moſes*, *Joſhua*, *David*, *Ezechias*, *Joſias*, and other *Judges*, *Kings*, *Prieſts*, did not adviſe, con-

cerning matters of *Religion*, elſewhere than in an Aſſembly of Biſhops: That *Chriſt*'s *Apoſtles*, and the *Holy Fathers* held *Councils*: That by this means the *Truth* diſplaied her Beams; *Hereſies* were ſubdued: So was *Arius* vanquiſhed, ſo *Eunomius*, ſo *Eutyches*, ſo *Macedonius*, ſo *Pelagius*: And that by the ſame means the preſent Diſtractions of the World may be compoſed, and the breaches of the *Church* made up again, if, Contentions and Factions laid aſide, we would come to a *Council*; without which, nothing can lawfully be attempted in Religion.

2. This in effect was the ſum of your Letter. I do not now take upon me to anſwer you in the behalf of the *Realm* of *England*, by what advice every thing hath been done; neither do I think that you expect it from me, or deſire it.. The *Counſels* of *Kings* are hidden and ſo ought to be. You know the old Saying, *nor every where, nor to all, nor to all ſorts of People.* Yet for our old and intimate Acquaintance (becauſe I ſee you deſire it ſo earneſtly,) I will briefly and friendly ſhew you what I think, but, as he ſays, *as far as I know, and am able*; and I doubt not but that will ſatisfie you.

3. We wonder, ſay you, that no Ambaſſadors from *England* come to the *Council*. I pray you, Sir, do *Engliſh-men* only not come to this *Council*? Were you yourſelf preſent at the *Council*? Did you take a Muſter of them? Did you count them by the Poll? Did you ſee, that all other Nations were met from all parts, except only the *Engliſh*? If you have ſuch a mind to wonder, why do not you wonder at this too? That neither the three memorable *Patriarchs*, of *Conſtantinople*, *Antioch*, and *Alexandria*, nor *Presbyter John*, nor the *Grecians*, *Armenians*, *Perſians*, *Egyptians*, *Moores*, *Ethiopians*, or *Indians* come to the *Council*. For do not many of theſe People believe in *Chriſt*? Have they not *Biſhops*? Are they not baptized in the name of *Chriſt*? Be they not *Chriſtians* and ſo called? Or did there come *Ambaſſadors* from all theſe Nations to the *Council*? Or will you rather ſay, that the *Pope* did not call them, or that your Eccleſiaſtical Decrees take no hold of them?

4. But we wonder more at this, that the *Pope* would afterwards call ſuch Men to a *Council*, whom before-hand he had condemned for *Hereticks*, and openly pronounced them excommunicate, without hearing either Them or their Plea. For that Men ſhould be firſt condemned and puniſhed, and afterwards brought to their Tryal, is abſurd, and, as we ſay, *The Cart before the Horſe*. But I would fain be reſolved of this, Whether the *Popes* meaning be to adviſe in the *Council* concerning Religion with us, whom he accounts *Hereticks*: Or rather that we ſhould plead our Cauſe at the Bar, and either change our Opinion preſently, or out of hand be condemned again. The former is without example, and denied heretofore by *Julius* the Third to thoſe of our ſide: The other is ridiculous; if he think ſo, that the *Engliſh* will come to the *Council*, only to be Indicted, and to plead for themſelves, eſpecially before him, who long ſince is charged with moſt heinous Crimes not only by our ſide, but alſo by their own.

5. Now if *England* only ſeem to you thus ſtubborn, where then be the *Ambaſſadors* of the *King* of *Denmark*, of the *Princes* of *Germany*, of the *King* of *Sueden*, of the *Suitzers*, of the *Griſons*, of the *Hanſe Towns*, of the Realm of *Scotland*, of the Dukedom of *Pruſſia*? Seeing ſo many *Chriſtian Nations* are wanting in your *Council*, it is abſurd to miſs in your reckoning only the *Engliſh*. But why do I ſpeak of theſe?

The

The *Pope* himſelf comes not to his own *Council*, and why do you not wonder at that alſo? For what a Pride is this, for one Man for his own Pleaſure to aſſemble together all *Chriſtian Kings*, *Princes*, and *Biſhops*, when he liſteth, and to require them to be at his call, and himſelf not to come in their preſence. Surely when the *Apoſtles* ſummoned Aſſemblies at *Jeruſalem*, *Peter* the *Apoſtle*, of whoſe *See* and *Succeſſion* they brag, would not be abſent. But as I conceive, *Pius* the Fourth, the preſent *Pope*, remembereth what happened heretofore to *John* the 22. that he came not in a very happy hour to the *Council* of *Conſtance*: For he came *Pope*, but returned *Cardinal*. Therefore, ſince then, the *Popes* have provided for themſelves in the Reer, and kept home, and have withſtood all *Councils* and free Diſputes. For above forty years ſince, when Doctor *Martin Luther* was curſed by the *Pope* with *Bell*, *Book*, *and Candle*, becauſe he had begun to preach the *Goſpel*, and to reform Religion out of *God*'s word, and had humbly requeſted, that his whole Cauſe might be referred to the Cogniſance of a *General Council*, he could have no Audience. For *Pope Leo* the Tenth did ſee well enough, if the Matter ſhould come to a *Council*, that his own State might come in danger, and that he might perchance hear what he would not willingly. Ao: 1418.

6. Indeed the Name of a *General Council* carries a fair Shew, ſo it be aſſembled as it ought, and (Affections laid aſide) all things be referred to the rule of *God*'s Word, and the Truth only aimed at. But if Religion and Godlineſs be openly beaten down, if Tyranny and Ambition be eſtabliſhed, if Men ſtudy Faction, Gluttony, Luſt, there is nothing more pernicious for the *Church* of *God*. All this I have ſpoken hitherto, as if this *Council*, which you call ſo, did ſubſiſt ſomwhere, and were indeed a *Council*, which I think abſolutely to be none. Or if it be one, and ſubſiſt any where, ſure it is an obſcure one, and kept very cloſe. For though we are not very far off, yet we can by no means learn, what is done there, what Biſhops have met, or rather indeed, whether any at all are met. Nay beſides, above twenty months ſince, when this *Council* was firſt ſummoned by *Pope Pius*, the *Emperor Ferdinand* anſwered, that though all other Matters were accommodated, yet he did much diſlike the *Place*, which the *Pope* had made choice of for himſelf. For *Trent*, though a pretty City, yet neither was commodiouſly enough ſeated for the receipt of ſo many *Nations*, nor able to receive ſo great a multitude of Men, as were likely in reaſon to meet at a *General Council*. The ſame Anſwers were returned from other *Chriſtian Princes*; and from ſome, much ſharper. Therefore we believe, that all theſe things, together with the *Council* itſelf, had been vaniſhed away into Smoak.

7. But I pray you, Who is he that hath ſummoned this *Council*, and called the World together? You will ſay, *Pope Pius* the Fourth. And why he, rather than the *Biſhop* of *Toledo*? For by what Power, by what Example of the *Primitive Church*, by what Right doth he this? Did *Peter*, *Linus*, *Cletus*, *Clemens*, thus toſs and tumble the World with their Proclamations? This was always, whileſt the *Empire* flouriſhed, the proper Right of the *Emperors* of *Rome*. But now, ſince the Power of the *Empire* is leſſened, and *Kingdoms* by Succeſſion ſhare part of the *Imperial Power*, that Power is communicated to *Chriſtian Kings* and *Princes*. Search the Annals, lay together the Memorials of all Antiquity, you ſhall find the ancienteſt *Councils*, the *Nicene*, the *Epheſine*, that of *Chalcedon*, that of *Conſtantinople*, to have been called by the

Roman

Roman Emperors, *Conſtantine*, *Theodoſius* the Firſt, *Theodoſius* the Second, *Martian*, not by the *Popes* of *Rome*.

8. *Leo* the *Pope*, a Man otherwiſe loving enough to himſelf, and no way neglectful of the Authority of his *See*, did humbly beſeech *Mauritius* the *Emperor*, that he would ſummon a *Council* to be held in *Italy*, as being the fitteſt place. *All the Prieſts*, ſaies he, *beſeech your Clemency, that you would command a* General Council *to be held within* Italy. But the *Emperor* cauſed that *Council* to be aſſembled, not in *Italy*, which the *Pope* earneſtly laboured, but at *Chalcedon* in *Bithynia*; to ſhew, that that was his Right, and belonged to him only. And when *Ruffinus*, in that Bickering which he had with *Jerom*, had alledged a certain *Synod*, *Tell me*, ſaies *Jerom*, *what Emperor cauſed it to be called.* *Jerom* did not think the Authority of a *General Council* firm enough, unleſs an *Emperor* had called it. I demand not now, what *Emperor* hath commanded the Biſhops to be called to *Trent* at this preſent? But with what *Emperor* did the *Pope*, that hath taken thus much to himſelf, adviſe of holding the *Council*, what *Chriſtian King* or *Prince* did he make privy to his deſign? To intrude upon anothers Right by fraud or force, and to uſurp for his own, what belongs to others, is injurious dealing. But to abuſe the *Clemency* of *Princes*, and to rule over them as his Vaſſals, is an egregious and an intolerable Diſgrace to them. But for us by our complying, to go about to back ſuch an Injury and Diſgrace, were no leſs Injury. Wherefore if we ſhould only ſay thus much, that this *Trent Council* of Yours is not lawfully called, that *Pope Pius* hath done nothing rightly or orderly, no Man could juſtly find fault with our abſence.

9. I paſs over the Wrongs, which the *Popes* of *Rome* have done us: That they have, as often as they pleaſed, armed our *People* againſt their *Sovereign*: That they have pulled the *Scepters* out of our *King*'s Hands, and the *Crowns* from off their Heads: That they would have the *Kingdom* of *England* to be theirs, and held in their Name, and our *Kings* to Reign by their Favour: That within theſe later years, they have ſtirred up againſt us, ſomtimes the *French*, ſomtimes the *Emperor*. What the Intentions of *Pius* himſelf have been towards us, what he hath done, what he hath ſpoken, what he hath practiſed, what he hath threatned, 'tis needleſs to rehearſe: For his Actions and his Words are not ſo cloſe, ſo concealed, but that the aim of both may be diſcovered. By what Courſes he was made *Pope*, and by what Steps he mounted to ſo great a Dignity, I ſay nothing. I do not ſay, that he aſpired to the *Popedom* by corrupting of *Cardinals*, buying of Voices, by Price and Purchaſe, by Underminings and Ambuſhes. I do not ſay that lately, being not able to quit Scores, he caſt *Cardinal Caraffa* into Priſon, and there murthered him, by whoſe Aſſiſtence he had compaſſed the reſt of the *Cardinals Voices*, to whom, for that Service, he owed a great ſum of Money. Theſe, and divers other things, I leave to you, who both behold them at a nearer diſtance, and better underſtand them. And can you wonder then, that we come not to a Man of Blood, one that purchaſes Voices, that denies to pay his Debts, to a *Simoniacal* Perſon, to an *Heretick*? Believe me, it is not the part of a wiſe Man willfully to run into a place infected, and to conſult of Religion with the Enemies of Religion. *My Mother*, ſaies one, *forbad me the Company of infamous Perſons.* *John* the *Apoſtle* durſt not ſit in the ſame Bath, nor waſh with *Olympius*, leſt he ſhould be ſtruck from Heaven with the ſame Thunder. *I have not ſate*, ſaith *David*, *in the Aſſembly of Vanity, neither will I walk with the Workers of Iniquity.*

10. But

10. But admit, that this is the Popes proper right; let it be in his power to call *Councils*, to govern the whole World: Let thoſe things be falſe and vain, whatſoever we have ſpoken concerning the power of the *Emperor*, and the right of *Kings*: Grant that Pope *Pius* is an honeſt Man; that he was duly and lawfully made Pope; that he ſought no Man's Life; that he did not kill *Caraffa* in Priſon: Yet it is fit that *Councils* ſhould be free; that every Man may be preſent that will, and thoſe, with whoſe convenience it ſtands not, may be abſent. And ſuch was anciently the equity and moderation of thoſe better Men. The *Princes* were not then called together in ſuch a ſlaviſh manner, that if any one of them had ſtayed at home, or had not ſent *Ambaſſadors* to the *Council*, preſently every Eye was upon him, every Finger pointing at him. In the *Nicene Council*, in the *Epheſine*, in that of *Conſtantinople*, what Spy obſerved who were abſent? But there was never an *Ambaſſador* then neither from *England*, nor *Scotland*, nor *Poland*, nor *Spain*, nor out of the two *Pannonia's*, nor out of *Denmark*, nor out of all *Germany*. See, read, reexamine the *Subſcriptions*, you ſhall find it ſo, as I ſay. And why do not you marvel then, that the *Engliſh* came not to thoſe *Councils*, being ſo full, ſo famous, ſo renowned, ſo frequented? Or that the *Popes* in thoſe times were ſo patient, as not to condemn them of Contumacy? But this Tyranny of the *Popes* was not yet grown up; it was lawful then for *holy Biſhops and Fathers*, as it ſtood with their conveniency, to ſtay at home without prejudice. The *Apoſtle Paul* would not put himſelf upon the *Council* at *Jeruſalem*, but rather appeal'd to *Cæſar*. *Athanaſius* the *Biſhop*, though the *Emperor* ſummoned him to the *Council* at *Cæſarea*, yet he would not come. The ſame Man in the *Syrmian Council*, when he ſaw that the *Arians* were like to prevail, preſently withdrew himſelf, and went his ways: And the *Weſtern Biſhops* following his Example, refuſed to come to that *Council*. *John Chryſoſtom* came not to the *Arian Council*, though the *Emperor Conſtantius* called him, both by Letter, and alſo by Meſſage. At what time the *Arian Biſhops* aſſembled in *Paleſtine*, and drew with them the Votes of the major part, old *Paphnutius* and *Maximus Biſhop of Jeruſalem* went out together out of the mid'ſt of their Aſſembly. *Biſhop Cyril* appealed from the *Council* of the *Patropaſſians*. *Paulinus Biſhop* of *Triers* would not come to the *Council* of *Millan*, becauſe that he ſaw that by the favour and power of the *Emperor Conſtantius* all ran of *Auxentius* the *Arian's* ſide. The *Biſhops* that had met in a *Council* at *Conſtantinople*, being called to a *Council* at *Rome*, refuſed to come. Which notwithſtanding turned not to their prejudice, though they were called by the *Emperor's* Letters. In thoſe days the excuſe ſeemed reaſonable enough, that they were to intend the charge and Reformation of their own *Churches*. Though they ſaw that the *Arians* did play reaks in all *Churches*, and that their Preſence would have been of great Importance for the abating their rage.

11. What if our *Biſhops* ſhould now give the ſame Anſwer, that they can ſpare no time from their ſacred function; that they are wholly imployed in ſetting up again their own *Churches*; that they cannot be abſent, five, ſix, ſeven years, eſpecially there, where they ſhould be able to do no good? For our *Biſhops* are not ſo idle as thoſe at *Rome*, that frolick it in their Palaces, and dance Attendance upon the *Cardinals*, and hunt after Livings. Our *Churches* are ſo miſerably waſted and ruined by them, that they cannot be repaired in a ſmall time, or with ordinary diligence. But now we ſee plainly, that theſe Men

ſeek

ſeek to incroach upon our times, that without any neceſſity we might be drawn abroad and ſo diſabled to advance the *Goſpel* at home, and in the *Council* be hindred by them.

12. For the *Pope*, that you may not be miſtaken, doth but make a ſhew of a *Council*, and means it not; for think not, that he doth any thing ſincerely or truly. *Lewis* the Eleventh was wont to ſay to *Charles* the Eighth, that He *that knows not how to make Shews of what he means not, kens not Kings-craft*: But as the times go now, he that knows not how to make no ſhew of what he means, and to cloak his deſigns under a diſguiſed Countenance, is much more ignorant how to play the *Pope*. For that *See* is wholly ſupported with mere hypocriſy, which the leſs natural ſtrength it hath, ſo much the more colour it needs. For if the *Popes* thought a *General Council* ſo effectual for removing of *Schiſms*, why did they defer a thing ſo neceſſary thus long? Why did they ſit quiet thirty years together, and ſuffered *Luther*'s *Doctrine* to take root? Why did they not call a *Council* with the firſt? Why did they aſſemble the *Trent Council* with ſuch reluctancy and unwillingneſs, more by the Inſtigation of the *Emperor Charles*, than of their own accord? And having been at *Trent* well nigh ten years, with all this Deliberation why have they done juſt nothing? Why have they left the Matter undone? Who hindred, who withſtood them? Believe me in this, *Good Brother*, the *Popes* are not in hand now to keep a ſolemn *Council*, or to reſtore Religion, which they make a mock of. That which they intend, and ſeek, and labour for, is to delude the Minds of godly Men, and the whole World with a pompous expectation of a *General Council*.

13. They ſee, that their Wealth hath been leſſening now a pretty while, and declining: That their tricks do not find the ſame credit now, as heretofore: That an incredible number of Men every day fall from them: That Men do not now run to *Rome* in ſuch Troops: That there is not now a days ſo high an Eſtimation, or ſo dear a Price given for *Indulgences*, *Interdicts*, *Bleſſings*, *Abſolutions*, *and empty Bulls*: That their *Mart* of *Ceremonies* and *Maſſes*, and all their whoriſh Paintings are ſlighted: That a great part of their Tyranny and Pomp is ſhrunk: That their Revenues are ſlenderer than they were wont to be: That they and theirs are laughed at every where, even by very Children: That their whole reſt lies now at ſtake. And indeed it is no wonder if thoſe things fall, which had no Roots to hold them. Our *Saviour Jeſus Chriſt* extinguiſhed all thoſe things, not by Arms or force of Men, but by the heavenly blaſt and breath of his Mouth; but will conſume and aboliſh them with the Brightneſs of his coming. This is the force of *God's word*; this is the power of the *Goſpel*; theſe be the Weapons, by which is overthrown every Fortification, which is raiſed againſt the knowledg of *God*. This Doctrine ſhall be preached through the whole World in deſpite of them all: The Gates of *Hell* ſhall not prevail againſt it. The Merit-monger's Shops wax cold now at *Rome*; their Wares, as if *Porſenna*'s Goods were put to ſale, are very low pric'd, and yet can ſcarce find a Chapman. The Indulgence-broker trots up and down, and finds no Fools. This is it; Hence grows their grief; This vexes the *Popes*. They ſee, that this ſo great light broke forth from one ſpark: What is it like to do now, when ſo many Fires are kindled in all places of the World? And ſo many *Chriſtian Kings* and *Princes* acknowledg and profeſs the *Goſpel*? For they ſerve not *Chriſt Jeſus*, but their *Bellies*. They ſay, that *Carneades* the Philoſopher, when

when he was at *Rome*, and made that memorable ſpeech againſt *Juſtice*; amongſt other things he added this, That this Virtue, if it were one, would be leſs profitable to no kind of men, than to the *Romans*: For they by force and robbery had ſubdued other mens Dominions to themſelves, and had compaſſed the *Empire* of the *World* by high injuſtice: Now if they would at length obſerve Juſtice, they muſt reſtore all thoſe things, which they poſſeſs unjuſtly: They muſt return to their Shepherds Houſes, and their cold Cottages, which was all they had in the beginning. So verily theſe men, if they would deal plainly, and lay aſide their diſguiſes, and do their duty, and render every one his own, they ſee they muſt come to their Staff and Scrip again, to Sobriety and Modeſty, to the labours and function of the Goſpel. For they have heard *Auſtin* ſay, that, The name of a Biſhop is a name of Work, not of Worſhip; and, That they are no Biſhops that would have the preheminence above others, but not benefit them. And therefore they ſee, that it is leſs expedient for themſelves, than for any ſort of men, to have the Goſpel ſpread wider, and further propagated: For they cannot be ſafe, if they will be ſound. Therefore now they raiſe Tumults, and puzzle all, as *Demetrius* the Smith did of old, when he ſaw that his hopes of gain were cut. Now therefore *Councils* are ſummoned, the *Abbots* and *Biſhops* are called to make a party. For this they thought the cunningeſt plot, to ſpin out the Time for ſome years, to hold mens Minds in ſuſpence with expectation: Many things, as it uſeth, might fall out in the mean time: Some *War* might be raiſed: One of theſe *Princes* might die: That this ſo ſharp edge of theirs for the Goſpel might in proceſs of time be dulled: Mens Minds might wax cool: In the mean while, as one ſays, ſomwhat will be done I hope.

14. Long ſince, the *Perſians* having been vanquiſhed and led in Triumph, when as the *Athenians* had begun to repair their Walls, which the *Perſians* had laid level with the ground; and the *Lacedemonians* had ſtraitly interdicted them, to the end that they might keep them the eaſier under their check: *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian* General, a wiſe man, ſeeing the ſafety of his Country might be hazarded, promiſed that he would come to *Lacedemon* to confer with them about it. So, being upon the way, to ſpend time, he feigns himſelf ſick, that he might dwell the longer upon his journy. At length, being come to *Lacedemon*, he began to make many cavils on ſet purpoſe: Somtimes the Covenants did not pleaſe him: Somtimes he demands time to adviſe: Somtimes he muſt wait for his fellow *Ambaſſadors*, without whom nothing could be done: Otherwiſe he muſt ſend *Ambaſſadors* to *Athens*. In the mean time, whil'ſt he trifles, the *Athenians* had walled their *City* round; and, if any force were offered, were provided of a defence. So theſe Men, whil'ſt they put off from day to day, and will have all referred to *Councils*; in the mean while they build up their Walls, whil'ſt we ſit idle, looking after we know not what; that at the laſt, when they have made all ſafe, they may ſhut us out wholly, and neither *Council* may be held, nor any thing at all done.

For it is worth the pains to obſerve their Tricks and Fetches; How often *Councils* have been ſummoned, and not met! How often a poor Rumour hath daſhed all their preparation, and all the expectation! How often have the Fathers made a ſtand upon the ſudden in the midſt of their Journy! How often have the ſcarlet *Counſellors*, ſlipped home in the midſt of the *Council*, having done juſt nothing; and have

rejourned the next Seſſion till the ninth or tenth year following! How often have they quarrelled with the Air, the Victuals, the Place, the Time! For the *Pope* only aſſembles the *Councils*, and he alone diſmiſſeth them when he liſts. If any thing pleaſe him not, or the buſineſs begin to go awry, preſently the ſolemn cloſe of the Plays is heard, *Vulete, & Plaudite*, Farewel, and clap your hands. A *Council* is warned at *Baſil*: They meet from all parts in great numbers: They fall earneſtly upon many Matters: *Eugenius* the *Pope* is caſt by all the voices, as a *Simoniacal* and *Schiſmatical Perſon*: *Amideus* Duke of *Savoy* is put in his place: *Eugenius*, as he was to do, takes this indignly, thinks with himſelf, that this might be a dangerous Preſident for Poſterity: That his Power and Strength was far above all *Councils*: That a *Council* could not meet but by his command: Nor determine of any thing, but what he pleaſed: That it was an ungodly act, to enquire into his Life in a *Conventicle* of *Biſhops*: Preſently he calls back the *Council* to *Ferrara* in *Italy*; afterwards tranſlates it to *Florence*. Why, what doings is this, I pray? Did *Eugenius* think the Climate would alter mens minds, or, that the *Holy Ghoſt* would give diſcreeter anſwers in *Italy*, than he had formerly in *Germany*? Nay, nay, in all thoſe changes he ſought not after *Chriſt*, but his own benefit. He ſaw, that his Enemy *Sigiſmond* the Emperor did overtop him in *Germany*, both in power and in favour: And that thoſe Fathers which had met at *Baſil*, if they were removed out of thoſe harſh and rough Countries into *Italy*, they might (as Trees when they are tranſplanted,) be made more mellow. For now adays (merciful God!) the intent or ſcope of *Councils* is, not to diſcover Truth, or to confute Falſhood. For theſe later Ages, this has been the only endeavour of the *Popes*, to eſtabliſh the *Roman Tyranny*; to ſet Wars on foot; to ſet *Chriſtian Princes* together by the ears; to raiſe Money, ſomtimes for the *Holy Land*, ſomtimes for the building of *Saint Peters Church*, ſomtimes for other uſes, I know not what, or rather abuſes; all which Money was to be caſt into ſome few Bellies, in Gluttony and Luſt. And this hath been the only cauſe or courſe of *Councils* for ſome Ages laſt paſt. For of Errors and Abuſes, as if there were none at all, nothing ever could be handled.

15. *Peter de Alliaco* made great complaint in the *Council* of *Conſtance*, concerning the Covetouſneſs and Pride of the *Court of Rome*, but what good did he? Was there any part of their Controverſie or Pride reſtrained by the Authority of the *Council*? The ſame Man ſays, that Holy-days, and the Flocks of idle Monks ought in his opinion to be leſſened: And another, (in a certain Work entituled, *Tripartite*, and joined to the *Lateran Council*,) The whole World almoſt, ſays he, ſpeaks againſt it, and is ſcandalized at the infinite multitude of beggarly Fryars. And the Fathers in the *Council* of *Lateran*, We ſtrictly command, ſay they, that for the future no man invent a new Religious Order. Since that time what hath been done for Holy-days, I know not: It is probable, that no abatement is made. But for the *Orders of Monks*, they are infinitely multiplied. For the laſt *Popes* have added *Jeſuites*, *Capuchins*, and *Theatines*; as if there had not been yet enough of theſe ſlow-bellies. *John Gerſon*, Chancellor of *Paris*, exhibited in the *Council* of *Conſtance* ſeventy five Abuſes in the Church of *Rome*, which he did earneſtly deſire might be reformed. But of ſo great a number, what one Abuſe did they take away? *John Picus Mirandula* writes to *Pope Leo*, to abridge idle Ceremonies, and to reſtrain the Luxury of *Prieſts*. The *Biſhops* afterwards, in the *Lateran Council* ſat in great numbers,

and

and moved much expectation. But what one Ceremony did they abate? What one *Prieſts* Luxury or Lewdneſs did they Condemn? *Mantuan* the *Poet* complains by Name of the Manners of the *Church* of *Rome*. *Bernard* the *Abbot* writes thus to *Pope Eugenius*: Your Court receives Good Men, but makes them not: Lewd Men thrive there, the Good pine and fall away. And ſpeaking of the woful State of the Church in thoſe days, From the Sole of the Foot, ſaith he, to the Crown of the Head, there is no Health in her. And again, ſays he, Where is there one to Preach the acceptable year of the Lord? Now a days, ſaith he, they keep not *Chriſts* Spouſe, but deſtroy her; They feed not the Lords Flock, but ſlaughter and devour it. *Pope Adrian* the Sixth, when he ſent his *Legat* into *Germany*, Confeſſed truly and ingenuouſly, that the State of the whole *Clergy* was moſt corrupt. All we *Prelats*, ſays he, have ſwerved every one to his own way, neither is there now any one that doth Good, no not one. *Albertus Pighius* confeſſes, that in the *Maſs* itſelf (which they would have to be moſt Sacred, and in which alone they place the main of *Chriſtian Religion*,) are found Errours and abuſes. What needs more? I paſs over other Witneſſes, for they are infinite. There were many *Councils* held after this; the *Biſhops* were called together; the *Synod* of *Baſil* was Summoned, as they then made ſhow, expreſly for the Reformation of the whole *Clergy*. But ſince that time, the Errours have been increaſed in all places; nay, the Vices of the *Prieſts* themſelves doubled.

17. The *Cardinals* choſen by Pope *Paul* the Third, to conſider of the *State* of the *Church*, made report, that there were many corruptions in it, eſpecially in the Manners of the *Biſhops* and *Clergy-Men*. That the *Biſhops* were idle, did not inſtruct the People, nor Feed the Flock, nor look to the *Lords* Vineyard: that they lived in *Princes Courts*, and kept not home: That the *Cardinals* had ſomtimes Three, ſomtimes Four *Biſhopricks* in *Commendam*, not without great prejudice to the *Church*: For that thoſe Offices are not, as they ſay, compatible, or to be held together. That the *Covents* ought to be clean baniſhed out of the *Church*. Since this, the *Trent-Council* hath been held: But have the *Biſhops* ſince then begun to feed the Flock? Have they left their Non-Reſidence, and living in *Princes Courts*? Have the *Cardinals* left to be *Biſhops*? Or, is it provided, that the *Church* ſuſtain no prejudice thereby? Hath the number of *Covents* been abridged, or Religion amongſt them reformed? What need then was there of calling together ſo many *Biſhops* ſo far off, or to adviſe ſo many years in vain of reforming the *Church*? This is juſt the *Phariſees* going about to repair *Gods Church*.

18. They confeſs Errours and Abuſes: They call Councils and pretend a zeal of *Religion* and *Godlineſs*: They promiſe their pains and endeavours, that they will join with us, to build up again whatſoever is fallen down. Juſt ſo, as the Enemies of *Gods People* ſaid, they would join with *Nehemias* to build the *Lords Temple*. For they did not intend the building of the *Lords Temple*, but by all poſſible means to hinder it. They will be reconciled to us, but ſo as *Naas* the Tyrant would long ago with the *Jews* of *Jabes*, upon no other conditions, but that we muſt ſuffer our Right Eyes to be plucked out, that is, that we ſhould ſuffer our ſelves to be bereaved of *Gods Word*, and the *Goſpel* of our Salvation.

19. For have they any care of *Religion*? Care they for *Gods Church*, that care neither for *Gods* Vengeance, nor the Salvation of the People, nor

any part of their own Duty? Let *Pan*, ſay they, look to his Sheep; they in the mean time, manage Wars, Hunt, fare deliciouſly; to ſay no worſe of them. Immortal *God!* Who would believe that theſe Men ever think of *Gods Church*, or *Religion?* What Errours will theſe Men ever take away, or when? What Light will they reſtore unto us? Whatſoever you ſay, though you carried the Sun itſelf in your Hands, yet they will not ſee. Open Errours they excuſe as far as they are able, and colour and ſmooth them, as anciently *Symmachus* or *Porphyrie* did the Errours and Fopperies of the *Heathen*: And indeed they are wholly ſet upon this, not to ſeem to have led *Gods People* aſtray, or at any time to have Erred themſelves. Or if it come in their Heads to amend any thing, which either they never do, or very ſeldom and ſparingly, (as it is reported of *Alexander* an *Emperor* of *Rome*, that being not altogether averſe from the *Chriſtian Religion*, he Worſhipped *Chriſt* and *Orpheus* in the ſame Chappel: And as in times paſt the ancient *Samaritans* did retain the Worſhip of the true *God*, and of *Idols* both together:) So they will receive perchance ſome part of the *Goſpel* upon this condition, that therewith they may admit of Superſtitions, and old Wives Tales: They receive Truth, ſo that they may retain Falſhood: They allow of ours, ſo that they may not diſallow their own: And ſo they do not take away, but colour, abuſes, and only new Plaiſter old Pillars.

20. In this manner do they reform *Gods Church*; ſo be the *Council* and *Synods* kept: Truth is not followed, but Mens Affections: The better part is maſtered by the greater. Indeed the very Name of a *General Council* carries a Glorious Luſtre: But yet oftentimes Poyſon is carowſed out of a fair Cup. For it is not enough for a few *Biſhops* and *Abbots* to have met in one place; the Virtue of a *Council* conſiſts not in *Rochets*, and *Scarlets*; neither is every *Decree* of a *Council* preſently to be received for an *Oracle*. That was a *Council*, of which the *Prophet* * *Eſay* writes.

* Chap. 30. 1.

21. That was a *Council*, of which the *Prophet David* ſpeaks, *The Kings of the Earth ſet themſelves, and the Rulers take Counſel together againſt the Lord and againſt his Anointed.* That was a *Council*, which Condemned the *Son of God Chriſt Jeſus* to the Croſs. That was a *Council*, which was held at *Carthage* under *Cyprian*; in which it was Decreed, that thoſe, who had been Baptized by *Hereticks*, when they returned to the *Church*, ought to be Baptized again. Which Errour could not be afterwards repealed, but by ſo many *Councils* and Writings of the Fathers. What needs many Words? The *Second Epheſine Council* openly took *Eutyches* his part, that the Human Nature in *Chriſt* was turned into his Divinity. The Second *Nicene Council* Decreed flat Idolatry about Adoration of Images. The Council of *Baſil* (as *Albertus Pighius* ſays,) Decreed againſt all Antiquity, againſt Nature, againſt Reaſon, againſt the Word of *God*. The Council of *Ariminum* Decreed for the *Arians* moſt impiouſly, that *Chriſt* was not *God*. Many other enſuing Councils, that of *Smyrna*, the *Arian*, the *Seleucian*, the *Syrmian* did both condemn the *Homoüſians*, and alſo ſubſcribe to the impiety of the Council of *Ariminum*. What would you have more? The Council of *Chalcedon* itſelf, which was one of thoſe four which *Gregory* compares with the four Goſpels, Pope *Leo* did not ſtick to Challenge it of Unadviſedneſs.

22. Therefore we ſee Councils have been often oppoſite one to another: And as *Leo* the Pope abrogated the Acts of *Adrian*, *Stephanus*

of

of *Formoſus*, *John* of *Stephanus*; and as *Sabinian* the *Pope* commanded all *Pope Gregory's* Writings to be Burnt, as Erronious and Impious; ſo we ſee oftentimes, that a later *Council* hath repealed all the Decrees of a former. The *Carthage Council* Decreed, that the *Biſhop* of *Rome* ſhould not be called either *The High Prieſt*, or *The Chief of Prieſts*, or by any other the like Name. But following *Councils* have ſtyled him, not only *Chief Prieſt*, but alſo *Chief Biſhop*, and *Head* of the *Catholick Church*. The *Eliberine Council* Decreed, that nothing ſhould be painted on the Walls of *Churches*, that ought of right to be Worſhipped. The *Council* of *Conſtantinople* Decreed, that *Images* were not to be ſuffered in *Chriſtian Churches*. On the other ſide, the Second *Nicene Council* determined, that *Images* were not only to be placed in *Churches*, but alſo to be Worſhipped. The *Lateran* Council under *Pope Julius* the Second was Summoned for no other cauſe, but to repeal the Decrees of the *Piſan* Council. So oftentimes the later Biſhops oppoſe thoſe that went before them, and Councils dam up one anothers lights. For theſe Men will not be tyed, no not to their own Councils, but as far as they pleaſe, and is commodious for them, and will bring Griſt to their Mill. The *Baſil* Council determined, that a Council of Biſhops was above the *Pope*. But the *Lateran* Council under *Leo* Decreed, that the Pope was above the Council. And the Pope does not only bear himſelf ſo, but alſo commands him to be held for an Heretick, that ſhall think otherwiſe. But yet all the Biſhops and Abbots in the Council of *Baſil* ſay thus, He that oppoſeth theſe truths is to be accounted an Heretick. How will you behave yourſelf, I beſeech you? Whatſoever you ſay, or think, either the Pope or the Council will eſteem you an Heretick. All Popes, for ſome Ages laſt paſt, have oppoſed theſe Truths: Therefore all Popes, that lived in theſe Ages, have been Hereticks, in the judgment of the Council of *Baſil*. The ſame Council did with an uniform conſent remove Pope *Eugenius*, a Simoniacal and Schiſmatical perſon, and put *Amideus* in his place. But *Eugenius* vilifies the Council's Decree; and though he were moſt Simoniacal and Schiſmatical, yet he continued to be the Succeſſor of *Peter*, the Vicar of *Chriſt*, and Head of the whole Church of God. He retained his former dignity in deſpight of all their Teeth, and was magnificently carried, as before, upon Noblemens Shoulders. *Amideus*, as one fallen from his Horſe, walked on Foot like a ſimple Man, and thought himſelf happy, that of a Pope he was made a Cardinal. The Council of *Trent* commanded, that Biſhops ſhould teach the People, and that no one Man ſhould have more than one Spiritual Preferment at one time. But they, contrary to the Edict of their Council, accumulate Benefices, and inſtruct not at all. So they make Laws, but obey them not, but when they liſt. This is the eſteem they have always made of their own Councils, and the Decrees thereof.

23. And why ſhould we hope for better ſucceſs at this preſent? With what expectation or hope can any one come to the Council? Do but think with yourſelf what manner of Men they be, upon whoſe Fidelity, Learning, and Judgment, the weight of this whole Council, the diſcuſſing of all queſtions, and the whole ſtate of all things muſt lye and reſt. They are called Abbots and Biſhops, grave Perſons and fair Titles, Men (as it is believed,) of great importance for the Government of the Church of God. But take from theſe Men their Titles, the Perſons they bear, and their Trappings, there will nothing that belongeth

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to an Abbot or a Biſhop remain in them. For they are not Miniſters of *Chriſt*, Diſpenſers of the Myſteries of *God*; they apply not themſelves to Reading, or to Preach the Goſpel; they feed not the Flock, they till not the Ground, they plant not the Lords Vineyard, nor kindle the Fire, nor bear the Ark of the Lord, nor are the Ambaſſadors of *Chriſt*: They watch not, nor do the work of an Evangeliſt, nor perform the duty of their Miniſtry: They intangle themſelves with Secular buſineſſes; they hide the Lords Treaſure; they take away the Keys of the Kingdom of God; they go not in Themſelves, nor ſuffer others; they beat their Fellow-Servants, they feed themſelves, and not the Flock: They Sleep, Snort, Feaſt, and Riot. They are Clouds without Water, Stars without Light, Dumb Dogs, ſlow Bellies; as *Bernard* ſaith, not Prelats, but *Pilats*; not Doctors, but Seducers; not Paſtors, but Impoſtors: The Servants of *Chriſt* (ſaith he,) ſerve Antichriſt. The Popes will allow none but theſe to have place and ſuffrage in the Council: The care and charge of Chriſt's Catholick Church muſt depend upon their Power and Judgment: Upon none but ſuch as theſe doth Pope *Pius* relye. But (good *God!*) what manner of Perſons are they? They hold it ridiculous to ask that Queſtion. It is no matter (ſay they,) how Learned, or how Religious they be; what their aim is, or what they think: If they can ſit upon a Mule; if they can Ride through the Streets with Pomp, and with a Noiſe; if they can come into the Council, and ſay nothing, it is ſufficient. If you believe me not, and think I ſpeak in jeſt, hear what the faculty of Divinity, and the whole *Sorbonne*, have determined concerning this matter. That which our great Maſters affirm (ſay they,) concerning the due aſſembling of a Council, is to be underſtood thus; that for the lawful calling of a Council it is ſufficient, that the form of Law be ſolemnly obſerved. For if it ſhould be diſputed, whether the Prelats there aſſembled have a good intention; whether they be Learned, eſpecially in the Scriptures, and are willing to obey wholſome Doctrine, it would prove an infinite buſineſs. Thoſe, forſooth, who ſit Mute, like the Statues of *Mercury*, not knowing what belongs to Religion, will determine well concerning all points of Religion, and, whatſoever they ſay, they cannot poſſibly err.

24. Theſe are obliged to the Pope, not through Error and Ignorance, but by Oath and Religion: So that although they ſhould underſtand the Truth, they cannot without perjury make profeſſion of it, and are neceſſitated to break Faith, either with God or Man. For this is the formal Oath which they all take. I *N. C.* Biſhop, will henceforward bear true faith to S. *Peter*, and to the holy Apoſtolick *Roman* Church, to my Lord the Pope *N.* and his Succeſſors, which ſhall enter Canonically, I will not be a means, either by Word or Deed, that he may loſe, either Life, or Member, or be taken Priſoner: I will not reveal any Counſel that he ſhall impart unto me, either by Letters or Meſſage, which may be any way damageable to him: I will help to defend and maintain againſt all the World the Papacy of the Church of *Rome*, and the Rules of the Holy Fathers. In old time, when the Prieſts of *Apollo Pythius* began to ſpeak plainly in favour of King *Philip*, many would merrily ſay, that *Apollo* began to *Philippize*. When we ſee that nothing is Decreed in the Council, but at the Popes pleaſure, why may we not ſay, that the Oracles of the Councils do *Papize*, that is, ſay nothing but what the Pope will? When *Verres* was charged with many Crimes, of which in probability he was guilty, they ſay, he

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was ſo wiſe, as not to commit his Tryal to any, but only to ſome truſty perſons of his own train. The Popes have dealt more wiſely: For they have choſen ſuch Judges, whom they know neither will (becauſe it is their own caſe, in regard they refer all to Voluptuouſneſs and Gluttony,) nor can if they would (becauſe they are ſworn,) decree any thing contrary to his will and pleaſure. They ſet the holy Bible in the midſt, as if they would do nothing againſt it: They look upon it afar off, and read it not. Indeed they bring a prejudicated Opinion with them, not regarding what *Chriſt* hath ſaid, but decreeing whatſoever they pleaſe.

25. Therefore that liberty which ought to be in all Conſultations, eſpecially ſacred, and which is moſt proper to the *Holy Ghoſt*, and the modeſty of Chriſtians, is quite taken away. *Paul* ſaith, *If any thing be revealed to another that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace:* 1 Cor. 14. 30. But theſe Men apprehend, impriſon and burn whoſoever dareth but whiſper againſt them. Witneſs hereof the cruel death of two moſt holy and reſolute men, *John Huſs* and *Hierom* of *Prague*, whom they put to death contrary to their ſafe-conduct, and ſo brake their Faith both with God and Man. So the wicked *Prophet Zedekias*, when he had put on Iron horns, ſtruck *Micheas* the *Prophet* of the Lord on the face, ſaying, How hath the Spirit of God left me, and is come to thee? Therefore theſe Men alone domineer in Councils, all others being excluded. They alone give Voices, and make Laws; like unto the *Epheſians* in times paſt: Let no man (ſay they,) live here, who is wiſer than the reſt, except he have a mind to be caſt into baniſhment. They will not hear any of our men ſpeak. In the laſt Convention of the Council at *Trent*, ten years ſince, the Ambaſſadors of the Princes and free Cities of *Germany* came thither with a purpoſe to be heard, but were abſolutely refuſed. For the Biſhops and Abbots anſwered, that they would not ſuffer their Cauſe to have a free hearing, nor ſuffer Controverſies to be diſcuſſed out of the word of God: That our *Men* were not to be heard at all, except they would recant; which if they refuſed to do, they ſhould come into the Council upon none other condition, but to hear the ſentence of condemnation pronounced againſt them. For *Julius* the third, in his Bull of Indiction of the Council, declared plainly, that either they ſhould change their Opinions, or elſe ſhould be condemned for Hereticks before they were heard. *Pius* the Fourth, who hath now a purpoſe to re-aſſemble the Council, hath already prejudged for Hereticks all thoſe who have left the *Roman* Church, that is to ſay, the greateſt part of the Chriſtian World, before they were ever either ſeen or heard. They ſay, and they ſay it often, that already all is well with them, and that they will not alter one jot of their Doctrine and Religion. *Albertus Pighius* ſaith, That without the Authority of the *Roman* Church one ought not to believe the cleareſt and plaineſt Scripture. Is this to reſtore the Church to her Integrity? Is this to ſeek the Truth? Is this the liberty and moderation of Councils?

26. Though theſe things be moſt unjuſt, and moſt different from the faſhion of ancient Councils and of modeſt Men, yet this is more unjuſt, that whereas the World complaineth of the Papal Pride and Tyranny, and doth believe that nothing can be amended in the Church of God until he be reduced into order, yet all things are referred unto him, as unto a moſt conſcientious Peace-maker and Judge. And unto what a kind of man (good God!) are they referred? I will not call him an Enemy of the Truth, ambitious, covetous, proud, intolerable, even

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to his own Followers. But they would make Judge of all Religion Him who commandeth that all his determinations ſhall be of equal value with thoſe of Saint *Peter* himſelf, and ſaith, that in caſe he carry a thouſand Souls with himſelf to Hell, yet no man ought to reprehend him for it: Who avoucheth that he can make injuſtice to be juſtice: Whom *Camotenſis* affirmeth to have corrupted the Scriptures, that he might have fulneſs of power: And to conclude, whom his own familiars and followers (*Joachimus Abbas, Petrarch, Marſilius Patavinus, Laurentius Valla, Hieronymus Savanorola,*) do clearly pronounce to be *The Antichriſt*. All is referred to the judgment and will of this Man alone; ſo that the Man is the ſame Party arraigned, and the Judge: The Accuſers are heard from an inferior place; and the party Accuſed ſits in his Tribunal, and pronounceth the Sentence concerning himſelf. Theſe Laws, forſooth, ſo equal, and ſo reaſonable, Pope *Julius* hath given us. No Council (ſaith he,) is of any credit, nor ever will be, unleſs it be confirmed by the Authority of the Church of *Rome*. *Bonifacius* 8. ſaith, That no Creature in the world can poſſibly be ſaved, except he be ſubject to the *Roman* Church. And Pope *Paſchal* thus; As though, ſaith he, any Councils have made Laws for the Church of *Rome*, when as all Councils do ſubſiſt by it, and receive their ſtrength from it, and do expreſly except in all their Decrees the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*. Another ſaith, That which the Pope approveth or diſproveth, we ought to approve or diſprove likewiſe. And again, It is not lawful for any Man to diſallow that which the Pope approveth. I know not what Paraſite it is who moſt ſhameleſly ſaith, that though all the World ſhould be of one opinion againſt the Pope, yet it ſeemeth to me that the Popes opinion muſt be maintained. And another as impudently as he; It is a kind of ſacriledge but to diſpute of the Popes's Fact, who though he be not always a good man, yet muſt he always be preſumed to be. Another yet more impudently ſaith, The Pope's Will is heavenly; therefore in thoſe things which he willeth, his Will ſtandeth for Reaſon; neither ought any man to ſay to him, why do you ſo? To leave many the like Sayings, which are infinite, and to make an end, Pope *Innocent* the Ninth ſpeaks moſt impudently of all; The Judge will not be judged, neither by the Emperor, nor by Kings, nor by the whole Clergy, nor by all the People of the world. O immortal God! how near are they come to ſay thus; I will aſcend upon the North-pole, and I will be like to the moſt High. If the Popes ſay true, what need we a Council? If they will hold a ſincere and a free Council, away with theſe wicked and vain-glorious Lies: Let them not only not be practiſed, but let them even be raſed out of all their Books, that all may not be left to the will and pleaſure of one Man who is moſt juſtly ſuſpected. But the Popes, ſay they, cannot err, and that the Word of G O D is to be regulated as they pleaſe: Before they enter into their place they ſwear to maintain certain late Councils, which are moſt foully corrupted, and do religiouſly promiſe that nothing ſhall be changed. What marvel then that no good comes of a Council, if that errors and abuſes are not taken away? That the Ambaſſadors of Princes are in vain called thither from ſo many remote parts? Notwithſtanding I hear that now there are ſome Men, not ill-affected, yet careleſs what they ſay, who though they condemn the arrogancy and *Perſian* pride of the Pope, and his even *Epicurean* contempt of Religion, yet they deſire that his Authority ſhould be maintained: Though they ſom-

times

times confeſs him to be Antichriſt, yet being mounted into that Chair, they doubt not but that he is *Univerſal Biſhop* and Head of the whole Church of *Chriſt*. Here they triumph and pleaſe themſelves, as if the *Holy Ghoſt* were affixed to the Pope's Palace. Yet the Saying is, The Place doth not ſanctifie the Man, but the Man the Place. And *Hierom*, as he is cited by them, ſaith, That they are not Sons of the Saints who hold their Places, but who imitate their Deeds. Likewiſe *Chriſt* telleth us, that the Scribes and Phariſes ſit in *Moſes* Chair, but warneth us not to allow of their Authority, further than they ſpeak out of the Word of *God*. *Auguſtine* ſaith, What ſaid *Chriſt* but this; Hear the Voice of the Shepherd, even by Hirelings? For by ſitting in the Chair they teach the Law of *God*; therefore *God* doth inſtruct us by them. If they will teach ought of their own, hear them not, do it not. Likewiſe *Paul* ſaith, that Antichriſt, that Man of ſin, muſt ſit in the Temple. *Hierom* ſaith, Well, do'ſt thou conſider *Peter*? Conſider *Judas* alſo: Do'ſt thou allow of *Stephen*? Mark alſo what *Nicholas* was. Eccleſiaſtical Dignity maketh not a Chriſtian. Thus far *Hierom*. It is reported, that Pope *Marcellinus* ſacrific'd to Idols; that Pope *Liberius* was an *Arian*; that Pope *John* the 22, had an impious Opinion concerning the immortality of the Soul; that Pope *John* the Eighth was a Woman, that ſhe committed Adultery during her Papacy, and going pompouſly in Proceſſion about the City; was delivered of a Child, even in the very ſight of the Biſhops and Cardinals. And *Liranus* affirmeth, that many Popes have turned Infidels. Wherefore we muſt not be too confident of Places, and Succeſſions, and vain Titles of Dignities. Wicked *Nero* ſucceeded godly *Metellus*. *Annas* and *Caiaphas* ſucceeded *Aaron*: And oftentimes Idols are put in the place of God.

26. But what, I pray you, is this great Power and Authority, whereof they do ſo inſolently boaſt? Whence comes it? From Heaven, or of Men? Chriſt ſpake unto *Peter*, ſay they, Upon this Rock I will build my Church; by which words the Popes Authority is confirmed. For the Church of Chriſt is placed in *Peter*, as in the Foundation. But Chriſt gave nothing to *Peter* by theſe words, more than to the other Apoſtles: Neither doth he make mention of the Pope, or of *Rome*. Chriſt is that Rock; Chriſt is that Foundation. *No Man*, ſaith Saint *Paul*, *can lay another Foundation, than that which is already laid, which is* Chriſt Jeſus.

27. Theſe words, Upon this Rock will I build my Church, Saint *Auguſtine* expoundeth thus: Upon this, ſaith he, which *Peter* confeſſed, ſaying, Thou art *Chriſt* the Son of the Living *God*. It is not ſaid, thou art the Rock, but thou art *Peter*: The Rock was *Chriſt*. Saint *Baſil* ſaith thus; Upon this Rock, that is, upon this Faith I will build my Church. *Origen*, that moſt ancient Father, ſaith, that every Diſciple is a Rock, after that he hath drunk of that Spiritual Rock; and upon ſuch a Rock all the Doctrine of the Church is builded. But if thou thinkeſt that the whole is built upon *Peter* only, what ſayeſt thou of *John* the Son of Thunder, and of each of the Apoſtles? For ſhall we be ſo bold as to ſay, the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt *Peter* only, and they ſhall prevail againſt the reſt of the Apoſtles, and againſt good Men? Or ſhall we not rather ſay, let that which is ſpoken (and the Gates of Hell ſhall not prevail againſt him; and that other, upon this Rock I will build my Church) be true in every one of thoſe, of whom it was ſpoken? Were the Keys of the Kingdom given to *Peter* only,

ſo that none of the other Saints might meddle with them. Then if this Saying (*To thee I will give the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven,*) be common to others alſo, why are not the other Sayings ſo to? Saint *Hilary* ſaith, There is but one happy Rock of Faith, which *Peter* confeſſed with his Mouth. And again he ſaith, Upon this Confeſſion of *Peter* the Church is built: And a little after he ſaith, This Faith is the Foundation of the Church. In like manner other Fathers, *Hierom*, *Cyril*, *Beda*, ſay, that the Church is built, not upon *Peter*, but upon his Faith; that is, upon *Jeſus Chriſt* the Son of God, whom *Peter*, by Divine Inſpiration, confeſſed. *Peter* (ſaith *Auguſtine*,) taketh his Name from the Rock, not the Rock from *Peter*; neither will I (ſaith he,) build my ſelf upon thee, but I will build thee upon me. So alſo *Nicholas Lira* (though he be not always a good Author, for you know in what Age he lived,) ſaw thus much: Upon this Rock, ſaith he, that is, upon CHRIST. By this it appeareth, that the Church cannot relye wholly upon any Man, by reaſon of any Power, or Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, becauſe many Popes are known to be Apoſtates, have been Apoſtates.

28. Why then, wherein doth this Papal Authority conſiſt? In teaching? They teach not at all. In adminiſtring the Sacraments? They adminiſter them not. In feeding? Why, they do it not. Yet this is the Power which *Chriſt* beſtowed on his Apoſtles, Go (ſaith he,) into the whole World, and preach the Goſpel: And afterward, Ye ſhall be Fiſhers of Men. And, as my Living Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you. But theſe Men, whither go they? What do they teach, or preach, or fiſh for? From whence go they, or by whom are they ſent? This is not Apoſtolical Authority, but a proud intolerable Domination, uſurped by Force and Tyranny. None of us (ſaith *Cyprian*,) calleth himſelf Biſhop of Biſhops, nor violently compelleth his Colleagues to any neceſſary Obedience, ſith every Biſhop may uſe his liberty and power according to his own Diſcretion, without being judged by any, ſeeing that he himſelf judgeth no Man. Again he ſaith, The other Apoſtles were that which *Peter* was, and had the ſame fellowſhip of Honor and Power. Saint *Hierom* ſaith, the Authority of the World is greater than that of one City. Why do you extol the Cuſtom of one City? Why do you make a Paucity, whence Pride began, to give Laws to the Church? Whereſoever any Biſhop is, whether at *Rome*, or at *Eugubium*, or at *Conſtantinople*, or at *Rhegium*, he is of the ſame deſert and Prieſthood. The ſtrength of Riches, or humbleneſs of Poverty maketh a Biſhop neither greater nor leſs. *Gregory* ſaith, *Peter* is the chief Member in the Body; *John*, *Andrew*, *James* are Heads of particular People: Yet all of them are Members of the Church under one Head. Nay, the Saints before the Law, the Saints under the Law, the Saints under the Goſpel, and all that make up the Body of the Lord, are to be accounted Members, aud none was ever willing to be called Univerſal.

29. This is that Power, which ſome do ſo ſtrenuouſly defend at this day, which, whatſoever they think of the Popes Life and Religion, they would have to be moſt religiouſly maintained, as if the Church could not ſubſiſt without it; or, as if a Council were no Council except the Pope did will and command it to be ſo; or, as if the whole World muſt needs be deceived, if it ſhould think otherwiſe. Wherefore now that you ſee that all things are moſt unjuſtly handled, that nothing is ſincerely and fairly carried in Councils, you may not wonder

that

that our Men had rather tarry at home, than take ſo long and ſo idle a Journey, in which they ſhall both loſe their Labour, and betray their Cauſe.

30. You will ſay, it is not lawful to make change in Religion without Order from the Pope and the Council. Yet the Popes have changed almoſt the whole State of the Primitive Church without any Council at all. You uſe a fair ſmooth Speech, but it is to cover foul Errors. The purpoſe is only to keep Mens minds in expectation, that being wearyed with tedious delays, they may at the laſt deſpair of any good. For what? While the Pope aſſembleth a Council, while the Biſhops and Abbots return home, will they have God's People in the mean while to be deceived, to erre, to miſtake themſelves, to be overwhelmed with Errors, and want of the knowledg of God, and ſo to be carried to everlaſting Deſtruction? Is it not lawful for any of us to believe in *Chriſt*, to profeſs the Goſpel, to ſerve God aright, to flye Superſtition and Idolatry, except they will be pleaſed to give us leave? The State of *God*'s Children were moſt miſerable, if, there being ſo many Errors, ſo generally ſpread, ſo groſs, ſo blind, ſo foul, and ſo perſpicuous and manifeſt, that even our Adverſaries themſelves are not able to deny them, nothing could be done without the whole World ſhould meet in a General Council; the expectation whereof is very uncertain, and the event much more. In times paſt, when the *Perſians* invaded *Greece*, and began to lay all waſte, if then the *Lacedemonians*, whoſe Virtue was then moſt eminent amongſt the *Grecians*, whoſe help was requiſite as ſoon as might be, had expected a more ſeaſonable Moon to make War in, (for it was an ancient Superſtition, which proceeded from *Lycurgus*, not to go forth to fight but in a Full Moon,) their Country might have been ſpoiled whilſt they deferred the time. They ſay, *Delay breeds Danger*. The ſafety of *God*'s Church is in queſtion; the Devil goeth about roaring like a Lyon, ſeeking whom he may devour. Simple Men are eaſily deceived; and though they be often touched with a zeal towards *God*, yet they perſecute the Son of *God* before they be aware: And as *Nazianzen* ſaith, when they purpoſe to fight for *Chriſt*, they fight againſt him: Nay the Biſhops themſelves, who ought to have a care of theſe things, are (as though they were but Ghoſts,) careleſs of them: Or to ſpeak truth, they increaſe the Error, and make the Miſt that is in their Religion twice as great as it was. Muſt we therefore ſit idle, expecting how theſe Fathers will handle the matter? Muſt we hold our hands together and do nothing? Nay, ſaith *Cyprian*, there is but one Biſhoprick, of which every one holdeth an entire part, whereof he is to give account to the Lord. I will require, ſaith the Lord, their bloud at thy hands. If any ſhall put his hand to the Plough and look back, and be ſolicitous what others think, and expect the Authority of a General Council, and hide the Lord's Treaſure, in the mean while, he ſhall hear this, O evil and faithleſs Servant! take him away, and caſt him into outward Darkneſs. Suffer (ſaith *Chriſt*,) the dead to bury their dead, but come thou and follow me. In human Councils, it is the part of a wiſe Man to expect the Judgment and conſent of Men; but in matters Divine, *God*'s Word is all in all: The which, ſo ſoon as a godly Man hath received, he preſently yieldeth and ſubmitteth himſelf; he is not wavering, nor expecteth others. He underſtandeth, that he is not bound to give ear to the Pope, or the Council, but to the Will of *God*, whoſe Voice is to be obeyed, though all Men ſay nay. The *Prophet Elias* preſently obeyed *God*'s

Command, though he thought he was alone; *Abraham* being warned of God, went out of *Chaldea*; *Lot* went out of *Sodom*; the three *Iſraelites* made a publick Confeſſion of their Religion, and did publickly deteſt Idolatry, without expecting a General Council. Go (ſaith the Angel,) out of the mid'ſt of her, and partake not of her Sins, leſt you taſte of her Plagues. He ſaith not, expect a Synod of Biſhops. So God's Truth was firſt publiſhed, and ſo it is now to be reſtored. The Apoſtles firſt taught the Goſpel without a Publick Council; in like manner the ſame Goſpel may be reſtored again without a publick Council. If at the firſt, Chriſt and his Apoſtles would have tarried, and deferred all until a General Council, when had their Sound gone forth into all Lands? How had the Kingdom of Heaven ſuffered violence? And how had the violent taken it by force? Where now would the Goſpel, and the Church of God have been? As for our parts, we do not fear and flye, but deſire and wiſh for, a Council, ſo that it be freely ingenuous, and Chriſtian; ſo that Men do meet as the Apoſtles did; ſo that Abbots and Biſhops be freed from their Oath by which they are bound to the Popes; ſo that that whole Conſpiracy be diſſolved; ſo that our Men may be modeſtly and freely heard, and not condemned before they be heard; ſo that one Man may not have Power to overthrow whatſoever is done. But ſeeing it impoſſible (as the times now are,) that this ſhould be obtained; and ſeeing that all abſurd things, fooliſh, ridiculous, ſuperſtitious, impious are defended moſt pertinaciouſly, and that for cuſtom-ſake, becauſe they have been once received, we have thought it fit to provide for our Churches by a National Council.

31. For we know, that the Spirit of God is tyed neither to places, nor to numbers of Men. Tell it to the Church, ſaith *Chriſt*: Not to the whole Church ſpread over the World, but to a particular, which may eaſily meet in one place. Whereſoever, ſaith he, two or three ſhall be gathered together in my Name, there am I in the mid'ſt of them. When *Paul* would reform the Churches of the *Corinthians*, and of the *Galatians*, he did not command them to expect a General Council; but only wrote unto them, that what Error ſoever, or Vice was amongſt them, themſelves ſhould preſently cut it off. So in times paſt, when Biſhops did ſleep, or intended by-matters, or did defile and pollute the Lord's Temple, God did always extraordinarily raiſe up ſome Men of great Spirit and Courage, who made all well and ſound again.

32. For ourſelves, we have done nothing but with very good reaſon; nothing but what we ſaw to be lawful, and to have been practiſed by the Fathers of the Primitive Church, without any reprehenſion at all. Wherefore we called a full Synod of Biſhops, and by common conſent of all ſorts, purged our Church, as it were *Augeus* his Stable, of thoſe Excrements, which either the negligence or malice of Men had brought in. We have reſtored all things, as much as poſſibly we could, to the ancient purity of the Apoſtolical times, and the ſimilitude of the Primitive Church. This was juſtly in our Power to do, and becauſe we could do it, we did it boldly.

33. Here I think it fit, that you ſhould hear what Pope *Gregory* the Firſt had written concerning this matter; which pleaſeth me the more, becauſe he wrote it to *Auguſtine*, Biſhop of the *Engliſh*, about the Inſtitution of the Church of *England*. He exhorteth him not to call a Council, but to ordain that which he himſelf in his own wiſdom did think would moſt promote Piety and Religion. Your Brotherhood, ſaith he, knoweth the cuſtom of the *Roman* Church, in which you have been

been brought up. It pleaſeth me to hear, that you have been careful to make choice of as many things as you can find acceptable to God, either in the Church of *Rome*, *France*, or of any other, that you may bring them into the *Engliſh* Church, which is, as yet, but new in Faith, and as it were but now to be framed. For things are not to be valued, becauſe of the place where they are found, but places are to be valued for the things that are in them.

34. So the Fathers in the Council of *Conſtantinople* write to *Damaſus* Biſhop of *Rome*, and to the other Weſtern Biſhops: You know, ſay they, that the old Decree, and Definition of the *Nicene* Fathers, concerning the care of particular Churches, hath always been in force, that the Husbandmen of the Lord's Vineyard in every Province, taking their next bordering Neighbours unto them, if they pleaſe, ſhould beſtow Eccleſiaſtical Honours upon thoſe whom they think will uſe them well. The Biſhops of *Africa* wrote thus to *Celeſtinus* Biſhop of *Rome*: Let your Holineſs, as becometh you, take away all wicked evaſions of Prieſts, and inferior Clergy-men, becauſe none of the Fathers have denyed this to the Church of *Africa*. And the Decrees of the *Nicene* Council do moſt plainly refer, not only mean Clergy-men, but even the Biſhops themſelves to their Metropolitans. For Buſineſſes are beſt ended in the places where they are, neither is the Grace of the *Holy Spirit* wanting unto any Province. Let this Equity be wiſely obſerved, and conſtantly maintained by the Miniſters of *Chriſt*.

35. *Eleutherius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, writeth to *Lucius* King of *Britany* much better, and more appoſitely to our preſent purpoſe. You have (ſaith he,) deſired, that we ſhould ſend you the Laws of the *Romans*, and of the Emperors, that you may make uſe of them in the Kingdom of *Britany*. Theſe Laws we may abrogate when we will, but the Laws of God we cannot. You have received (by God's mercy,) into your Kingdom of *Britany*, the Law and Faith of Chriſt; you have there the Old and the New Teſtament: From them take, through the Grace of God, Laws by a Council of your own Kingdom, and God permitting you, inſtruct your Kingdom of *Britany* by them. For you are God's Vicar in that Kingdom; according to that of the *Pſalmiſt*, *The Earth is the Lord's*.

36. What ſhould I ſay more? *Victor*, Biſhop of *Rome*, held a Provincial Synod at *Rome*: *Juſtinian* the Emperor commandeth, that Synods (if there were occaſion,) ſhould be held in every Province; proteſting to puniſh them, if they did not do it. Every Province (ſaith *Hieroni.*) hath peculiar Manners, and Rites, and Conceits, which cannot be altered without a great deal of trouble. What ſhould I repeat thoſe old Provincial Councils at *Eliberis*, *Gangra*, *Laodicea*, *Ancyra*, *Antioch*, *Tyrus*, *Carthage*, *Milevitum*, *Thouloſe*, and *Burdeaux*? This is no new Invention. The Church of God was ſo governed before the Fathers met in the *Nicene* Council: Men did not preſently run to a General Council. *Trophilus* held a provincial Council in *Paleſtina*; *Palmas* in *Pontus*; *Irenæus* in *France*; *Bachylus* in *Achaia*; *Origen* againſt *Berillus* in *Arabia*. I omit many other National Councils held in *Africa*, *Aſia*, *Græcia*, *Egypt* without any order from the Biſhop of *Rome*; which Councils were Godly, Orthodox, and Chriſtian. For Biſhops in thoſe times upon the ſudden, if any occaſion had been offered, did provide for the neceſſity of their Churches by a domeſtical Council, and ſometimes craved aid from their Neighbour Biſhops; ſo that they mutually helped one the other. Neither did Biſhops only believe, that the Cauſe

of

of Religion belonged to them, but even Princes too. For to paſs over *Nebuchadnezar*, who commanded upon pain death, that the Name of the God of *Iſrael* ſhould not be blaſphemed; to omit *David*, *Solomon*, *Ezekias*, *Joſias*, who partly built, partly purged the Temple of the Lord; *Conſtantius* the Emperor put down Idolatry without a Council, and made a moſt ſevere Edict, that it ſhould be capital to ſacrifice to Idols. *Theodoſius* the Emperor cauſed the Temples of the Heathen Gods to be pull'd to the very ground. *Jovinian*, ſo ſoon as he was created Emperor, made his firſt Law for the reſtoring of baniſhed Chriſtians. *Juſtinian* the Emperor was wont to ſay, that he had no leſs care of Chriſtian Religion, than of his own Life. When *Joſhua* was made Ruler of the People, he preſently received command concerning Religion, and the Worſhip of God. For Princes are nurſing Fathers of the Church, and Keepers of both Tables. Neither is there any greater cauſe, that hath moved God to erect politick States, than that always there might be ſome to maintain and preſerve Religion and Piety.

37. Princes therefore now-a-days do more grievouſly offend, who indeed are called Chriſtians, but ſit idly, follow their Pleaſures, and patiently ſuffer impious Worſhips and contempt of God, leaving all unto their Biſhops, whom they know to make but a mock of Religion: As if the care of the Church, and of God's People, belonged not to them, or, as if they were Paſtors but of Sheep and Oxen, as it were, to be careful of their Bodies and neglect their Souls. They remember not, that they are God's Servants, choſen of purpoſe to ſerve him. *Ezekias* went not into his own Houſe, before he ſaw God's Temple purified. King *David* ſaid, I will not give any ſleep unto mine Eyes, nor ſuffer mine Eye-lids to ſlumber, until I have found a Place for the Lord, a Tabernacle for the God of *Jacob*. O, that Chriſtian Princes would hear the Voice of the Lord! Now, ſaith the Lord, underſtand, O ye Kings, and learn ye that be Judges of the Earth: I have ſaid ye are Gods, that is, Men choſen by God to honour his Name. Thou, whom I have raiſed out of the Duſt, and placed in the higheſt degree of Dignity and Honour, and ſet thee over my People, when thou art ſo careful to build and adorn thine own Houſe, do but think with thyſelf how thou canſt contemn mine Houſe? Or, how doſt thou pray daily, that thy Kingdom may be confirmed to thee and thy Poſterity? Is it that my Name may be contemned? That the Goſpel of my *Chriſt* may be put down? That my Servants, for my ſake, may be ſlain before thine Eyes? That Tyranny may be further ſpread, my People always deceived, and Scandal confirmed by thee? Wo unto him, by whom Scandal cometh: Wo alſo unto him, by whom it is confirmed. Thou abhorreſt material Blood: How much more the Blood of Souls? Thou remembreſt what hapned to *Antiochus*, *Herod*, and *Julian*: I will give thy Kingdom to thine Enemy, becauſe thou haſt ſinned againſt me: I change Times and Seaſons: I put down and raiſe up Kings; that thou mayeſt underſtand, that I am the Moſt High; that I have Power over the Kingdom of Men, and give it to whom I will: I bring low, and I exalt: I glorifie them that glorifie me, and put to ſhame thoſe that deſpiſe me.

Epiſtle

Epiſtola Rev. P. JOANNIS JUELLI, Epiſcopi Sarisburienſis, ad Virum Nobilem, D. SCIPIONEM, Patricium Venetum.

1. *SCRIBIS ad me familiariter pro ea Conſuetudine, quæ inter nos ſumma ſemper fuit, (ex eo uſq; tempore, quo unà viximus Pataviæ, Tu in Reip. tuæ tractatione occupatus, ego in Studiis Literarum,) mirari te, tecúmque alios iſtic multos, cum hoc tempore Concilium generale componendæ Religionis, & Contentionis tollendæ cauſa Tridenti à Pontifice indictum ſit, & eò jam reliquæ omnes Nationes undiq; convenerunt, ſolum Angliæ Regnum, nec Legatum eò aliquem miſiſſe, nec abſentiam ſuam per nuntios, aut Literas excuſaſſe: Sed ſine Concilio omnem prope rationem veteris & avitæ Religionis immutaſſe: Quorum alterum ſuperbæ contumaciæ videri, ais, alterum pernicioſi Schiſmatis. Nefas enim eſſe, ſiquis ſanctiſſimam Authoritatem defugiat Rom. Pont. aut vocatus ab illo ad Concilium ſe ſubducat. Controverſias autem de Religione non alibi, quam in hujuſmodi conventibus fas eſſe diſceptari. Ibi enim eſſe Patriarchas & Epiſcopos; Ibi eſſe ex omni genere Hominum Viros doctiſſimos; ab illorum ore petendam eſſe Veritatem; ibi eſſe lumina Eccleſiarum; ibi eſſe Spiritum ſanctum; Pios Principes ſemper omnes; ſiquid incidiſſet ambigui in cultu Dei, illud ſemper ad publicam Conſultationem retuliſſe. Moſen, Joſuam, Davidem, Ezechiam, Joſiam, aliósq; Judices, Reges, Sacerdotes, de rebus Divinis non alibi, quàm in Epiſcoporum Concilio deliberaſſe; Apoſtolos Chriſti, piósq; Patres inter ſe Concilia celebraſſe; ſic Veritatem emicuiſſe; ſic expugnatas eſſe Hæreſes; ſic Arrium, ſic Eunomium, ſic Eutychetem, ſic Macedonium, ſic Pelagium ſuccubuiſſe; ſic hodie diſſidia Orbis Terrarum componi, & ruinas Eccleſiæ ſarciri poſſe, ſi poſitis Contentionibus & Studiis veniatur ad Concilium: Sine Concilio autem quicquam in Religione tentari nefas eſſe.*

2. *Atq; hæc quidem ferè Literarum tuarum ſumma fuit. Ego verò non id mihi nunc ſumo, ut tibi pro Regno Angliæ, quo quidq; Conſilio factum ſit, quicquam reſpondeam. Neq; te id à me requirere, aut velle arbitror. Regum Conſilia recondita & arcana ſunt, & eſſe debent. Noſti illud, nec paſſim, nec omnibus, nec quibuſlibet. Tamen pro noſtra inter nos veteri & privata Conſuetudine, (quoniam te id video ita prolixè petere,) quid mihi videatur, breviter & amicè reſpondebo: Sed ita, ut ait ille, quantum ſciam poteróque, idq; tibi non dubito fore ſatis.*

3. *Miramur, inquis, Legatos ex Anglia ad Concilium non venire. Obſecro te, An Angli ſoli ad Concilium non veniunt? An ergo tu Concilio interfuiſti? An cenſum egiſti? An capita ſingula enumeraſti? An videbas alias Nationes undiq; omnes conveniſſe, præter Anglos? Quod ſi tibi mirari tam cordi eſt, cur non miraris hoc quoque: Aut tres illos memorabiles Patriarchas, Conſtantinopolitanum, Antiochenum, Alexandrinum, aut Presbyterum Joannem, aut Græcos, Armenios, Medos, Perſas, Ægyptios, Mauritanos, Æthiopas, Indos ad Concilium non venire?*

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An enim multi ex iſtis omnibus non credunt in Chriſtum? Non habent Epiſcopos? Non baptizantur in nomine Chriſti? Non ſunt appellantur Chriſtiani? An verò ab iſtis ſingulis Nationibus venerunt Legati ad Concilium? An tu hoc potiùs dices, Papam illos non vocaſſe, quod illos Eccleſiaſticis veſtris Sanctionibus non teneri?

4. *Sed nos hoc miramur magis, Papam eos, quos inauditos, indictâ cauſâ, pro hæreticis jam antea condemnavit, & publicè excommunicatos pronunciavit, eoſdem poſtea vocare voluiſſe ad Concilium. Homines enim primùm damnari atq; affici ſupplicio, deinde eoſdem vocari in judicium, abſurdum eſt & ὕστερον πρότερον. Verum hoc mihi velim reſponderi, utrum id agat Pontifex, ut nobiſcum, quos habet pro hæreticis, in Concilio de Religione deliberet; an potiùs, ut nos ex inferiori loco cauſam dicamus, & vel ſtatim mutemus ſententiam, vel iterum è veſtigio condemnemur? Alterum novum eſt, & prorſus noſtrarum partium Hominibus jampridem à Julio Papa tertio denegatum: Alterum ridiculum eſt, ſi id putat, Anglos venturos eſſe ad Concilium, tantùm ut accuſentur, & cauſam dicant, apud illum præſertim, qui jamdudum non tantùm à noſtris ſed etiam à ſuis graviſſimis criminibus accuſetur.*

5. *Quod ſi Anglia ſola tibi adeo videtur eſſe contumax, ubi ergo ſunt Legati Regis Daniæ, Principum Germaniæ, Regis Sueciæ, Helvetiorum, Rhetiorum, liberarum Civitatum, Regni Scotiæ, Ducatus Pruſſiæ? Cum in Concilio veſtro tot deſiderentur Nationes Chriſtianæ, ineptum eſt Anglos ſolos numerare. Sed quid ego iſtos dico? Pontifex ipſe ad Concilium ſuum non venit, & cur tu hoc etiam non miraris? Quæ enim eſt iſta ſuperbia, unum Hominem animi cauſa, cum libet, convocare omnes Reges, Principes, Epiſcopos Chriſtianos, eoſq; velle dicto eſſe audientes, ipſum ſolum in illorum conſpectum non venire? Certè quum Apoſtoli agerent conventus Hieroſolymis, Petrus Apoſtolus, de cujus iſti Sede & Succeſſione gloriantur, abeſſe noluit. Verùm, opinor, meminit Pius Papa quartus, is qui nunc Pontificatum obtinet, quid Joanni 22. olim acciderit: Illum non ſatis auſpicato veniſſe ad Concilium Conſtantienſe: Veniſſe enim Papam, & rediiſſe Cardinalem. Itaq; ex eo tempore Pontifices caverunt ſibi poſt principia, & ſe continuerunt domi, & omnibus Conciliis ac liberis diſceptationibus obſtiterunt. Nam ante annos quadraginta cum Doctor Martinus Lutherus omnibus diris & fulminibus à Pontifice peteretur, quòd docere cepiſſet Evangelium, & ex verbo Dei Religionem inſtauraret, & ſummiſſè petiiſſet, ut cauſa ſua integra rejiceretur ad cognitionem Concilii Generalis, audiri non potuit ullo modo. Leo enim decimus Papa ſatis videbat, ſi res ad Concilium rediiſſet, ſuam etiam rem venire poſſe in periculum, & ſeipſum fortaſſe audire ea poſſe, quæ nollet.*

6. *Pulchrum quidem eſt nomen Concilii Generalis, modo ita, ut oportet, conveniatur, & poſitis affectionibus omnia referantur ad præſcriptum verbi Dei, & uni veritati ſerviatur. At ſi apertè Religio, & Pietas opprimatur, ſi tyrannis, & ambitio confirmetur, ſi factionibus, ventri, libidini ſtudeatur, nihil poteſt cogitari Eccleſiæ Dei perniciоſius. Atq; hæc quidem hactenus ita dico, quaſi Concilium iſtud, quod tu dicis, uſquam, aut ullum ſit, quod ego prorſus nullum eſſe arbitror; aut ſi uſpiam, aut ullum eſt, certè obſcurum & valde arcanum eſt. Nos enim quamvis non ita procul abſumus, tamen quid agetur, qui Epiſcopi convenerint, vel potius an ulli omnino convenerint, ſcire adhuc nullo modo poſſumus. Immo etiam ante viginti menſes, cum Concilium iſtud à Pontifice Pio primum indiceretur, Ferdinandus Imperator reſpondit: Quamvis alia omnia convenirent, locum tamen, quem Papa delegerat, ſibi magnopere diſplicere. Tridentum enim etſi bella*

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ſit Civitas, tamen nec ſatis opportunam eſſe tot gentibus, nec tantam frequentiam Hominum, quantum ad generale Concilium convenire par ſit, poſſe capere. Eadem ferè ab aliis Principibus Chriſtianis, à quibuſdam etiam non paulò aſperiora reſpondebantur. Itaque nos iſta omnia unà cum Concilio in fumos abiiſſe credebamus.

7. *Sed obſecro te, quis ille tandem eſt, qui iſtud Concilium indixit, & orbem terrarum convocavit? Pius, inquies, Papa quartus. Et cur ille potius quam Epiſcopus Toletanus; qua enim poteſtate, quo exemplo Primitivæ Eccleſiæ, quo jure hæc facit? An ita Petrus, Linus, Cletus, Clemens, edictis ſuis orbem terrarum commoverunt? Fuit hoc ſemper, ſalvis rebus, jus Imperatorum Romanorum proprium. Nunc autem poſtquam imminutæ ſunt vires Imperii, & Regna in partem Cæſareæ poteſtatis ſucceſſerunt, ea poteſtas communicata eſt cum Principibus & Regibus Chriſtianis. Scrutare Annales, collige memorias vetuſtatis. Invenies antiquiſſima Concilia, Nicenum, Epheſinum, Chalcedonenſe, Conſtantinopolitanum ab Imperatoribus Romanis, Conſtantino, Theodoſio primo, Theodoſio ſecundo, Martiano indicta fuiſſe, non à Romanis Pontificibus.*

8. *Leo Pontifex, ſatis alioqui ſui amans, & nulla in re negligens Authoritatem ſedis ſuæ, Mauritium Imperatorem ſuppliciter oravit, ut Concilium indiceret intra Italiam: Quòd ille tum locus ei negotio convenire maximè videretur; ſupplicant, inquit, omnes Sacerdotes manſuetudini veſtræ, ut generalem Synodum jubeatis intra Italiam celebrari. At Imperator Concilium illud non intra Italiam, quod Pontifex maximè contendebat, ſed Chalcedonem in Bithyniam juſſit convocari: Ut oſtenderet jus illud ſuum eſſe, & ad ſe unum pertinere. Et cùm Ruffinus in illa concertatione, quam habuit cum Hieronymo, allegaſſet Synodum; doce, inquit Hieronymus, quis Imperator eam juſſerit convocari. Non putabat D. Hieronymus ſatis firmam eſſe Authoritatem Concilii Generalis, niſi illud Imperator coegiſſet. Ego verò non id quæro, quis Imperator Epiſcopos hoc tempore juſſerit Tridentum evocari: Sed Papa, qui tantum ſibi ſumpſit, quo cum Imperatore de habendo Concilio deliberaverit, quem Regem aut Principem Chriſtianum conſcium fecerit voluntatis ſuæ. In jus alterius per fraudem aut vim irrumpere, quòdque alienum ſit, id ſibi tanquam ſuum uſurpare, injurium eſt. Abuti autem clementiâ Principum, illiſque tanquam ſervis ſuis imperare, inſignis eſt & non ferenda contumelia. Nos autem obſequio noſtro velle tantam injuriam & contumeliam confirmare, non minùs magna eſſet injuria. Quare ſi hoc tantùm diceremus, Concilium iſtud veſtrum Tridentinum non eſſe legitimè convocatum, nihil à Papa Pio ritè atque ordine eſſe factum, nemo poſſet abſentiam noſtram ſatis juſtè reprehendere.*

9. *Mitto quibus nos injuriis a Romanis Pontificibus affecti ſimus. Illos quoties libuit, Populum noſtrum in Principem armaviſſe: Illos Regibus noſtris ſceptra de manibus, & diadema de capite detraxiſſe: Illos Regnum Angliæ ſuum eſſe, & ſuo nomine poſſideri, & Reges noſtros ſuo beneficio regnare voluiſſe: Illos proximis iſtis annis modò Gallum in nos, modò Cæſarem commoviſſe. Quid autem Pius iſte de nobis Conſilii ceperit, quid dixerit, quid egerit, quid molitus, quid minatus ſit, nihil opus eſt commemorare. Facta enim ejus, dictaque non ita tecta ſunt & recondita, quin intelligi utcunque poſſit, quid velit. Quibus autem ille rationibus Pontifex factus fuerit, quibuſque quaſi gradibus ad illam tantam dignitatem aſcenderit, nihil dico. Non dico illum corruptis Cardinalibus, emptis ſuffragiis, mercede ac pretio per cuniculos & inſidias ad Pontificatum aſpiraſſe. Non*

dico illum nuper admodum, cum ſolvendo non eſſet, Cardinalem Caraffam, cujus ope reliquorum Cardinalium ſuffragia collegerat, cuique eo nomine debebat magnam vim auri, vinctum in carcere interfecisse. Iſta, aliáque complura vobis relinquo potiùs, qui ea & propiùs viderunt, & meliùs intelligitis. An ergo tu nos ad Hominem ſanguinarium, ad mercatorem ſuffragiorum, ad æris alieni negatorem, ad Simoniacum, ad Hæreticum miraris non venire? Non eſt prudentis (mihi crede,) velle ſe conjicere in ſedem peſtilentiæ, & cum hoſtibus Religionis velle de Religione Conſilium capere. Ad infames (inquit quidam,) vetuit me Mater accedere. Joannes Apoſtolus non eſt auſus in eodem balneo ſedere, & unà lavare cum Olympio, ne unà cum illo fulmine de Cælo feriretur. Non ſedi, inquit David, in Conſilio vanitatis, & cum iniqua agentibus non introibo.

10. *Sed eſto: Sit hoc jus Papæ proprium: Poſſit convocare Concilia: Poſſit terrarum orbi imperare: Sint ea falſa & vana quæ diximus de poteſtate Cæſaris & jure Regio: Sit Pius Papa Vir bonus, ſit rectè, ſit legitimè factus Pontifex: Nullius vitam petiverit: Caraffam in carcere non occiderit: Tamen Concilia æquum eſt eſſe libera, ut adſit, qui vult, cui adeſſe non ſit commodum, abeſſe liceat. Ea olim melioribus æquitas & moderatio ſervabatur. Non ita tum ſerviliter cogebantur Principes, ut ſiquis fortè manſiſſet domi, aut Legatos ad Concilium non miſiſſet, ſtatim omnium digitis atque oculis notaretur. In Concilio Niceno, in Epheſino, in Conſtantinopolitano, in Chalcedonenſi, quæſo te, quis explorator obſervavit, qui abeſſent? Atqui nullus tum adfuit Legatus, nec ex Anglia, nec è Scotia, nec è Polonia, nec ex Hiſpania, nec è Pannoniis, nec è Dania, nec ex tota Germania. Vide, lege, recognoſce ſubſcriptiones: Invenies ita rem habere, ut dico. Et cur non miraris Anglos, tum ad illa Concilia ita plena, ita præclara, ita celebria, ita frequentia, non veniſſe? Aut Epiſcopos Romanos ita tum fuiſſe patientes, ut illos non condemnarent contumaciæ? Verùm nondum creverat iſta Tyrannis Pontificia: Fas tum erat Sanctis Epiſcopis & Patribus pro ſuo commodo ſine fraude manere domi. Paulus Apoſtolus noluit ſeſe dare in Concilium Hieroſolymitanum, ſed potiùs appellavit ad Cæſarem. Athanaſius Epiſcopus, quamvis vocaretur ab Imperatore ad Concilium Cæſarienſe, tamen venire noluit. Idem in Concilio Syrmiano, cum rem videret inclinare ad Arianos, ſtatim ſubduxit ſe, atque abiit: Ejúſque exemplum ſequuti Epiſcopi Occidentis ad illud Concilium venire recuſarunt. Johannes Chryſoſtomus ad Concilium Arianorum non acceſſit, quamvis ab Imperatore Conſtantio & literis & nuntiis vocaretur. Cum Arianorum Epiſcopi in Paleſtina convenissent, & maximam partem ſuffragiorum ſecum traherent, Paphnutius ſenex & Maximus Hieroſolymorum Epiſcopus unà è medio conventu diſceſſerunt. Cyrillus Epiſcopus à Patropaſſianorum Concilio appellavit. Paulinus Epiſcopus Trevirenſis venire noluit ad Concilium Mediolanenſe, quòd videret propter gratiam & potentiam Imperatoris Conſtantii, omnia ruere ad Auxentium Arianum. Epiſcopi qui ad Concilium Conſtantinopolitanum convenerant, ad Concilium Romanum, quò vocabantur, venire noluerunt. Quod tamen illis fraudi non fuit, quamvis Imperatoris literis vocarentur. Satis ea tum juſta excuſatio eſſe videbatur, quòd Eccleſiarum ſuarum curæ atque inſtaurationi ſtudendum eſſet. Quamvis viderent Arianos per omnes jam Eccleſias graſſari, & ad minuendam illorum rabiem magnum pondus habituram eſſe præſentiam ſuam.*

11. *Quid ſi idem illud Epiſcopi nunc noſtri reſponderent, non eſſe otium*

otium à ſacro Miniſterio, ſeſe prorſus occupatos eſſe in reſtituendis Eccleſiis ſuis: Non poſſe abeſſe domo quinque, ſex, ſeptem annos, ibi præſertim, ubi nihil poſſint promovere? Non enim ita otioſi ſunt Epiſcopi noſtri, ut ſunt qui Romæ deliciantur in Palatiis, & ſectantur Cardinales, & venantur Sacerdotia. Ita enim miſerè perditæ ſunt ab iſtis, atque everſæ Eccleſiæ noſtræ, ut nec parvo tempore, nec mediocri diligentia poſſint inſtaurari. Nunc autem apertè videmus obſideri ab iſtis noſtra tempora, ut cùm minimè neceſſe ſit, foras diſtrahamur & nec domi propagare poſſimus Evangelium, & in Concilio ab ipſis impediamur.

12. *Simulat enim Papa, ne neſcias: Non cogitat Concilium: Neque enim tu illum quicquam putes ſincerè, & verè agere. Qui neſcit ſimulare, (dicere ſolebat olim Rex Ludovicus undecimus Carolo octavo,) neſcit regnare: Multo verò magis, qui neſcit diſſimulare, & Concilia ſua vultu tegere, ut nunc quidem eſt, neſcit agere Pontificem. Illa enim ſedes tota meræ nititur Hypocriſi: Quæ quo minùs habet nativi Roboris, eò pluribus coloribus opus habet. Nam ſi putabant Pontifices, tantam eſſe vim Concilii generalis ad tollenda Schiſmata, cur illi rem tam neceſſariam tamdiu diſtulerunt? Cur triginta totos annos quieverunt, & Lutheri doctrinam radices agere pertulerunt? Cur Concilium non primo quoque tempore indixerunt? Cur Synodum Tridentinam reluctantes & inviti, magisque Imperatoris Caroli impulſu, quàm ſua voluntate convocarunt? Cùmque Tridenti decem propè annos verſarentur, cur tanta deliberatione nihil egerunt? Cur rem infectam reliquerunt? Quis impediebat? Quis obſtabat? Crede hoc mihi, mi Frater, non agunt id nunc Pontifices, ut Concilium celebretur, aut Religio Dei reſtituatur, quam illi prorſus habent pro ludibrio. Id agunt, id quærunt, id pugnant, ut magnifica expectatione Concilii Generalis hominum piorum animos, atque Orbem Terrarum ludificentur.*

13. *Vident jamdudum imminui & ruere opes ſuas, artes ſuas non eſſe nunc eodem loco, quo fuerunt olim: Incredibilem numerum hominum in dies ſingulos à ſe dilabi: Non eſſe nunc, qui tantâ frequentiâ currant Romam: Non eſſe, qui* Indulgentias, Interdictiones, Benedictiones, Abſolutiones, & inanes bullas, *aut* tanti *faciant, aut* tanti *emant.* Ceremoniarum ſuarum, & Miſſarum nundinas, *& omnem illum* fucum meretricium, *non* magni *fieri*; magnam *partem* tyrannidis, *&* pompæ *ſuæ concidiſſe*: Reditus ſuos anguſtiores *nunc eſſe, quàm ſolebant*; ſeſe, ſuóſque rideri *paſſim à pueris: Omnino in diſcrimen veniſſe ſummam rerum. Nec mirum, ſi ea corruant, quæ nullis radicibus ſuſtinebantur. Extinxit illa omnia Salvator noſter* JESUS CHRISTUS, *non armis, aut vi militum, ſed Cæleſti impulſu, & ſpiritu oris ſui, conſumet autem, atque abolebit claritate adventus ſui: Hæc eſt vis verbi Dei, hæc eſt poteſtas Evangelii, hæc ſunt arma, quibus evertitur omnis munitio, quæ ædificata eſt adverſus cognitionem Dei. Prædicabitur hæc doctrina, invitis omnibus, per univerſum orbem. Portæ inferorum non prævalebunt adverſus eam. Frigent nunc Romæ tabernæ meritoriæ: Illorum merces (quaſi bona Porſennæ venirent,) viliſſimo pretio proſcribuntur, & vix quiſquam eſt, qui velit emere. Circuit mercator Indulgentiarius, & fatuos non invenit. Hoc illud eſt, hinc illæ Lachrymæ, hæc res Pontifices malè habet. Vident hanc tantam lucem ex una ſcintilla erupiſſe. Quid nunc futurum, poſtquam tot ignes ubiq; terrarum accenſi ſunt, & tot Reges & Principes Chriſtiani agnoſcunt, & profitentur Evangelium? Non enim illi* JESU CHRISTO *ſerviunt, ſed ſuo ventri. Aiunt, Carneadem*

Philoſophum, cum olim eſſet Romæ, & memorabilem illam haberet orationem contra Juſtitiam, inter alia hoc etiam addidiſſe : Eam virtutem, ſiquidem ea virtus eſſet, nulli hominum generi minùs ex uſu fore, quam Romanis. Illos enim per vim, & latrocinium regna ſibi aliena ſubegiſſe, pérque ſummam injuſtitiam ad imperium orbis terrarum perveniſſe. Quod ſi nunc tandem velint Juſtitiam colere, reſtituenda eſſe illa omnia, quæ injuſtè teneant : Ad caſas paſtoritias, & frigida tuguria, quæ ſola habuerant ab initio, eſſe redeundum. *Ita prorſus iſti, ſi vere velint agere, & ſimulationem ponere, & officium facere, & ſuum cuique reddere, vident ſibi redeundum eſſe ad virgam & peram, ad ſobrietatem, & modeſtiam, ad labores, ad munus Epiſcopi. Audiverunt enim Auguſtinum dicere,* Epiſcopum nomen eſſe operis, non honoris ; *& illos non eſſe Epiſcopos, qui velint præeſſe, & non prodeſſe. Itaque iſtud Evangelium latius diffundi, & ad plures propagari, vident, nulli hominum generi minùs expedire quam ſibi : Se enim ſalvos eſſe non poſſe, ſi ſani eſſe velint. Ergo nunc tumultuantur, & turbant omnia, ut olim Demetrius faber, poſtquam vidit ſibi periiſſe ſpem lucri. Ergo nunc Concilia indicuntur, & Abbates atque Epiſcopi ad partes advocantur. Hæc enim illis ratio viſa eſt calliàiſſima, ut tempus in aliquot annos protraheretur, ut hominum animi expectatione ſuſpenderentur : Multa, ut fit, poſſe intervenire : Bellum poſſe excitari : Aliquem ex iſtis principibus poſſe mori : Iſtos tantos impetus ad Evangelium diuturnitate poſſe obtundi : Languere poſſe hominum voluntates. Interea, inquit quidam, fiet aliquid, ſpero.*

14. *Olim cum (victis ac triumphatis Perſis,) Athenienſes mœnia ſua, quæ illi ſolo æquaverant, cœpiſſent inſtaurare, & Lacedæmonii, quò magis haberent eos in poteſtate, ne id facerent, magnopere edixiſſent : Themiſtocles dux Athenienſis, vir prudens, cum videret ſalutem patriæ ſuæ venire poſſe in periculum, pollicitus eſt ſeſe venturum Lacedæmona, & de ea re velle cum ipſis unà deliberare. Ille ubi ſe dediſſet in viam, quò tempus eximeret, primùm morbum ſimulavit, ut diutiùs hæreret in itinere : Deinde cum veniſſet Lacedæmona, multa de induſtria fruſtrari cœpit, modò pacta non placere : Modò deliberationem petere : Modò ſocios legationis, ſine quibus nihil agi poſſet, expectare : Modò legatos Athenas mittere. Interea, dum ille cunctatur, Athenienſes clauſerant mœnibus civitatem, &, ſi vis fieret, ſeſe paraverant ad defendendum. Ita iſti, dum diem de die proferunt, & rem omnem referri volunt ad Concilia, ædificant interea ſua mœnia, nobis otioſis, & neſcio quid expectantibus, ut ad extremum, confirmatis ſuis rationibus, nos prorſus excludant, & neque Concilium haberi, neque quicquam omnino agi poſſit.*

15. *Operæ pretium enim eſt videre iſtorum artes, & ſtratagemata ; quoties indicta Concilia non coiverint ? quoties exiguus rumuſculus univerſum apparatum, & omnem expectationem diſturbarit ? quoties Patres in medio itinere repentè ſubſtiterint ? Quoties purpurati Amphictyones è medio conventu, re infectâ, dilapſi ſint domum, & proximum actum in nonum, decimumq; annum diſtulerint ? quoties cœlum, quoties annona, quoties locus, quoties tempus non placuerit ? Pontifex enim ſolus convocat Concilia, & ſolus dimittit, cùm vult. Siquid non placuit, aut ſi res non rectè ire cœpit, ſtatim auditur,* Valete, & plaudite. *Indicitur Concilium Baſileam : Convenitur undique magno numero, agitur ſeriò de rebus multis : Eugenius Papa ut Simoniacus & Schiſmaticus omnibus ſuffragiis condemnatur ; in ejus locum Amideus dux Subaudiæ ſurrogatur. Accipit id indignè, ut debuit,*

buit, Eugenius : Rem eam peſſimi exempli eſſe ad poſteros : Poteſtatem, & vim ſuam longè eſſe ſuper omnia Concilia : Non poſſe Concilium nec convenire, niſi juſſu ſuo : Nec decernere quicquam niſi quantum ipſe velit. Impium eſſe in conventiculo Epiſcoporum, inquiſitionem fieri de vita ſua. *Non morâ, Concilium Ferrariam revocat in Italiam, pòſt idem transfert Florentiam. Quid hoc, quæſo, rei eſt ? An putabat Eugenius Papa cœlum animos mutare, aut Spiritum ſanctum prudentiùs in Italia reſponſurum eſſe, quàm antea reſponderat in Germania ? Imò verò, ille tot illis mutationibus non Chriſtum quærebat, ſed ſuum commodum. Videbat in Germania Imperatorem Sigiſmundum inimicum ſuum, nimium & authoritate valere & gratiâ. Et Patres illos, qui Baſileam convenerant, ſi ex illis duris & aſperis regionibus migraſſent in Italiam, (ut arbores, cùm transplantantur,) fieri poſſe mitiores. Nam (ô Deum immortalem !) non id nunc agitur, aut quæritur in Conciliis, aut ut veritas inveniatur, aut ut mendacia refutentur. Hoc ſolum ſemper fuit proximis iſtis ſæculis ſtudium Pontificum in Conciliis, ut* Tyrannis Romana *conſtitueretur : Ut* Bella *ſuſciperentur : Ut* Principes Chriſtiani inter ſe committerentur : *Ut* pecunia colligeretur, *modò in terram Sanctam, modò in fabricam Petri, modò in neſcio quos uſus, ſeu veriùs abuſus alios : Quæ tota in paucos quoſdam ventres, in luxum & libidinem conjiceretur. Atque hæc unica fuit aliquot jam ſæcula* ratio Conciliorum. *Nam de erroribus & abuſibus, quaſi nulli eſſent, nihil unquam agi potuit.*

16. *Petrus Alliacenſis in Conſtantienſi Concilio multùm queſtus eſt de* avaritia & inſolentiâ curiæ Romanæ. *At quid promovit ? Quæ unquam pars illorum avaritiæ aut inſolentiæ Concilii authoritate repreſſa eſt ? Idem ait, feſtos dies, & otioſorum Monachorum greges ſibi videri minuendos : & alius quiſpiam (in opere quodam, quod appellatur Tripartitum, & adjunctum eſt ad concilium Lateranum,) totus, inquit, ferè mundus obloquitur, & ſcandalizatur de tanta multitudine religioſorum pauperum. Et Patres in Concilio Lateranenſi,* Firmiter, *inquiunt,* præcipimus, ne quis de cætero novam religionem inveniat. *Ex eo tempore quid de feſtis diebus factum ſit, neſcio : Probabile tamen eſt, nihil eſſe imminutum : At Monachorum Ordines aucti etiam ſunt in infinitum. Nam à proximis Pontificibus additi ſunt Jeſuitæ, Capuchini, Theatini : Quaſi pigrorum ventrum nondum etiam eſſet ſatis. Johannes Gerſon, Cancellarius Pariſienſis, in Concilio Conſtantienſi obtulit Patribus* ſeptuaginta quinque abuſus in Eccleſia Romana, quos vehementer cuperet emendatos. *At ex tanto numero, quem illi unum abuſum unquam ſuſtulerunt ? Johannes Picus Mirandula ſcribit ad Leonem Papam, ut* minuat inanes ceremonias, & coerceat luxum ſacerdotum. *Sederunt poſtea Epiſcopi magna frequentia, & magna expectatione in Concilio Laterano. At quam unam ceremoniam imminuerunt, in quo uno ſacerdote luxum & nequitiam damnaverunt ? Mantuanus poëta queritur nominatim de* moribus Eccleſiæ Romanæ : *Bernardus Abbas ita ſcribit ad Eugenium Papam :* Aula tua recipit bonos, non facit, mali ibi proficiunt, boni deficiunt. *Et de miſerabili ſtatu Eccleſiæ, qui tum erat ;* A planta, *inquit,* pedis uſque ad verticem capitis non eſt in ea ſanitas. *Et rurſus,* Ubi eſt, *inquit,* qui prædicet annum acceptabilem Domini ? Non cuſtodiunt, *inquit,* hoc tempore ſponſam *Chriſti,* ſed perdunt : Non paſcunt gregem Domini, ſed mactant & devorant. *Adrianus Papa ſextus, cum Legatum mitteret in Germaniam, ingenuè & verè faſſus eſt,* corruptiſſimum eſſe ſtatum univerſi Cleri. Omnes, *inquit,* nos Prælati Eccleſiaſtici declinavimus, unuſquiſque in viam ſuam,

nec

nec eſt jam qui faciat bonum, non eſt uſque ad unum. *Albertus Pighius fatetur* in ipſa Miſſa, *quam illi ſacroſanctam eſſe volunt, & in qua una Cardinem Religionis Chriſtianæ conſtituunt*, abuſus & errores inveniri. *Quid plura? Mitto alios Teſtes, ſunt enim infiniti. Habita ſunt poſtea Concilia complura, convocati ſunt Epiſcopi, Synodus Baſilienſis indicta eſt nominatim, uti illi tum præ ſe ferebant, de Reformatione totius Cleri: At ex eo tempore errores ubique aucti ſunt: Vitia etiam Sacerdotum conduplicata ſunt.*

17. *Cardinales à Paulo Papa tertio delecti ad conſiderandum Statum Eccleſiæ, renunciarunt*, multa eſſe in ea, & præſertim in Epiſcoporum & Clericorum moribus vitioſa. Epiſcopos otioſos eſſe, non docere Populum, non paſcere Gregem, non curare Vineam: Verſari in aulis Principum, abeſſe domo: Cardinalibus Epiſcopatus, modò ternos, modò quaternos commendari, idque magno cum Eccleſiæ detrimento fieri: Illa enim officia non eſſe (*uti loquuntur*,) compatibilia. Conventuales Ordines prorſus ex Eccleſia tollendos eſſe. *Poſtea habitum eſt Concilium Tridenti: Sed an Epiſcopi cæperunt ex eo tempore paſcere Gregem? An deſierunt, aut abeſſe domo, aut verſari in aulis Principum? An Cardinales deſierunt eſſe Epiſcopi? Aut proſpectum eſt, ne quid Eccleſia ex ea re detrimenti caperet? An imminuti ſunt Ordines conventuales? An Religio apud eos eſt emendatior? Quid ergo neceſſe fuit tot Epiſcopos tam procul convocari, aut de emendanda Eccleſia tot annos fruſtra deliberari? Hoc ſcilicet illud eſt, Phariſæos reſtituere velle Templum Dei.*

18. *Fatentur errores & abuſus: Convocant Conſilia, ſimulant ſtudium Religionis & Pietatis, pollicentur operam & induſtriam, quicquid collapſum eſt id omne ſe velle unà nobiſcum inſtaurare; ſic ſcilicet, ut olim Hoſtes populi Dei dicebant*, ſe velle unà cum Nehemia ædificare Templum Domini. *Non enim illi id quærebant, ut Templum Domini ædificarent, ſed ut quàm maximè poſſent Ædificationem impedirent. Redire volunt nobiſcum in gratiam, ſed ita, ut olim Naas Tyrannus cum Judæis Jabenſibus, non alia lege, quàm ut ſinamus nobis exculpi dextros Oculos, hoc eſt, ut verbum Dei, & Evangelium ſalutis noſtræ nobis eripi patiamur.*

19. *An enim illis curæ eſt Religio? An illi curant* Eccleſiam Dei; *quibus nec Dei vindicta, nec ſalus Populi, nec ulla pars Officii unquam curæ fuit? Pan, inquiunt, curet Oves, ipſi interim belligerantur, venantur, obſonantur: Ut nè quid dicam fœdius. O Deum immortalem! Quis iſtos putet unquam de Eccleſia Dei, aut de Religione cogitare! Quando iſti, aut quos errores unquam tollent? Quam lucem nobis reſtituent? Quicquid dicas, etiamſi ſolem ipſum geras in manibus, tamen videre nolunt; manifeſtos errores, quantum poſſunt, excuſant, pingunt, comunt, ut olim Symmachus aut Porphyrius errores & ineptias Ethnicorum: Omninóque id agunt, ne populum Dei in fraudem induxiſſe, neve quid ipſi unquam erraſſe videantur. Aut ſiquid in animum inducunt emendare, quod aut nunquam aut valdè rarò & perparcè faciunt; ut olim Alexandrum Imperatorem Romanum, quum non prorſus abhorreret à Religione Chriſtiana, aiunt, in eodem Sacrario, & Chriſtum coluiſſe, & Orpheum: Utque veteres olim Samaritani unà & veri Dei cultum retinuerunt, & cultum Idolorum: Ita illi, ea lege recipere volunt partem fortè aliquam Evangelii, ut unà ſuperſtitiones & aniles errores admittant: Ita recipiunt vera, ut falſa retineant: Ita probant noſtra, ut ſua non improbent. Atque ita non tollunt abuſus, ſed colorant: Et veteres columnas novo tantùm tectorio inducunt.*

20. *Ad hunc modum ab iſtis Eccleſia Dei emendatur, ſic conventus & Concilia celebrantur: Veritati non ſervitur, ſed affectibus. Melior*

lior pars à majori ſuperatur. Pulchrum quidem & glorioſum eſt nomen ipſum Concilii Generalis: Sed ex pulchro calice ſæpe venenum propinatur. Non enim ſatis eſt Epiſcopos aliquot & Abbates unum in locum convenisſe: Non in mitrâ, aut purpurâ ſita eſt vis Concilii, nec quicquid Concilium decrevit, ſtatim habendum eſt pro oraculo. Concilium erat, de quo Propheta Eſaias ſcribit; Væ filiis defectoribus, *dicit* Dominus, qui cogunt Concilium, & non ex me: Et inite, *inquit*, Concilium & diſſipabitur. *Concilium erat, de quo Propheta David ita loquitur*; Excitati ſunt Reges terræ, & Principes convenerunt in unum adverſus Dominum, & adverſus Chriſtum ejus. *Concilium erat, quod filium Dei* Jeſum Chriſtum *damnavit ad crucem. Concilium erat, quod Carthagini celebratum eſt ſub Cypriano, in quo decretum eſt, baptizatos ab hæreticis, quum rediſſent ad Eccleſiam, eſſe rebaptizandos: Quem errorem oportuit poſtea tot Conciliis, & Patrum ſcriptis revocari. Et quid multis opus eſt? Concilium Epheſinum ſecundum apertè fecit pro Eutychete; humanam in Chriſto naturam converſam eſſe in Divinitatem: Concilium Nicenum ſecundum decrevit manifeſtam Idololatriam de adoratione ſtatuarum: Concilium Baſilienſe, ut Albertus Pighius ait,* decrevit contra omnem antiquitatem, contra naturam, contra rationem, contra verbum Dei. *Concilium Ariminenſe impiè decrevit pro Arianis, Chriſtum non eſſe deum. Alia Concilia deinceps multa, Smyrnenſe, Aërium, Seleucianum, Syrmianum, & Homoüſianos condemnaverunt, & Ariminenſis Concilii impietati ſubſcripſerunt. Quid quæris? Ipſum etiam Concilium Chalcedonenſe, quod unum erat ex illis quatuor, quæ Gregorius cum quatuor Evangeliis comparavit, Leo Papa non dubitavit accuſare temeritatis.*

21. *Itaque videmus, Concilia Conciliis ſæpe contraria extitiſſe: Utque Leo Pontifex acta ſuſtulit Adriani, Stephanus Formoſi, Joannes Stephani; utq; Sabinianus Papa* omnia ſcripta Gregorii Papæ, ut perverſa & impia juſſit comburi: *Ita videmus Concilium poſterius ſæpe omnia ſuperioris Concilii decreta ſuſtuliſſe. Carthaginenſe Concilium decrevit,* ne Romanus Epiſcopus appellaretur, aut ſummus Sacerdos, aut princeps Sacerdotum, aut aliud quippiam ſimile. *At poſtera Concilia, illum non tantum* ſummum Sacerdotem, *ſed etiam* ſummum Pontificem, & caput Univerſalis Eccleſiæ appellaverunt. *Eliberinum Concilium decrevit,* ne quid, quod colitur, jus fáſque eſſet, ut in Templorum parietibus pingeretur. *Concilium Conſtantinopolitanum decrevit*, imagines non eſſe ferendas in Templis Chriſtianorum. *Contrà Concilium Nicenum ſecundum*, imagines in Templis non tantum ponendas eſſe cenſuit, ſed etiam adorandas. *Lateranenſe Concilium ſub Julio Papa ſecundo non alia cauſa indictum eſt, quam ut Piſani Concilii decreta reſcinderet. Ita Epiſcopi ſæpè poſteriores prioribus adverſantur, & Concilia alia aliorum luminibus obſtruunt. Iſti enim ne ſuis quidem Conciliis teneri volunt, niſi quantum placet, quantumque commodum eſt, & facit* περὶ τὰ ἄλφιτα. *Baſilienſe Concilium decrevit*, Concilium Epiſcoporum eſſe ſupra Papam. *At Concilium Lateranenſe ſub Leone decrevit*, Papam eſſe ſupra Concilium. *Papa verò non ſolùm ita ſe gerit, ſed etiam* ſiquis contra ſentiat, eum habere jubet pro Hæretico. *Atqui omnes Epiſcopi & Abbates in Concilio Baſilienſi*, ſiquis, *inquiunt*, iſtis veritatibus ſeſe opponit, pro Hæretico habendus eſt. *Obſecro te, quid tu hic facias? Quicquid dicas, aut ſentias, vel Papa te, vel Concilium habebit pro Hæretico. Omnes autem Papæ, aliquot jam ſæculis, ſeſe iſtis Baſilienſis Concilii veritatibus oppoſuerunt: Ergo judicio Baſilienſis Concilii, aliquot jam ſæcula omnes Papæ fuerunt Hæretici. Idem Concilium omnibus ſuffra-*

giis

giis ſummovit Papam Eugenium, Hominem Simoniacum, & Sciſmaticum, & illi Succeſſorem dedit Amideum. At Eugenius Papa Concilii decretum flocci fecit, et quamvis maximè eſſet Simoniacus & Sciſmaticus, tamen non deſiit eſſe Succeſſor Petri, & Vicarius Chriſti, & caput Univerſæ Eccleſiæ Dei: Et invitis omnibus dignitatem priorem retinebat, utque antea ſolitus fuerat, in cervicibus Hominum Nobilium ſublimis magniſicè ferebatur. Amideus autem Homo ſimplex, quaſi ex equo delapſus, humi pedibus ambulabat, ſatiſque ſibi beatus eſſe videbatur, quòd de Papa factus eſſet Cardinalis. Concilium proximum Tridentinum edixit, ut Epiſcopi docerent Populum, neve quiſquam unus duo pluráve Sacerdotia haberet, eodem tempore: Iſti contra edictum Concilii ſui cumulant Sacerdotia, & nihil docent. Ita ſcribunt leges, quibus ipſi teneri nolint, niſi quum lubet. Tanti ſcilicet ſemper fecerunt Concilia, & Decreta ſua.

22. *Nunc verò quid eſt, cur eventum ſperemus hoc tempore meliorem? Qua enim gratia, qua expectatione, qua ſpe venitur in Concilium? Hoc enim tantum tecum cogita, quinam tandem Homines illi ſint, quorum Fide, Doctrina, Judicio, moles totius Concilii & omnium iſtarum Quæſtionum diſceptatio, & ſumma rerum niti debeat? Abbates quidem appellantur, & Epiſcopi, graves perſonæ, & pulchra nomina, utque exiſtimatur, magni inſtar momenti in adminiſtranda Eccleſia Dei. At ſi illis nomina tantùm ea, & perſonam, & veſtem tollas, nihil habent aliud nec Abbatis, nec Epiſcopi ſimile. Non enim ſunt Miniſtri Chriſti, non diſpenſatores Myſteriorum Dei, non incumbunt Lectioni, non docent Evangelium, non paſcunt Gregem, non colunt Terram, non plantant Vineam, non accendunt Ignem, non portant Arcam Domini, non obeunt Legationem pro Chriſto; non vigilant, non faciunt opus Evangeliſtæ, non implent miniſterium ſuum: Implicant ſe negotiis ſecularibus: Abſcondunt Theſaurum Domini ſui, auferunt Claves Regni Dei; non ingrediuntur ipſi, nec alios ingredi patiuntur, pulſant conſervos ſuos, paſcunt ſeipſos, Gregem non paſcunt: Dormiunt, ſtertunt, convivantur, luxuriantur: Nubes ſine aqua, ſtellæ ſine luce, canes muti, ventres pigri: Utque Bernardus ait,* non Prælati, ſed Pilati; non Doctores, ſed Seductores; non Paſtores, ſed Impoſtores; ſervi, *inquit,* Chriſti, ſerviunt Antichriſto. *Iſtis ſolis Pontifices volunt locum eſſe, & ſuffragandi poteſtatem in Concilio: In iſtorum Judicio ac poteſtate verſari volunt curam, & procurationem univerſæ Eccleſiæ Chriſti; iſtos nunc ſolos Pius Papa delegit ad ſpem ſuam. At quos (ô Deus bone!)* Homines, *quales Viros? Quanquam, ut ipſi quidem putant, ridiculum eſt, velle hoc quærere. Quàm enim docti, quámque pii ſint, quid velint, quid ſentiant, inquiunt, nihil refert. Satis videlicet eſt, ſi ſedere poſſint in mula, & magna pompa & ſtrepitu vehi per publicum, & venire in Concilium, & nihil dicere. Si mihi fortè non credis, ac me potiùs putas animi cauſâ iſta fingere: Audi ergo Judicium Honorarium, quid ea de re ſacroſancta facultas, & Sorbona tota decreverit. Quod magiſtri, inquiunt, noſtri dicunt de legitima congregatione,* notandum eſt ad hoc, ut Concilium legitimè congregetur, ſufficere quòd ſolemnitas, & forma juris ſolemniter ſit ſervata. Quia ſiquis trahere vellet hoc in diſputationem, utrum Prælati, qui ibi ſedent, habeant rectam intentionem, & utrum ſint docti, & utrum habeant ſcientiam ſacrarum literarum, & animum obediendi ſanæ doctrinæ, eſſet proceſſus in infinitum. *Iſti videlicet, qui tanquam Mercuriales ſtatuæ muti ſedeant, & quid ſit Religio prorſus neſciant, de univerſa Religione rectè & commodè reſpondebunt, & quicquid dicunt, errare non queunt.*

23. *Iſtos*

23. *Iſtos omnes Pontifex habet, non tantum errore & ignorantia, ſed etiam jurejurando & religione obſtrictos ſibi: Ut etiam ſi rectè ſentiant, tamen niſi perjuri eſſe velint, quod ſentiunt pronuntiare, & veritatem palam profiteri, & præ ſe ferre non poſſint; prorſus, ut vel Homini fides fallenda ſit, vel Deo. Sic enim omnes jurant conceptis verbis.* Ego N. Epiſcopus ab hac hora in antea fidelis ero Sancto Petro, ſanctæque Apoſtolicæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ, Domino meo Papæ N. ejúſque ſucceſſoribus Canonicè intrantibus: Non ero, neque in conſilio, neque in facto, ut vitam perdat, aut membrum; vel capiatur mala captione. Conſilium, quod mihi, aut per literas, aut per Nuncium manifeſtabit, ad ejus damnum nulli pandam. Papatum Romanæ Eccleſiæ, & regulas ſanctorum Patrum adjutor ero ad defendendum & retinendum contra omnes homines. *Olim, quum ſacerdotes Apollinis Pythii apertè loquerentur in gratiam Philippi Regis, erant qui facetè dicerent, Pythium expiſſe φιλιππίζειν. Nos verò nunc, cum perſpicuè videamus nihil in Concilio decerni, niſi de voluntate & nutu Papæ, cur non dicamus, Conciliorum Oracula παπίζειν, id eſt, tantum dicere, quantum Papa velit. Prudenter olim* Verres, *quem aiunt, quum multis criminibus non obſcurè teneretur, noluiſſe exiſtimationem & famam ſuam committere, niſi hominibus* bene fidis de grege, & cohorte ſua. *Multo autem prudentiùs Pontifices, qui illos ſibi Judices dari volunt, quos ſciunt, nec velle, quia rationes habent conjunctas, omnia autem voluptatibus & ventre metiuntur; nec quia jam jurati ſunt, quamvis velint, poſſe quicquam ſtatuere* præter voluntatem ſuam. *Collocant illi quidem in medio Sacra Biblia, quæ ſpectant eminùs non legunt, quaſi contra illorum præſcriptum nihil facturi. Re autem vera ſecum ipſi adferunt præjudicatam ſententiam: Nec attendunt quid Chriſtus dicat, nec ſtatuunt quicquam, niſi quod lubet.*

24. *Itaque libertas illa, quam oportuit eſſe in omnibus conſultationibus, maximè verò de rebus Sacris, quæque maximè convenit Spiritui Sancto, & modeſtiæ hominum Chriſtianorum, prorſus jam de medio ſublata eſt. Paulus ait,* ſi alteri aſſidenti revelatum fuerit, prior taceat: *Iſti verò comprehendi jubent, & in carcerem detrudi, & ignibus mandari, ſiquis quicquam contrà mutiat. Teſtis adhuc eſt crudelis interitus duorum ſanctiſſimorum hominum, & fortiſſimorum virorum,* Johannis Hus, & Hieronymi Pragenſis; *quos illi duos contra fidem publicam interfecerunt, & fidem Deo hominibúſque fefellerunt. Sic impius Propheta Zedechias, cum aptaſſet ſibi cornua ferrea, colaphum impegit Michææ Prophetæ Domini;* & Méne, *inquit,* reliquit Spiritus Domini, & acceſſit ad te? *Itaque nunc, excluſis omnibus, ſoli regnant in Conciliis, & ſoli obtinent ſuffragia, atque ita ſcribunt, & promulgant leges, ut olim Epheſii.* Nemo *(inquiunt illi,)* hîc vivat cæteris prudentior, niſi malit exul atque extorris vivere. *Noſtrorum enim iſti hominum prorſus neminem audire volent. Ante* 10. *annos in Concilio proximo Tridentino Legati Principum Germaniæ, & liberarum Civitatum, qui eâ causâ venerant, ut audirentur, ab omni colloquio & conventu excludebantur. Epiſcopi enim & Abbates reſpondebant, nolle ſe permittere liberam cauſæ cognitionem, nec velle controverſias diſceptari ex verbo Dei: Noſtrarum autem partium homines nullo modo eſſe audiendos, niſi ſi vellent recantare, quod ſi nollent, non alia lege venturos eſſe in Concilium, quàm ut audirent condemnationem ſuam. Nam Julius* 3. *in Brevi illo ſuo, quo Concilium indixit, publicè denunciavit, ut* aut mutarent ſententiam, aut causâ inauditâ condemnarentur pro Hæreticis.

1 Cor. 14. 30.

Pius autem Papa Quartus, is qui nunc inſtituit Concilium revocare omnes eos, qui ab Eccleſiæ Romanæ authoritate diſceſſerunt, id eſt, maximam partem orbis Chriſtiani, nec viſos unquam, nec auditos jam antea ſuo præjudicio pro Hæreticis haberi juſſit. Omnino, aiunt, idque ſemper in omni ſermone jactare ſolent, rectè habere ſua omnia; ſe nihil, ne tantillum quidem, de Doctrina & Religione ſua mutatum velle. *Albertus Pighius, injuſſu Eccleſiæ Romanæ, ait,* ne apertiſſimæ quidem Scripturæ credendum eſſe. *Hoc ſcilicet eſt Eccleſiam in integrum velle reſtituere? Hoc eſt Veritatem velle quærere? Hæc illa eſt libertas Conciliorum & moderatio?*

25. *Et quamvis hæc omnia ſint iniquiſſima, & à ratione Veterum Conciliorum, & ab hominum modeſtorum deliberatione alieniſſima; illud tamen multò eſt iniquius, quòd cùm Orbis jam terrarum de Pontificis Romani ambitione ac tyrannide conqueratur, & de inſtaurandâ Eccleſiâ Dei fruſtra ſudari, & nihil agi judicet, niſi ille in ordinem redigatur: Tamen omnia ad illum unum, tanquam ad æquiſſimum Diſceptatorem, & Judicem deferuntur. At ad quem (O Deus bone!) virum? Mitto hoſtem veritatis, ambitioſum, avarum, ſuperbum, ſuis etiam jam intolerabilem. Ad illum, inquam, judicium de univerſa Religione deferri volunt, qui omnia ſua Dicta eodem numero & loco haberi jubet, quo Voces ipſius Petri; qui ſi mille animas abducat ſecum ad inferos, tamen negat ſe eâ causâ poſſe à quoquam reprehendi; qui, ait, ſe ex injuſtitia facere poſſe juſtitiam: Quem Camotenſis ait corrupiſſe ſcripturas, ut haberet plenitudinem poteſtatis. Quid plura? quem ipſius contubernales & ſatellites, Joachimus Abbas, Petrarcha, Marſilius Patavinus, Laurentius Valla, Hieronymus Savanarola ambiguè pronunciarunt eſſe Antichriſtum. Hujus unius judicio ac voluntati omnia ſubjiciunt, ut idem Reus ſit, idémque Judex: Ut Accuſatores ex inferiori loco audiantur, Reus autem ſedeat ſublimis pro Tribunalibus, & ipſe de ſe pronunciet. Hæ enim leges tam æquas, támq; rationi conſentientes ſcripſit nobis Papa Julius.* Nullum, *inquit,* ratum Concilium eſt, aut erit unquam, quod Romanæ Eccleſiæ non fuerit authoritate ſulcitum. *Bonifacius octavus,* omnem, *ait,* Creaturam oportere ſubjectam eſſe Eccleſiæ Romanæ, idque de neceſſitate Salutis. *Et Paſchalis Papa,* Quaſi, *inquit,* Romanæ Eccleſiæ legem Concilia ulla præfixerint, cum omnia Concilia per Romanæ Eccleſiæ authoritatem, & facta ſint, & robur acceperint, & in eorum Statutis Romani Pontificis authoritas patenter excipiatur. *Et alius quiſpiam,* Quod Papa, *inquit,* approbat vel reprobat, nos approbare, vel reprobare debemus: Et quod Papa approbat, non licet alii improbare. *Et neſcio quis Paraſitus, amiſſo pudore,* Etiamſi totus mundus ſentiet in aliquo contra Papam, tamen videtur quòd ſtandum ſit ſententiæ Papæ. *Et alius quiſpiam non minùs impudenter;* Sacrilegii, *inquit,* inſtar eſſet, diſputare de facto Papæ, qui tametſi non ſit bonus, tamen ſemper præſumitur eſſe bonus. *Et alius etiam impudentiùs,* Papa, *inquit,* habet cœleſte arbitrium; ergo in illis quæ vult, eſt illi pro ratione voluntas; nec eſt qui dicat illi, cur ita facis? *Utque alia complura, quæ huc adduci poſſunt, ſunt enim infinita, relinquam, & finem aliquando faciam; Innocentius Papa Nonus, omnium impudentiſſimè,* Neque ab Auguſto, *inquit,* neque à Regibus, neque ab univerſo Clero, neque à toto populo Judex judicabitur. *O Deum immortalem! Quantulum abeſt, ut hoc etiam dicant:* Aſcendam ſuper Aquilonem, & ero ſimilis Altiſſimo? *Si iſta vera ſunt omnia, & Papæ nihil mentiti ſunt, quid opus eſt Concilio? Aut ſi Concilium ſincerum & liberum*

habere

habere volunt, tollantur iſta omnia, ut improba & ſuperba mendacia; nec tantum ex uſu & foro, verumetiam ex libris omnibus auferantur, ne ſumma rerum in unius hominis, ejuſque multis juſtiſſimis de cauſis ſuſpecti, voluntate ac lididine relinquantur. Atqui Pontifices *aiunt*, ſe errare non poſſe, & ad præſcriptum ſuum exigendum eſſe verbum Dei: *Atque etiam antequam adeant ad dignitatem Pontificiam, jurantur in fidem recentium quorundam Conciliorum, quibus omnia fœdum in modum ſunt depravata, & ſanctè promittunt* ſe nolle quicquam immutari. *Quare quid mirum eſt, ſi in Conciliis nihil proficitur, ſi errores & abuſus non tolluntur, ſi Legati Principum fruſtra tam procul ex omnibus terris convocantur? Tamen audio eſſe quoſdam hoc tempore homines, non malos, ſed parùm, quid dicant, attendentes; qui, quamvis arrogantiam in Pontifice, & faſtum Perſicum, & Epicureum contemptum religionis damnent, tamen ejus authoritatem ſalvam & incolumem eſſe velint: Et quamvis eum interdum fateantur eſſe Antichriſtum, tamen eundem, poſtquam ſemel aſcendit in illam ſedem, non dubitent eſſe Univerſalem Epiſcopum, & caput Univerſæ Eccleſiæ Chriſti. Atq; hîc ita triumphant, & ſibi placent, ac ſi Spiritus ſanctus affixus eſſet ad Molem Adriani.* At non locus ſanctificat hominem, *inquiunt*, ſed homo locum. *Et Hieronymus quemadmodum citatur ab ipſis*, Non filii, *inquit*, ſanctorum ſunt, qui tenent loca ſanctorum: Sed qui imitantur facta illorum. *Alioqui Chriſtus ait*, In Cathedra Moſis ſediſſe Scribas, & Phariſæos: Authoritatem autem illorum monet tantiſper eſſe agnoſcendam, ſi reſpondeant ex verbo Dei. Quid aliud, *inquit Auguſtinus*, dixit Chriſtus, niſi per mercenarios vocem paſtoris audire? Sedendo enim in Cathedra legem Dei docent: Ergo per illos docet Deus. Sua verò ſi illi docere velint, nolite audire, nolite facere. *Paulus etiam ait*, Antichriſtum, hominem illum peccati, ſeſſurum eſſe in loco ſancto. *Itaque Hieronymus rectè monet*, Attendis, *inquit*, Petrum, ſed & Judam conſidera: Stephanum ſuſpicis, ſed & Nicolaum reſpice. Non facit Eccleſiaſtica dignitas Chriſtianum; *Hæc Hieronymus. Et certè aiunt*, Marcellinum Papam ſacrificaſſe Idolis, Liberium Papam fuiſſe Arianum: Joannem Papam 22. impiè ſenſiſſe de immortalitate animarum: Joannem Papam 8. fuiſſe fœminam, & in Papatu inceſta libidine cum adulteris concubuiſſe, & in luſtranda civitate, in ipſa pompa, atq; in oculis Epiſcoporum & Cardinalium peperiſſe: *Et Liranus ait*, multos Pontifices Romanos à fide Chriſti defeciſſe. *Quare non nimiùm fidendum erat locis & ſucceſſionibus, & inanibus titulis dignitatum. Impius Nero ſucceſſit Metello piò. Annas & Caiaphas ſucceſſerunt Aaroni; & Idolum ſæpè ſucceſſit in locum Dei.*

26. *Sed quænam, obſecro, eſt illa tanta vis & authoritas, de qua iſti ita inſolenter gloriantur? Aut unde ad eos delata eſt? De cælo, an ex hominibus?* Chriſtus, *inquiunt*, ait Petro, ſuper hanc petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam: His verbis authoritatem Pontificiam confirmari. Eccleſiam enim Chriſti in Petro, tanquam in fundamento, collocari. *Atqui Chriſtus his verbis nihil Petro dedit ſeorſim à cæteris Apoſtolis. Neque aut Pontificis mentionem ullam facit, aut Urbis Romæ. Chriſtus illa eſt* petra, *Chriſtus eſt* illud fundamentum. Nemo, *inquit Paulus*, poteſt aliud fundamentum ponere, quam quod jam antea poſitum eſt, quod eſt Chriſtus Jeſus.

27. *Et Auguſtinus*, ſuper hanc petram, *inquit*, ædificabo Eccleſiam meam: Super hanc, *inquit*, intelligitur, quam confeſſus eſt Petrus,

dicens, tu es Chriſtus filius Dei vivi. Non enim, *inquit*, dictum eſt, Tu es petra, ſed tu es Petrus; petra autem erat Chriſtus. *Et* Divus Baſilius, ſuper hanc Petram, *hoc eſt*, *inquit*, ſuper hanc fidem ædificabo Eccleſiam meam. *Et antiquiſſimus pater Origenes*, Petra, *inquit*, fit quiſque diſcipulus Chriſti, ex quo biberunt de ſpirituali conſequente Petra: Et ſuper talem petram conſtruitur omnis Eccleſiaſtica Doctrina. *Quod ſi ſuper unum illum Petrum tantùm exiſtimas ædificari totam Eccleſiam, quid dicturus es de Joanne filio Tonitrui, & Apoſtolorum unoquoque? Alioqui enim audebimus dicere, quòd adverſus unum Petrum non prævalituræ ſint portæ inferorum, adverſus cæteros Apoſtolos ac præfectos ſint prævalituræ? Ac non potiùs in omnibus & ſingulis eorum, de quibus dictum eſt, ſit illud, quod dictum eſt, & portæ inferorum non prævalebunt adverſus eam; & illud, ſuper hanc petram ædificabo Eccleſiam meam? An verò ſoli Petro dantur à Chriſto claves Regni Cœlorum, nec alius beatorum quiſquam eas accepturus eſt? Quòd ſi hoc dictum, Tibi dabo claves Regni Cœlorum, cæteris quoq; commune eſt, cur non ſimul omnia & quæ prius dicta ſunt, & quæ ſequuntur, velut ad Petrum dicta, ſunt omnium communia? Una, inquit Hilarius, eſt fœlix fidei petra, quam ore ſuo Petrus confeſſus eſt. Et rurſus, Super hanc, inquit, confeſſionem Petri ædificata eſt Eccleſia. Et non ita multò poſt, Hæc, inquit, fides Eccleſiæ fundamentum eſt. Ad hunc modum alii etiam Patres, Hieronymus, Cyrillus, Beda, Eccleſiam exædificatam aiunt, non in Petro, ſed in fide Petri, hoc eſt, in Chriſto Jeſu Filio Dei, quem Petrus cœleſti inſtinctu profeſſus fuerat. Petrus, inquit Auguſtinus, à petrâ dictus eſt; non petra à Petro. Nec ego me, inquit, ædificabo ſuper te, ſed te ædificabo ſuper me. Imò etiam Nicolaus Liranus, etſi non ſemper bonus author, ſcis enim in quæ tempora inciderit ejus ætas, tamen hoc rectè vidit, ſuper hanc, inquit, petram, id eſt, ſuper Chriſtum. Ex quo non poteſt Eccleſia conſtare in aliquo homine, ratione poteſtatis, vel dignitatis Eccleſiaſticæ, quia multi Papæ inventi ſunt Apoſtatæ.*

Tract. 1. in Matth.

28. *Quâ ergò in re ſita eſt iſta authoritas Pontificia? In docendo? at nihil docent. In miniſtrando ſacramenta? at non miniſtrant. In paſcendo? at nihil paſcunt. Atqui hæc eſt illa poteſtas, quam Chriſtus contulit in Apoſtolos. Ite, inquit, in univerſum mundum, & prædicate Evangelium; &, poſthac eritis piſcatores hominum; &, ſicut me miſit* vivens *Pater, ita ego mitto vos. Iſti verò, quò eunt? quid docent? quid prædicant? quid piſcantur? unde eunt? à quo mittuntur? Non eſt iſta authoritas Apoſtolica, ſed ſuperba & intolerabilis dominatio, per vim & tyrannidem uſurpata. Nemo noſtrum, inquit Cyprianus, Epiſcopum ſe Epiſcoporum dicit, aut tyrannicâ terrore Collegas ad obſequendi neceſſitatem compellit; quando habeat omnis Epiſcopus pro licentia libertatis & poteſtatis ſuæ arbitrium proprium, tanquam judicari ab altero non poſſit, quum nec ipſe poſſit alterum judicare. Et hoc, inquit, erant utiq; cæteri Apoſtoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari conſortio præditi & honoris, & poteſtatis. Et Divus Hieronymus, Major, inquit, eſt authoritas orbis, quam urbis. Quid mihi profers unius urbis conſuetudinem? Quid paucitatem, de qua ortum eſt ſupercilium, in leges Eccleſiæ vendicas? Ubicunq; fuerit Epiſcopus, ſive Romæ, ſive Eugubii, ſive Conſtantinopoli, ſive Rhegii, ejuſdem eſt meriti, & ejuſdem ſacerdotii. Potentia divitiarum, & paupertatis humilitas, ſuperiorem vel inferiorem Epiſcopum non facit. Et Gregorius, Petrus, inquit, præpotum in corpore membrum; Johannes, Andreas, Jacobus, particularium gubium capita: Omnes tamen ſub uno capite membra Eccleſiæ ſunt. Imò ſancti ante legem, ſancti ſub lege, ſancti in gratia, & omnes perficientes*

entes corpus Domini in membris ſunt conſtituti, & nemo ſe unquam univerſalem dici voluit.

29. *Hæc illa eſt poteſtas, quam hodiè quidam ita ſtrenuè defendunt, & quicquid de Pontificis vel vita, vel religione ſentiant, tamen illam ſacroſanctam & integram eſſe volunt, quaſi ſine ea Eccleſia Dei incolumis eſſe non poſſit: Aut niſi Papa velit & jubeat, Concilium non ſit Concilium; & ſi totus mundus contra ſentiat, nihil ſentiat. Quare cum videas hæc omnia iniquiſſimè eſſe comparata, nihil hodiè in Conciliis ſincerè & verè fieri, mirari non debes, ſi noſtri homines domi manere malint, quàm tam procul fruſtra proficiſci, ubi & operam luſuri ſint, & cauſam perdituri.*

30. *Sed injuſſu Pontificis, inquies, & Concilii, nefas erat in religione voluiſſe quicquam immutare. Imò verò, Pontifices ipſi univerſum prope ſtatum primitivæ Eccleſiæ ſine ullo Concilio mutaverunt. Eſt quidem iſta ſpecioſa & pulchra oratio, ſed erroribus fœdiſſimis prætexitur. Morari enim tantùm volunt expectatione animos hominum, ut morâ ac tædio hebeſcere incipiant, & ad extremum ſpem abjiciant. Quid enim? An dum Papa convocet Concilium, & Abbates atq; Epiſcopi domum redeant, volunt interea populum Dei falli, errare, decipi, circumfundi erroribus & ignoratione Dei, & abduci ad interitum ſempiternum? Non licet cuiquam noſtrum credere in Chriſtum, profiteri Evangelium, ritè & verè Deum colere, fugere ſuperſtitiones & cultus idolorum, niſi iſti velint? Miſerabilis verò eſſet ſtatus Eccleſiæ Dei, ſi in tot erroribus tam latè diffuſis, tam craſſis, tam cæcis, tam fœdis, tam perſpicuis, & manifeſtis, ut eos ne adverſarii quidem noſtri negare queant, nihil poſſit effici ſine concurſu orbis terarum, & Concilio generali, ejus præſertim, cujus & expectatio incerta ſit, & exitus multo incertior. Quum Perſæ olim in Græciam irrupiſſent, & cœpiſſent omnia populari, & Lacedæmonii, quorum virtus inter omnes tum Græcos eminebat, quòſq; oportuit primo quoq; tempore procurrere, ad rem gerendam Lunam opportuniorem expectarent, (erat enim ea illis jam inde à Lycurgo avita ſuperſtitio, ne proficiſcerentur ad pugnam, niſi in plenilunio,) Patria interea, dum illi cunctabantur, diripi, & incendi potuiſſet. Periculum, inquiunt, eſt in mora. Agitur ſalus Eccleſiæ Dei, Diabolus rugit ut Leo, & circuit, & quærit quem devoret: Homines ſimplices facilè trahuntur in fraudem, & quamvis ſæpe tanguntur zelo Dei, tamen imprudentes perſequuntur Filium Dei: Utq; Nazianzenus ait, Quum putent ſe pugnare pro Chriſto, pugnant ſæpe contra Chriſtum. Epiſcopi autem, quibus oportuit iſta eſſe curæ, aut, ut inanes larvæ omnia ſuſq; deq; ferunt: Aut, ut quod res eſt dicam, augent etiam errorem, & conduplicant caliginem. An ergò nos oportuit ſedere otioſos, & hujuſmodi patrum cognitionem expectare, & manus comprimere, & nihil agere? Imò, inquit Cyprianus, unus eſt Epiſcopatus, cujus à ſingulis in ſolidum pars tenetur, & certè pro ſua cuiq; parte Domino reddenda eſt ratio. Sanguinem illorum, inquit Dominus, de manu tua requiram. Quòd ſiquis admoveat manum ad ſtivam, & reſpiciat à tergo; & ſolicitus ſit, quid alii ſentiant; & expectet authoritatem Concilii generalis, & interea recondat theſaurum Domini ſui, audiet, Serve male, & perfide: Tollite illum, & abjicite in tenebras exteriores. Sinite, inquit Chriſtus, mortuos ſepelire mortuos ſuos. Tu veni & ſequere me, veritas Dei non pendet ab hominibus. In humanis quidem Conciliis prudentis eſt expectare judicium & conſenſum hominum: In rebus autem divinis vox Dei debet inſtar eſſe omnium: Quam poſtquam mens pia ſemel accepit, ſtatim credit, & manus dat, non tergiverſatur, aut*

expectat

expectat alios. Intelligit enim ſe non Pontificis, aut Concilii arbitrio oportere credere, ſed voluntati Dei : Ejus autem voci obtemperandum eſſe, invitis omnibus. Propheta Elias Domino jubenti ſtatim obſecutus eſt, etſi ſe credebat eſſe ſolum. Abrahamus monitu Dei migravit è Chaldæâ. Lot egreſſus eſt è Sodomis. Tres illi Iſralitæ publicè ediderunt confeſſionem religionis ſuæ, & publice deteſtati ſunt Idololatriam ; nihil expectato generali Concilio. Exite, inquit Angelus, de medio ejus, & ne ſitis participes peccatorum ejus, nève accipatis de plagis ejus : Non dicit, expectate Synodum Epiſcoporum. Sic primùm publicata eſt veritas Dei, ſic eadem nunc reſtituenda eſt. Sine publico Concilio Apoſtoli primùm docuerunt Evangelium. Sine publico Concilio idem poteſt poſtliminio revocari. Quod ſi Chriſtus ipſe ab initio, aut ejus Apoſtoli cunctari voluiſſent, & rem omnem ad futurum Concilium rejeciſſent, quando tandem exiviſſet ſonus illorum in omnem terram ? Quomodo vim pertuliſſet regnum Cœlorum, aut violenti in illud invaſiſſent ? Ubi nunc eſſet Evangelium ? Ubi nunc eſſet Eccleſia Dei ? Nos quidem non formidamus, aut fugimus, imò multò potius optamus & cupimus Concilium, modò liberum, modò ingenuum, modo Chriſtianum, modò ad Apoſtolorum exemplar conveniatur, modò Abbates & Epiſcopi à religione jurisjurandi, quo nunc Romanis Pontificibus obſtricti ſunt, eximantur, modò univerſa illa conjuratio diſſolvatur ; modò noſtrarum partium homines modeſtè, ac liberè audiantur ; modò ne inauditi condemnentur ; modò ne quicquid agatur, unus quiſpiam infirmare & reſcindere poſſit omnia. At cum id his moribus & temporibus impetrari non poſſe, & omnia abſurda, inepta, ridicula, ſuperſtitioſa, impia, tantùm quòd ſemel recepta eſſent, conſuetudinis causâ pugnaciſſime defendi videremus, proprium eſſe judicavimus, ut municipali Concilio Eccleſiis noſtris proſpiceremus.

31. *Scimus enim Spiritum Dei nec locis alligatum eſſe, nec numeris hominum.* Dic, *inquit Chriſtus,* Eccleſiæ : *Non ſanè univerſæ, quæ diffunditur in totum terrarum orbem, ſed particulari, quæ poſſit unà aliquem in locum convenire.* Ubicunque, *inquit,* erunt duo, aut tres congregati in nomine meo, ibi ſum ego in medio illorum. *Sic Paulus, ut inſtauraret Eccleſias Corinthiorum & Galatarum, non juſſit expectare generale Concilium : Ad ipſos ſcripſit, ut quicquid eſſet erroris aut vitii, id ipſi ſtatim reſecarent. Sic olim, cum Epiſcopi dormirent, atq; aliud agerent, aut etiam contaminarent & polluerent templum Dei, ſemper Deus extraordinariâ ratione alios quoſdam excitavit, magno viros ſpiritu atq; animo, qui omnia in integrum reſtituerent.*

32. *Nos vero nihil temerè, nihil niſi ſumma cum ratione fecimus, nihil niſi quod videbamus & ſemper licuiſſe fieri, & à ſanctis Patribus ſæpe ſine ulla reprehenſione fuiſſe factum. Itaq; convocatis Epiſcopis frequenti Synodo, communi conſenſu omnium ordinum, Eccleſiæ ſordes, quas vel incuria hominum, vel malitia infuderat, tanquam Augeæ ſtabulum repurgavimus, & quantum aſſequi maximè potuimus, omnia ad priſtinum nitorem, ad Apoſtolicorum temporum & primitivæ Eccleſiæ ſimilitudinem revocavimus. Idq; & potuimus rectè facere, & quia potuimus fidenter fecimus.*

33. *Libet hic audire, quia Gregorius Papa* 1. *hac de re ſcripſerit, quanquam magis libet, quòd ille de Anglicarum Eccleſiarum inſtitutione ad Anglorum Epiſcopum Auguſtinum ea ſcripſerit. Hortatur autem, non ut ad Concilium referat, ſed ut ipſe pro ſua prudentia id inſtituat, quo videat pietatem maximè poſſe promoveri.* Novit, *inquit,* fraternitas tua Romanæ Eccleſiæ conſuetudinem, in qua ſe meminit eſſe nutritum.

Sed

Sed mihi placet, ut ſive in Romana, ſive Gallicorum, ſive qualibet Eccleſia inveniſti quod plus Omnipotenti Deo poſſit placere, eligas ſolicitè, & in Anglorum Eccleſiam, quæ adhuc in fide nova eſt & in conſtitutione, præcipua, quæ de multis Eccleſiis colligere poteris, infundas. Non enim pro locis res, ſed pro rebus loca amanda ſunt.

34. *Ad eundem modum ſcribunt Patres in Concilio Conſtantinopolitano ad Damaſum Epiſcopum Urbis Romæ, & reliquos Epiſcopos Occidentis.* De cura, *inquiunt*, adminiſtrationis ſingularum Eccleſiarum, ſcitis veterem ſanctionem & definitionem Nicænorum Patrum ſemper invaluiſſe, ut in unaquaque provinciâ Cultores, aſſumptis etiam, ſi videatur, finitimis conferant Eccleſiaſticos honores iis, quos utiliter geſturos eſſe confidunt. *Et Africani Epiſcopi ad Celeſtinum Romanum:* Presbyterorum, *inquiunt*, & ſequentium Clericorum improba refugia, ſicut te dignum eſt, repellat Sanctitas tua. Quia & nulla Patrum definitione hoc Eccleſiæ denegatum eſt Africanæ: & Decreta Nicæna, ſive inferioris gradus Clericos, ſive ipſos Epiſcopos ſuis Metropolitanis apertiſſimè commiſerunt. Prudentiſſimè enim juſtiſſimeq; quæqu; negotia in ſuis locis, ubi orta ſunt, eſſe finienda: Nec unicuiq; Provinciæ gratiam Sancti Spiritus defuturam. Quæ æquitas à Chriſti Sacerdotibus & prudenter videatur, et conſtanter retineatur.

35. *Multo verò melius, & ad hanc rem, qua de nunc agimus, accommodatiùs Eleutherius Epiſcopus Romanus ad Lucium Regem Britanniæ:* Petiiſtis, *inquit*, à nobis leges Romanas & Cæſaris vobis tranſmitti, quibus in regno Britanniæ uti voluiſtis. Leges Romanas & Cæſaris ſemper poſſumus reprobare: Legem Dei, nequaquam. Suſcepiſtis enim miſeratione divinâ in regno Britanniæ legem & fidem Chriſti: Habetis penes vos in Regno veſtro utramq; Paginam. Ex illis, Dei gratiâ, per Concilium regni veſtri ſume legem, & per illam, Dei patientiâ, poteritis veſtrum Britanniæ regnum inſtituere. Vicarius verò Dei eſtis in regno illo, *juxta Pſalmiſtam, Domini eſt terra.*

Quid multis? Victor Epiſcopus Romanus habuit Romæ Synodum Provincialem. Juſtinianus Imperator mandat, ſiquid opus ſit, in ſingulis Provinciis habere Synodos: Id ni fiat, ſe fore ulterem & vindicem. Unaquæque, *inquit Hieronymus*, Provincia habet mores & ritus & ſenſus ſuos, quos ſine gravi perturbatione movere facilè non poſſis.

Nam quid ego commemorem vetera Concilia Municipalia, Eliberinum, Gangrenſe, Laodicenum, Ancyranum, Antiochenum, Turonenſe, Carthaginenſe, Milevitanum, Toletanum, Burdegalenſe; non enim eſt iſta nova ratio. Sic olim regebatur Eccleſia Dei, antequam Patres ad Nicænum Concilium conveniſſent. Non enim ſtatim decurrebatur ad Concilium Generale. Theophilus habuit Conventum Provincialem in Paleſtinâ: Palmas in Ponto: Irenæus in Galliâ: Bachylus in Achaia: Origenes contra Beryllum in Arabia. Mitto alia Concilia Municipalia quamplura, quæ habita fuerunt in Africa, Aſia, Græcia, Ægypto, Pia, Orthodoxa, Chriſtiana, injuſſu Pontificis Romani. Epiſcopi enim tum pro re natâ, ut quidque incidiſſet, ſtatim domeſtico Concilio ſuccurrebant Eccleſiis ſuis, & modò vicinorum Epiſcoporum fidem implorabant, modò operas mutuas tradebant, & ſiquid opus eſſet, ſeſe viciſſim ultro juvabant. Nec tantum Epiſcopi, ſed Principes etiam judicabant Religionis cauſſam ad ſuum officium pertinere. Nam ut mittam Nabuchadnezarem, qui capitale ſancivit, ſiquis blaſphemâſſet Deum Iſrael; Aut Davidem, Solomonem, Ezechiam, Joſiam, qui partim exædificarunt, partim repurgarunt Templum Dei: Conſtantinus Imperator

ſine

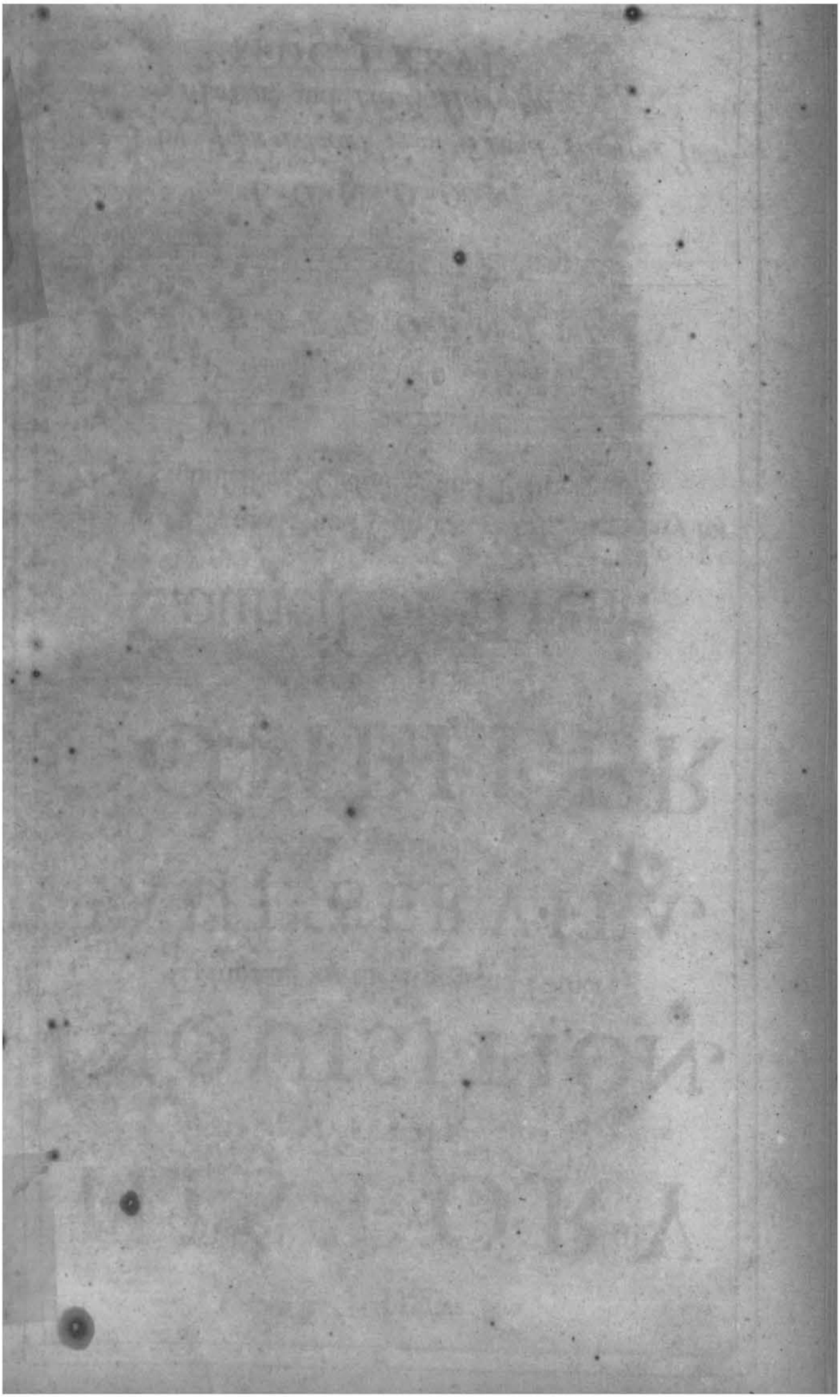
ſine Concilio ſuſtulit cultum Idolorum, & graviſſimis verbis edixit, capitale fore, ſi quis Idolo ſacrificaſſet. Theodoſius Imperator ſolo æquari juſſit templa deorum. Jovinianus Imperator, ſtatim ubi eſſet renunciatus, tulit primam legem de redutendis exulibus Chriſtianis. Juſtinianus Imperator dicere ſolebat, Religionem Chriſti non minùs ſibi eſſe curæ, quàm vitam ſuam. Joſua, quum factus eſſet Dux populi, ſtatim accepit præcepta de religione, & de colendo Deo. Sunt enim Principes nutritii Eccleſiæ, & Cuſtodes utriuſque tabulæ. Nec aliâ magis causâ Deus ſemper voluit Politias exiſtere, quàm ut eſſent, qui religionem & pietatem incolumem conſervarent.

37. *Quo magis hodie graviuſque peccant multi Principes, qui appellantur quidem Chriſtiani, qui ſedent otioſi, & indulgent voluptatibus, & patienter ferunt impios cultus & contemptum numinis, & hæc omnia devolvunt ad Epiſcopos, ad illos ipſos, quibus ſciunt omnem religionem eſſe ludibrio: Quaſi cura Eccleſiarum & populi Dei ad ipſos nihil pertineat, aut ipſi tanquam Paſtores quidem ſint armentarii, & corporum tantùm, ac non etiam animarum curam gerant. Non meminerunt ſe ſervos eſſe Dei, eâ causâ delectos, ut ſerviant Domino. Ezechias Rex non priùs aſcendit in domum ſuam, quàm vidiſſet perpurgatum templum Dei. Et David* Rex, Non dabo, *inquit,* ſomnum oculis meis, nec patiar ut conniveant palpebræ meæ, donec inveniam locum Domino, & Tabernaculum Deo Jacob. *O ſi Principes Chriſtiani audire vellent vocem Domini ſui.* Nunc reges intelligite, *inquit Dominus,* erudimini, qui judicatis terram. Ego, *inquit,* dixi, Dii eſtis, *hoc eſt, homines divinitùs electi, quibus nomen meum eſſet curæ. Cogita tu, quem ego de ſterquilinio excitavi, & in ſummo dignitatis & honoris gradu collocavi, & præfeci populo meo, cum ita ſtudiosè ædifices & ornes domum tuam, quo animo potes contemnere domum meam? Aut quomodo quotidie oras, ut regnum tuum tibi poſteriſque tuis confirmetur? An ut Nomen meum ſemper afficiatur contumelia? Ut Evangelium Chriſti mei extinguatur? Ut ſervi mei, meâ causâ, ante oculos tuos, te inſpectante, trucidentur? Ut tyrannis longiùs graſſetur? Ut populo meo ſemper imponatur? Ut per te ſcandalum confirmetur? Væ illi, per quem venit ſcandalum; væ etiam illi, per quem confirmatur ſcandalum. Horres ſanguinem corporum; quanto magis horrere debes ſanguinem animarum? Memineris quid acciderit Antiocho, Herodi, Juliano:* Ego regnum tuum transferam ad hoſtem tuum, qui peccaſti adverſum me: *Ego muto tempora & vices temporum: Abjicio Reges & inſtituo, ut intelligas me Altiſſimum eſſe, & vim habere in regno hominum, & illud dare cui volo: Ego humilio, & ego exalto, ego glorificantes me glorifico, & eos, qui me contemnunt, afficio contumeliâ.*

ANDREAS

ANDREAS DUDITHIUS *Epiſcopus Quinque-Eccleſienſis in Epiſtola ad* MAXIMILIANUM II. CÆSAREM; *ubi ſententiam ſuam refert de Calice Laicis concedendo, & Sacerdotum conjugio.*

QUID profici potuit in eo Concilio, in quo numerarentur non ſuis momentis ponderarentur ſententiæ? Si cauſa, ſi ratione pugnandum fuiſſet, ſi pauci quidam ſocii nobis adfuiſſent, viceramus, quamvis pauci, magnas copias adverſariorum. Sed cum numerus tantùm prodiret in aciem, quo longè inferiores futuri fuiſſemus, in optima cauſa victores diſcedere non potuimus. Singulis noſtrûm centenos de ſuis Papa potuit opponere: Ac, ſi centeni parum multi viderentur, repentè mille creare potuit, quos ſuis laborantibus ſubſidio mitteret. Itaq; videre erat quotidie famelicos & egentes Epiſcopos, ex majori parte barbatulos adoleſcentes, luxúq; perditos Tridentum volitare, conductos ad ſententiam ſecundum Papæ voluntatem dicendam, indoctos illos quidem & ſtolidos, ſed tamen impudentia & audacia utiles. Hi cum ad veteres adulatores Papæ acceſſerant, tum verò victrix exultabat iniquitas, neq; decerni jam quidquam potuit, niſi in eorum ſententiam, qui Papæ potentiam luxúmq; defendere, ſummam Religionem arbitrabantur. Erat aliquis vir gravis & eruditus, qui tantam indignitatem ferre non poterat: Hic, ut non bonus Catholicus, terrore, minis, ac inſectatione à Concilio ad probandum quæ nollet, traducebatur. In ſumma, in eum ſtatum res eſt adducta, iſtorum, qui illuc facti inſtitutique venerant, improbitate, non ut jam Epiſcoporum, ſed larvarum, non hominum, ſed ſimulachrorum, quæ nervis moventur alienis, ut Dædali ſtatuæ fuiſſe perhibentur, Concilium illud videretur. Erant Epiſcopi illi conductitii plerique, ut utres, ruſticorum muſicum inſtrumentum, quos, ut vocem mittant, inflare neceſſe eſt. Nil habuit cum illo conventu S. Spiritus commercii, omnia erant humana Conſilia, quæ in immodica, & ſanè quàm pudenda Pontificum tuenda dominatione conſumebantur. Illinc reſponſa, tanquam Delphis, aut Dodonâ expectabantur: Illinc nimirum Spiritus ille S. quem ſuis Conciliis præeſſe jactant, tabellarii manticis incluſus mittebatur: Qui, quod admodum ridiculum eſt, cum aliquando, ut ſit, aquæ pluviis excreſcebant, non ante advolare poterat, quàm inundationes deſediſſent. Ita fiebat, ut Spiritus non ſuper aquas, ut eſt in Geneſi, ſed ſecus aquas ferretur. O portentoſam & ſingularem dementiam! Ratum nihil eſſe poterat, quod Epiſcopi, tanquam plebs, ſciſcerent, niſi Papa autor fieret.



THE

HISTORY

OF THE

INQUISITION,

Compoſed by the Reverend Father

PAUL SERVITA,

Who was alſo the

COMPILER

OF THE

Council of Trent.

A Pious, Learned, and Curious Work, neceſſary for Counſellors, Caſuiſts, and Politicians.

Tranſlated out of the *Italian* Copy,

By *ROBERT GENTILIS.*

LONDON,

Printed by *John Macock*, for *Samuel Mearne*, *John Martyn*, and *Henry Herringman.*

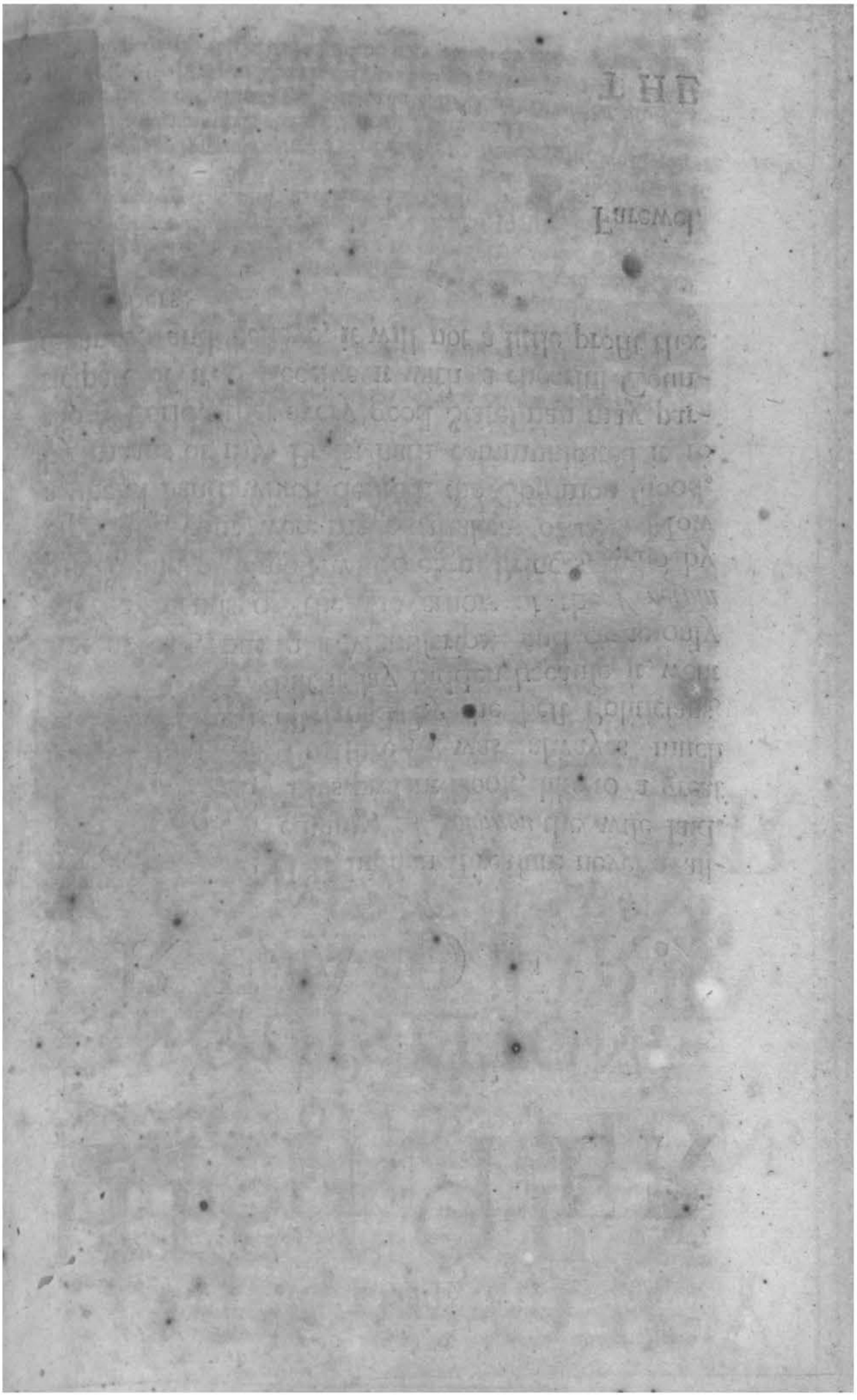
M.DC. LXXVI.

THE PRINTER TO THE READER.

THE hidden Treaſure never availed any, as *Solomon* the wiſe ſaid. This preſent Book, like to a great Treaſure, was alwayes much eſteemed by the beſt Politicians, but it lay hidden becauſe it went not abroad, but in a Manuſcript, and came only to the Hands of the Governors of the *Venetian* State, and of ſome few Foreign Princes, who by eſpecial favour were made partakers of it. Now a liberal hand which deſireth the Common Good, by means of my Preſs, hath communicated it to the VVorld, that every good Stateſman may participate of it. Receive it with a chearful Countenance, and believe, it will not a little profit thee and others.

Farewel.

THE



THE HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION,

And particularly of the

VENETIAN.

WITH THE

Motives which cauſed that moſt Renowned Commonwealth of *Venice* to make divers Ordinances touching this matter.

To the Moſt Renowned DUKE *of* Venice:

F. P. V. S. *wiſheth all Happineſs.*

PERFORMING with all due reverence the Command laid on me by your Highneſs to draw unto a head, and ſet down in order all Matters which concern the Office of the Inquiſition againſt Hereſie, I have found all things ſo well ordered in times paſt, by the Councils of this moſt Renowned Commonwealth, that there needeth no other thing to be done, but only to put together that which on divers occaſions hath been determined, bringing to paſs that which was deliberated by the moſt excellent Council of Ten, and in the year 1550. the 22d of *November*, the 8th Chap. *vid.* that throughout all the *Venetian* Dominion ſhould be an uniform Proceeding, and conformable to what is obſerved within this Renowned City: As alſo it was agreed upon between Pope *Julius* the Third, and this moſt Illuſtrious Commonwealth, in the year 1551. *Chap.* 18, 19.

Which in my reſpectful Opinion may eaſily be done, if the Orders made

made upon ſeveral Occaſions be reduced unto Chapters, and thence as it were a Re-capitulation framed, wherein ſhall briefly and ſummarily be ſet down ſo much as is neceſſary to be obſerved, and Copies may be given either of the Heads alone, or joined with the aforeſaid determination, as it ſhall ſeem beſt.

I will firſt gather the Heads, then will I add the Conſiderations and Cauſes for which theſe Orders were firſt eſtabliſhed to the Honour of God; for the which it is alſo neceſſary to continue the keeping of them, for the Maintenance of holy Religion, and publick Quietneſs.

CHAP. I.

THAT as in Venice *by a publick and ancient Decree there are deputed three Senators, Inquiſitors againſt Hereſie, to be preſent at all which is done by the Fryars Inquiſitors; ſo in other Cities of the State, the Governors ſhall be preſent at the framing of Proceſſes made by the Inquiſition.*

CHAP. II.

That the Governors of the Cities having ſome lawful lett to hinder their preſence, they ſhall cauſe the Podeſta *his Deputy, or ſome other of the Court of Juſtice to ſupply their place.*

CHAP. III.

That no Governor, having any intimateneſs with Rome, *ſhall be an Aſſiſtant to the aforeſaid framing of Proceſſes.*

CHAP. IV.

That the Aſſiſtants Office ſhall be only to be preſent, without doing any thing elſe, and if any doubt ariſe, to make it known to the Prince.

CHAP. V.

That the Aſſiſtants ſhall not ſwear Faithfulneſs or Secreſie to the Inquiſitors.

CHAP. VI.

That the Governors ſhall from time to time give the Prince account of what is done in the Office of the Inquiſition.

CHAP. VII.

That the ſame Governors ſhall give Notice to the Prince, and the Ambaſſador of Rome, *of the death of the Inquiſitor, or of the Occaſion of changing him.*

CHAP. VIII.

That the Governors ſhall not admit of any Inquiſitors in the Cities by them Governed, without the Princes Letters.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

That the Governor shall assist not only in Secular Mens Causes, but also in Ecclesiastical and Regular Mens, though they were of the Inquisitors Monastery.

CHAP. X.

That the Governors shall not suffer any Act to be made after Denunciation, without their presence.

CHAP. XI.

That although the Inquisitors should impart the Business to them, yet the Governors should not forbear to be present thereat.

CHAP. XII.

That the Ecclesiastical Persons having framed a Process without their Assistance, the Governors shall cause it to be framed again before them.

CHAP. XIII.

That they shall do the like, though the Process were to be sent out of the State.

CHAP. XIV.

That in the Process, mention shall be made of the Governors Assistances, or their Deputies.

CHAP. XV.

That no Decrees or Precepts which come from out of the State, shall be put into any Processes.

CHAP. XVI.

That neither the Processes, nor the Prisoners shall be sent out of the Dominions, without the Prince have notice of it.

CHAP. XVII.

That the Prætorial Vicar, or other of the Court being Assistants, shall not be Consulters.

CHAP. XVIII.

That the Governors shall not suffer the Imprisonment of any, before the Process be framed.

CHAP. XIX.

That they shall not suffer the Inquisition to meddle with Inchantments, and South-Sayings, if they do not contain Heresy.

CHAP. XX.

That they shall do the same by Herbal Inchantments, Witchcrafts and Sorceries.

CHAP. XXI.

That ordinary Blaſphemies ſhall not be judged by the Inquiſition, nor wounding of Images, nor Irriſions committed by ſinging of Pſalms, or impure Letanies.

CHAP. XXII.

That the delict of having Two Wives ſhall not belong to the Inquiſition.

CHAP. XXIII.

That the Aſſiſtants ſhall not ſuffer the Inquiſition to meddle in caſes of Uſury.

CHAP. XXIV.

That the Inquiſition ſhall not in any Cauſe proceed againſt Jews *or* Infidels.

CHAP. XXV.

That the Inquiſitors ſhall not proceed againſt the Greeks.

CHAP. XXVI.

That he, that ſhall be thought to have done againſt the Faith beyond the Alpes, ſhall not be cited by Criers, nor by affixment of Schedules.

CHAP. XXVII.

That the Inquiſition ſhall have nothing to do with the Goods of condemned Perſons.

CHAP. XXVIII.

That no Bull ſhall be publiſhed by any Order from the Congregation of Rome *without the Prince his Licence.*

CHAP. XXIX.

That the Inquiſition ſhall not cauſe any Prohibition of any ſort of Books to be printed, without the obſerving the Conditions of the Agreement.

CHAP. XXX.

That the Inquiſition ſhall not command any that is of a Secular Art or Profeſſion.

CHAP. XXXI.

That the Inquiſitors ſhall not cauſe Artificers to be ſworn unto them.

CHAP. XXXII.

That the Inquiſitor ſhall not make any Precept or Monitory for the Commonalty, or for the Judges.

CHAP. XXXIII.

That the Inquiſitor ſhall not publiſh any Edict, containing more than the ſix ordinary Heads.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIV.

That caſes which ſhall happen in Towns or Villages ſhall be decided in the Cities to which they are ſubject.

CHAP. XXXV.

That a Caſe happning in a place, whereto no Inquiſition properly belongeth, the delinquent ſhall be ſent to the place where he is queſtionable for ſpiritual Matters.

CHAP. XXXVI.

That contumacious Perſons ſhall be baniſhed, either definitively, or for a time, as it ſhall ſeem beſt to the Inquiſitors.

CHAP. XXXVII.

That the Inquiſitors ſhall make ſuch Proclamations as they ſhall pleaſe, againſt ſuch as are eſcaped out of their Priſons.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

That thoſe which are Inquiſited or Cited for Hereſie, flying within the State, ſhall be condemned for four years to Priſons ſeparate from other Priſons.

CHAP. XXXIX.

That the Inquiſition ſhall puniſh falſe Accuſers, and falſe Witneſſes, when the falſhood appears by the ſame Proceſs, otherwiſe it ſhall belong to the Governors.

BEhold here, moſt Illuſtrious Prince, the ſum of all the aforeſaid nine and thirty Chapters, now reſteth to ſhew unto your Highneſs the reaſon of them all: But firſt, that we may diſcourſe more ſoundly, it will be needful for me to relate when, how, and for what cauſe the Office of the Inquiſition was inſtituted in Chriſtendom; and at what time, and in what form it was admitted into this famous City of *Venice*.

Beginning therefore from thence, I will ſay, that although Hereſies by Divine permiſſion were ſown in the World, for the exerciſe and trial of good Catholicks, even in thoſe times as the Church began, &c. after our Lords Aſcenſion, yet the particular Office of the Inquiſition againſt Hereticks did not begin till after the year one thouſand two hundred.

The holy Apoſtles left for a remedy to this peſtilence, that the Heretick ſhould be admoniſhed once or twice, and that, periſhing in his obſtinacy, Catholicks ſhould ſeparate themſelves from his fellowſhip, and excommunicate him. Nor was there any further proceeding until *Conſtantines* time, who embraced the holy Faith, and was after imitated by his ſucceſſors. Then amongſt other things the Saints taught Princes, that they having two Callings, the one of Chriſtians, the other of Princes, were bound in both of them to ſerve God as Chriſtians,

in obſerving of the Divine precepts, as every other private Perſon; but as Princes, ſerving his Divine Majeſty with well ordering of Laws, and directing their Subjects to Piety, Honeſty, and Juſtice; puniſhing all ſuch as tranſgreſs the Divine Commandments, and eſpecially thoſe of the Decalogue: For thoſe that ſin againſt the Firſt Table, which concerneth Divine Honor, are worſe than they who ſin againſt the Second, which concerneth Juſtice among Men: Wherefore Princes are more bound to puniſh Blaſphemies, Hereſies, and Perjuries than Murthers and Thefts: For this cauſe were divers Laws made againſt Hereſies, which are Regiſtred in the *Juſtinian* and *Theodoſian* Codes, impoſing upon the guilty pecuniary Mulcts, Baniſhments, Privation of part, or of all their Goods, according to the circumſtances of the Offence, the execution of which Laws was committed to their ſecular Officers.

Every criminal Judgment hath three parts; the Cogniſance of the cauſe of the Delict, the Cogniſance of the Fact, and the Sentence. In the Judgment for Hereſie, the Cogniſance of the reaſon is, whether ſuch an Opinion be Heretical or no: The Cogniſance of the Fact is, whether a Perſon ſo accuſed, or denounced, hath defended or held, or ſhewed any token of holding, that Opinion: The Sentence conſiſteth either in abſolving the guiltleſs from an imputation, or condemning him that is found guilty. The firſt Cogniſance, what Opinion is Heretical, was always Eccleſiaſtical, neither can it any way belong to the ſecular Power; and when in thoſe days there grew any difficulty upon ſome Opinion, the Emperors did require the Judgment of Biſhops; and if need were, did call Councils: But the Cogniſance of the Fact, whether the accuſed Perſon were innocent, or guilty, that he might have the puniſhment ordained by the Laws; and the ſentence of Condemnation, or Abſolution, did all belong to the ſecular Power.

Some of the holy Biſhops and Prelats of thoſe times, after they had declared what Opinions were Heretical, and had ſeparated from the Church as excommunicate, and anathematized thoſe that did hold them, intermedled no further, nor durſt give notice thereof to the Magiſtrates; holding it to be no work of entire Charity. Others having perceived, that fear of the ſecular Magiſtrate did overcome the pertinency of the Obſtinate, and did work that, which love of the Truth could not do; held it as their duty to make known the Heretical Perſons unto ſecular Judges; together with their erronious Opinions, and to excite them to put the Imperial Laws in execution: But becauſe ſomtimes an Heretick Preacher did cauſe ſome notable trouble, the Judges regarding the Sedition more than the Hereſie, did proceed alſo to Capital puniſhments; the Church-men did in theſe caſes forbear to appear before the Tribunal, and did always uſe unfeigned exhortation to the Judges, that they ſhould inflict no puniſhments of blood upon the Delinquents. St. *Martin* in *France* excommunicated a Biſhop, becauſe he had accuſed certain Hereticks to *Maximus* Uſurper of the Empire, which by him were put to death. St. *Auguſtine* alſo moſt zealous of the purity of the Church, to clear it of this evil ſeed, did often and earneſtly deſire the Proconſuls, Counts, and other Imperial Miniſters in *Africk*, for to execute the Princes Laws; and would make known unto them the places, where Hereticks held their Conventicles, and did diſcover the Perſons: But always when he ſaw any Judge inclined to proceed againſt the Life, he earneſtly prayed him, by

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the mercies of God, by the love of Chriſt, and ſuch like urging intreaties, that he ſhould deſiſt from puniſhments of blood: And in an Epiſtle to *Donatus* Proconſul of *Africk*, he tells him plainly, that if he do perſevere in puniſhing of Hereticks, with the loſs of their lives, then the Biſhop would forbear giving notice of them; and not being made known by others, they would reſt unpuniſhed, and the Imperial Laws unexecuted: Whereas proceeding mildly and without bloodſhed, they would have been vigilant in diſcovering them; and notifying of them for the Service of God, and Execution of the Laws.

In this manner were things handled in the Church, for cauſes of Hereſie, under the *Roman* Empire, until the year of our Salvation 800. when the *Eaſtern* Empire being divided from the *Weſtern*, this Form reſted in the *Eaſtern* until the end of it.

In the *Weſtern*, the Princes needed not make any Laws, nor take much care about this Buſineſs; ſeeing that for the ſpace of three hundred years, from 800. to 1100. there were very few Hereticks found in theſe parts, and when any caſe did happen, (which chanced but very ſeldom,) the Biſhop did judge of it, in the ſame manner as he proceeded againſt Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, as againſt infringers of the Holy-days, breakers of Faſts, and ſuch like, judging and puniſhing them themſelves, in thoſe places where they had juriſdiction granted them by the Princes; and where they had not the like power, they did implore the ſecular aid to puniſh them.

After the year 1100. by reaſon of the continual unkindneſſes, which for fifty years before had been between the Popes and the Emperors, and laſted afterwards for a whole age, until 1200. with frequent Wars, and Scandals, and the little Religious life of the Clergy, there did ariſe an infinite number of Hereticks, whoſe moſt common Hereſies were againſt the Popes Authority: In thoſe days the plague of Hereſie grew ſo faſt, that where the multitude exceeded, there was a forced Toleration: A Biſhop where he could, did proceed in thoſe cauſes: The Popes of *Rome* did with frequent Letters exhort, and excite them to their duties: Neither until the year 1200. was ever heard the name of the Office of the Inquiſition, or of Inquiſitor againſt Hereſie: But the Biſhops and their Vicars being little able, and leſs diligent to perform that which the Popes deſired, and had been neceſſary to have been done, there were in thoſe days moſt opportunely inſtituted the two Religious Orders of St. *Dominick* and St. *Francis*, which in ſhort time were filled up with the moſt zealous and learned Perſons of that Age, altogether given to the maintaning of the Church of *Rome*, and the Pontifical authority; whom the Popes uſing againſt Hereticks, they ſent them to Preach, and to convert them; to exhort the Princes and Catholick Nations to perſecute the obſtinate, and to inform themſelves in each place of the number and quality of Hereticks, of the Zeal of the Catholicks, and diligence of the Biſhops; and to bring their Relations to *Rome*; from whence they had the names of Inquiſitors: Yet had they no Tribunal, only ſomtimes they would excite ſome Judge to baniſh or puniſh thoſe Hereticks which they found: Somtimes they would ſtir up ſome Potent men to take Arms againſt them; ſomtimes they did excite the People, ſewing a Croſs of Red Cloth upon the Garment of ſuch as would dedicate themſelves to ſuch an action, and would unite them, and bring them on to the extirpation of Hereticks; and this laſted for the ſpace of fifty years, *Viz.* until the year one thouſand two hundred and fifty.

This

This enterpriſe of the Fathers Inquiſitory was much furthered by the Emperor *Frederick* the Second, who in the year 1244. being in *Padua*, ſet forth four Proclamations concerning this matter, receiving the Inquiſitors into his protection, and impoſing the penalty of fire upon obſtinate Hereticks, and upon penitent ones perpetual impriſonment, committing the Cogniſance thereof unto the Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and the condemning of them unto Secular Judges: And this was the firſt Law, that impoſed puniſhment of Death upon Hereticks, which Law (by reaſon of the cruel Diſcords that aroſe in thoſe days, between the Emperor and three Popes ſucceſſively,) did not bring forth that good effect of rooting out the ſprung up Hereſies, but, being all buſied in Wars and Diſſentions, as well the Popes and other Prelats, as the Emperors and his Miniſters, Hereſie had time to take root and increaſe. Finally, the Emperor *Frederick* dying that ſame year, and the buſineſs of *Germany* being in a confuſion, and *Italy* in an *Interregnum*, which laſted three and twenty years; Pope *Innocent* the Fourth, remaining through the death of the Emperor as it were Arbitrator in *Lombardy*, and ſome other parts of *Italy*, applyed his whole ſtudy to the rooting out of Hereſies, which were much increaſed in theſe late troubles: And having conſidered the good, the *Dominican* and *Franciſcan* Fryers had done in buſineſs, through their diligence, having no reſpect of perſons or dangers therein, he held it as his only remedy to employ them, not, as before, only to preach, and aſſemble Men marked with the Croſs, and to do extraordinary executions, but with giving them a ſtable Authority, and erecting them a firm Tribunal, which ſhould have care of nothing elſe. To this, two things oppoſed themſelves; the one was, how they might without confuſion take away caſes of Hereſie from the Epiſcopal juriſdiction, which had always judged them, and ſet up an Office proper to them alone. The other thing was, how they might exclude the ſecular Magiſtrate, to whoſe judgment was committed the puniſhing of Hereticks by the ancient Laws of the Empire, by the laſt Laws of *Frederick*, and by peculiar Statutes which each City was forced to make, for fear of overthrowing her Government in thoſe great tumults. To the firſt inconvenience the Pope found this remedy, which was to make a Tribunal, compoſed of the Inquiſitor and the *Biſhop*, in which the Inquiſitor ſhould not only be chief, but all; and the Biſhop ſhould have little more than a name in it; and alſo to give ſome appearance of Authority to the ſecular Power, he gave him leave to appoint Officers to the Inquiſition, but to be choſen by the Inquiſitors themſelves; to ſend with the Inquiſitor, when any of his Aſſeſſors did go about the Country; but of the Election of the Inquiſitor himſelf, to apply one third part of Goods confiſcate to the Commonalty, and ſuch like things, which in ſhew made the Magiſtrate the Inquiſitors Companion, but in ſubſtance his Servant: There remained, to provide Money for expences which would ariſe, in keeping of Priſons, and feeding of Priſoners, for which it was ordered that the Commonalty ſhould pay: And ſo it was ordered, he being in *Breſcia* in the year 1251. and the *Dominican* Fryers were deputed Inquiſitors, in *Lombardy*, *Romany*, and *Marca Triviſana*. Seven Months after the Pope writ a Bull to all the Governors, Councils and Commonalties of thoſe three Provinces, ſetting them down one and thirty heads which they ſhould obſerve, for the proſperous ſucceſs of the new Office, commanding, that they ſhould be Regiſtred in the Commonalties Statute-Books, to be inviolably obſerved.

Then

Then he gave the Inquiſitors Power to Excommunicate and Interdict them, if they did not obſerve them. The Pope did not at that time extend himſelf any further, to bring in the Inquiſition into other places of *Italy*, or without ſaying that thoſe three Provinces were moſt under his Eyes, and beſt of him beloved: But the chief cauſe was, becauſe in theſe his Authority was great, they having no Prince, and each City governing itſelf; wherein the Pope had alſo a part, becauſe he had aſſiſted them in theſe laſt Wars: Yet for all this, the Edict was not eaſily received, whereupon *Alexander* the Fourth his Succeſſor, ſeven years after, *vid.* in the year 1259. was conſtrained to moderate and renew it, commanding the Inquiſitors nevertheleſs, with Cenſures, to force the Governors for to obſerve them. For the ſame cauſe *Clement* the Fourth, ſix years after that, *vid.* 1265. did renew it in the ſame manner; yet was it not fully executed, ſo that four other enſuing Popes were conſtrained to employ themſelves in overcoming thoſe difficulties; which thwarted them in cauſing the Office to be admitted in ſome places: Theſe difficulties did ariſe from two Heads: The one was, the undiſcreet ſeverity of the Fryers Inquiſitors, their Extortions, and other Grievances: The other was, becauſe the Commonalties did refuſe to bear the Charges: Therefore they reſolved to lay down that pretence, of having the Charges born by the Commonalty. And for to temper the exceſſive rigor of the Inquiſitors, they gave ſome part of power more unto the Biſhop, which was the cauſe of bringing in the Office with leſs difficulty into theſe three Provinces of *Lombardy*, *Romany*, and *Marca Triviſana*, and afterwards into *Tuſcan*; and ſo it paſſed into *Arragon*, and into ſome Cities of *Germany* and *France*: It was not brought into the Kingdom of *Naples*, by reaſon of the ſmall Correſpondency which was between the Popes, and the Kings of that Kingdom.

It was ſoon taken out of *France* and *Germany*, ſome of the Inquiſitors being driven out of thoſe places for their Rigors, and Extortions; and other ſome going away for want of Employment: For which cauſe, they were alſo reduced to a ſmall number in *Arragon*, ſince they had not yet penetrated into other Kingdoms of *Spain*.

In the year 1484. the Catholick King *Ferdinand*, having extinguiſhed the Kingdom of the *Mahometans* in *Granata*, to purge his, and his Wife *Elizabeth*'s Kingdoms from the *Moors* and *Jews* newly converted, erected, with the conſent of Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth, a Tribunal of the Inquiſition in all his Kingdoms of *Spain*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, which were by him poſſeſſed, in the Form which laſteth unto this preſent; by which Tribunal are judged, not only theſe which are accuſed of *Mahoemtiſm*, or *Judaiſm*, but alſo of Hereſy. The Form which was then brought in, and doth yet laſt, is, that the King nameth an Inquiſitor General throughout all his Kingdoms to the Pope, and his Holineſs doth confirm him; and for the reſt, the Court of *Rome* is not admitted to intermeddle any further. The Inquiſitor named by the King, and confirmed by the Pope, nameth the particular Inquiſitors in every place, which nevertheleſs cannot enter into their charge without the Kings approbation: The King alſo deputeth a Council or Senate upon this Buſineſs, in that place where the Court is, of which the Supreme Inquiſitor is Preſident: And this Council hath Supreme Juriſdiction, conſults of all the Buſineſſes, makes new Orders when it ſeeth any need, determines Differences between particular Inquiſitors, puniſheth the defects of the Officers, heareth the Appeals, and doth not put them over to any Oath: But the King his Royal Council, would have the Inquiſition

Inquiſition to be brought into the Kingdom of *Naples*, and ſubjected to that of *Spain*, as alſo in *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and the *Indies*: And the Court of *Rome* would have it depending from it, alledging therefore, beſides the Pontifical Spiritual Authority, the Temporal Superiority which the Pope hath in that Kingdom. In the year 1547. *Don Frederico di Toledo* being Viceroy there, would overcome theſe difficulties and came to execution; which thing excited ſuch a Commotion and Sedition amongſt the People, that it was almoſt grown to a War between them and the Preſidiary *Spaniards*, and the *Spaniards* getting the Victory, being Maſters of the Forts, the Tumult was quieted, and the Principals were puniſhed, ſome with death, and ſome with exile: Yet he left off his enterpriſe of bringing in the Inquiſition, not ſo much for fear of a new Tumult, as through the effectual Interceſſion of the Pope and Cardinals; the thought of bringing to paſs this their intent, remaining ſtill in *Spain*, and in *Rome* a reſolution to oppoſe it; ſo that to this day there is no Inquiſition in all that Kingdom, and if that any caſe hapneth, it is diſpatched by the Biſhop, or elſe it is delegated from *Rome* to ſome other Prelat, who notwithſtanding doth nothing, unleſs he have firſt leave from the Viceroy. In the Low-Countries, ſince the ſpringing up of the *Lutheran* Sect, the Hereticks were puniſhed by the ſecular Magiſtrates, without any other Office of Inquiſition; ſomtimes with death, ſomtimes with baniſhment: Which Magiſtrates relenting from their rigor, by reaſon of the multitude of Hereticks, in the year 1550. the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth reſolved to bring in the Inquiſition after the *Spaniſh* manner, and thereupon publiſhed a Decree; but being advertiſed by *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, his Siſter, and Governeſs of thoſe States, that all the Foreign Merchants would be gone, and the Cities would be without Traffick, he declared by another Edict, that the Inquiſition ſhould have no power upon Strangers; and for the Natives, he did much mitigate the Form of it, yet was it not put to execution according to the Emperor's mind, but only unperfectly: And the puniſhing of Hereticks for the moſt part reſted in the Magiſtrate, and ſlackned continually more and more: Wherefore *Philip* King of *Spain* tried in the year 1569. and the years following, again the bringing in of the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition after divers ways, but could by no means eſtabliſh it, by reaſon of divers Reſiſtances, till that in the year 1567. it was by force of Arms eſtabliſhed by the Duke of *Alva*, and being brought in, immediately ſucceeded the Wars, and was ſtill more and more reſtrained, both in Scope and Authority, until it was brought to nothing, in which ſtate it remaineth at this preſent.

The Beginning of the Inquiſition of Venice.

THE Renowned City of *Venice*, by God's Grace, kept itſelf untouched from the Contagion of Hereſy, at all times before the year 1232. which thing is manifeſt by this, that at the promotion of Duke *Giacomo Theophilo*, in the year 1229. in which mention is made of the Form of Proceeding, and of the Puniſhments and Chaſtiſements of many ſorts of Offenders, Hereſy is not named: And in the year 1232. when the ſame Duke publiſhed the Statute, wherein is ordained the Puniſhment for many Offences, and eſpecially of Miſdeeds, and charming by Herbs, there is no mention made of Hereſy, as certainly there would

would have been if the City at that time had felt any ſuch Plague. But after that Pope *Innocent* the Fourth tryed to deprive the Emperour *Frederick* the Second, of the Empire, Kingdoms, and States which he poſſeſſed, and a great part of Chriſtendom being thereupon in Arms, and all *Lombardy* in debate with the *Marca Travigiana*, and *Romania*, then divided into favourers of the Pope, and of the Emperor; they were then infected with divers perverſe Opinions, and retiring themſelves to *Venice*, to live in ſecurity, the wiſdom of this Goverment in the year 1249. found a remedy to guard the City, from being infected with that contagion that the reſt of *Italy* was; wherefore they determined to chuſe honeſt diſcreet and Catholick men, to inquire againſt Hereticks: and that the Patriarch of *Grado* Biſhop of *Caſtello*, and the other Biſhops of the Dogie of *Venice* from *Grado* to *Caverzere* ſhould judge of their Opinions, and thoſe that by any of the Biſhops ſhould be given out to be Hereticks, ſhould be condemned to the fire by the Duke and Counſellours, or the major part of them: which things are ſeen in the promotion of Duke *Marino Moreſini* in the year 1249. But for fear leſt the death of ſome Biſhop ſhould interrupt the buſineſs, it was added in the Commiſſion of *Diacomo Contarine*, Duke, in the year 1275. that the ſame ſhould be done to them which were given in for Hereticks, by the Epiſcopal Vicars, in caſe the Vicars were dead. This Inſtitution was juſt the ſame as that which is contained in the Body of the Civil Law, and was uſed in the *Roman* Empire: For firſt, the Cogniſance of the fact belonged to Lay Judges, deputed by the Commonalty to inquire againſt Hereticks, who once diſcovered, is to be judged by the Biſhops whether their opinion did agree with the true Faith; which done, the Duke and Counſellors made up the ſentence, not as mere Executors, but as true Judges; which plainly appeareth by thoſe words, or by the major part of them, which words cannot be ſpoken of any but ſuch as have decreeing voices.

Notwithſtanding, the inſtant requeſts of Pope *Innocent*, *Alexander*, *Urban*, and *Clement*, and ſeven other Popes their Succeſſors; the moſt renowned Common-wealth could never be perſwaded to receive the Office of Fryars Inquiſitors, inſtituted by the Pope. The Secular ſufficed it, inſtituted by it ſelf, and brought forth good fruit for Gods ſervice.

They had before their eyes the frequent diſorders which were bred, by reaſon of this new Office, in thoſe Cities where it was: becauſe the Fryars Inquiſitors often in their Sermons did excite the people, and marking them with Croſſes, did work their revenges upon their Enemies under the name of Hereticks, and alſo other innocent perſons were under that name oppreſſed by them, as deſired their goods; one in *Milan* in the year 1242. the other in *Parma*, in the year 1279. which had like to have been the ruine of thoſe two Cities; the formal order of this renowned Common-wealth is to hold with old and approved things, and the diſorders of other places did force it to keep that Office, which by themſelves was inſtituted in the year 1249. as it is ſaid before.

But *Nicholas* the Fourth coming to be Pope, being of the Order of your *Minor* Fryars, he to bring to paſs the determination of his Predeceſſors, and to advance the Fryars of his own Order, to whom he was greatly affected; did ſo inſtantly intreat, that it was reſolved to receive the Office, but with ſuch limitation, that it ſhould not be able to breed any ſcandal; and therefore order was taken, and having called together all the Councils of the Common-wealth, it was determined that the Duke alone ſhould have power, to give aid to the Inqui-

ſitors, to exerciſe their Office; and that there ſhould be Money depoſited out of the Common Treaſure, with an Overſeer who ſhould lay out the Expences for the Office, and ſhould receive all the Emoluments and Profits that ſhould ariſe out of it.

This determination was ſignified to the Pope with a publick Mandate of the ſaid Council, and the Pope having ſeen and examined it, was content therewith, and did exhort them to follow it. And of all this he framed a Bull given at *Rieti*, the 28. of *Auguſt*, in the ſame year 1289. inſerting in it the foreſaid determination of the greater Council, made the fourth of the ſame Month: and this is the beginning in *Venice* of the Office of the Inquiſition mixed of Secular and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, as it continueth to this preſent.

Here it is neceſſary to ſtop, and conſider that the Office of the Inquiſition within theſe Dominions, doth not depend from the Court of *Rome*, but properly belonging to the moſt renowned Common-wealth, undepending, ſet up, and conſtituted by the ſame, and eſtabliſhed by Contract and Agreement with the Apoſtolick See; and therefore ought to be governed by their own Cuſtoms and Ordinances, without being obliged to receive Orders from any other place, whereof there be four moſt clear Reaſons.

The firſt, Becauſe that although *Innocent* the Fourth, and other ſucceeding Popes, made Orders for the eſtabliſhing of the Office of the *Romiſh* Inquiſition in every City, yet thoſe Orders had no place in this Common-wealth.

The ſecond, becauſe the Office of the Inquiſition is not inſtituted by virtue of any Popes Bull, but by the determination of the greater Council.

The third, Becauſe that Pope *Nicholas* did only give conſent to that which was determined by the Common-wealth.

The fourth, Becauſe that the Charges, and the profits were the Commonalties, and not the Church-mens; wherefore they, in as much as belonged to the Office, did depend on the Secular inſtitutor. The expences which were made were no ſmall matter; for (beſides extraordinary ones for taking men, and the food of Captives) the Inquiſitor had for his ſtipend twelve Duckets of Gold a Month, which now would be above ſix and thirty Duckets.

And this truth, that the Office is *Venetian*, and not ſubject to any others, appeareth by an accident which happened ſome twelve years after the firſt inſtitution of it, *vid.* in the year 1301, when Fryar *Antony*, Inquiſitor, made a Monitory, unto *Peter Gradenigro*, Duke, that he ſhould ſwear to obſerve the Papal and Imperial Conſtitutions againſt Hereticks. To whom the Duke anſwered by a Publick Writing, that he was not to take any other Oath, ſince that in his promotion to the place he had ſworn to as much as was agreed with *Nicholas* the Fourth; neither was he to be tyed to any other Apoſtolical, or Imperial Ordinances, becauſe they were not conformable to that Agreement, and the Inquiſitor withdrew himſelf from his attempt, and yeilded. I do not find when the three Inquiſitors, which were to aſſiſt in the Prince his name, were firſt preferred: But it is likely that they were deputed by him, and the Counſellours in the beginning, as well becauſe there being nothing to the contrary remembred, it ought to be ſo ſuppoſed: as alſo becauſe that before the erecting of this Office of the Inquiſition, mixed of Secular and Eccleſiaſtical; there was the Office meerly Secular, to which Noblemen were raiſed to inquire againſt Hereticks, as it hath been above rehearſed; whence it may be preſumed that the Election and name continued.

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The Expoſition of the firſt Chapter.

WHEREFORE holding this for firm truth, in the firſt Chapter it is ſaid; that as there be three Aſſiſtants to the Office of the Inquiſition in *Venice*, ſo ought the Rulers aſſiſt in the ſubjected Cities, which ought to be ruled according to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the City which commandeth, unleſs it be in thoſe particulars, which either by priviledge, or the Prince his grace, are granted unto each City. And Likewiſe the Liberties and Immunities of the commanding City, are communicated unto the above named, as ſoon as they enter into that ſubjection: and this is obſerved in all Kingdoms and States. And only this legal diſpoſition and cuſtom is ſufficient to make lawful the aſſiſtance of the Rulers, throughout all the Dominion.

But beſides the legal diſpoſition, there is alſo a particular Agreement made with the Apoſtolical See in the year 1551. The occaſion of which was, that the moſt excellent Council of Ten, and thoſe joined with them, having put the Repreſentants in mind of their duties, leſt through negligence ſome abuſe might be brought in, writ to all the Governours that they ſhould be preſent to the forming of Proceſſes in the Inquiſition. The Court of *Rome* reputed it to be a novelty, with prejudice of the Eccleſiaſtical Authority; and Pope *Julius* the Third complained of it to the Embaſſadour, ſaying that it was againſt Pontificial Decrees, and that he thereupon would make a Bull. The Ambaſſador anſwered, that it was not a thing newly determined, but moſt ancient, and renewed to preſerve the juriſdiction, and not to aſſume unto themſelves any part of that which belonged to the Church, but rather to aid it. The Pope was content with the anſwer, and added, if theſe Lords will be Coadjutors, may they be bleſſed, but if they will be Co-judges, we cannot endure it. And the Pope reputing it to be a buſineſs which ought to be ſounded to the bottom, and not to be contented with words; eſpecially ſeeing the great ſtir that was amongſt the Cardinals: therefore he ſent *Achille Graffi*, the Elect of *Monteſiaſcone*, on purpoſe to *Venice*, to whom he gave a Commiſſion the ſixth of *Auguſt* 1551. with theſe words: We ſend you to make ſome Agreement touching the proceedings in Cauſes of Hereſie; it is held, that the aſſiſtance of the Secular Power is neceſſary within that City and Dominion, we do not diſprove of it, ſo that it be without intruding themſelves into the Cogniſance of ſentence, and a little lower, we will be contented with any form pleaſing to that Common-wealth, ſo it be *citra cognitionem & ſententiam.*

The expreſs Nuntio being come to *Venice*, it was an eaſie matter to accord, becauſe that both the parties did mean the ſame thing; wherefore it was immediately agreed in four Articles.

The firſt, that the Governours ſhall be preſent at the framing of Proceſſes, and to all that which the Inquiſitors or their Deputies ſhall do.

The ſecond, That the Inquiſitors, their Deputies, and Governours may have liberty to call ſuch Doctors as they ſhall think fitting, according to the quality of the caſes.

Thirdly, That any cauſes happening in Caſtles or Towns, ſhall be diſpatched in the principal City, by the ſame Orders.

The fourth, That the Governours ſhall once a week at leaſt be with the Inquiſitors and Deputies to attend upon this buſineſs.

Conformable to this agreement the 26. of *September*, Letters were ſent to all the Governours, and to *Rome*. The Pope having ſeen this Agreement, approved of it, and gave order to the Biſhop of *Ravello* his ordinary Nuncio in *Venice*, that he ſhould write the ſame to all inquiſitors and Deputies of the State, warning them alſo that in all Acts, Decrees, and Sentences which ſhould be made in this buſineſs, in the preſence of Governours, the Notary thereunto deputed ſhould write this Clauſe, *vid. Cum aſſiſtentia & præſentia Clariſſimorum Dominorum. N. N.*

The firſt agreement treated of with Pope *Nicholas*, in the year 1289. and this laſt one alſo, each by it ſelf are ſufficient to ſhew, but both joyned together do plainlier ſhew, that this Authority cannot be taken away by any Bull, or Decree made in any manner by any Pope whatſoever. He that granteth a gift, may upon occaſion revoke it, but that which is covenanted and agreed upon, is irrevocable; ſo that no Decree whatſoever made at *Rome*, ought to ſtir it, as that which was made by *Gregory* the 14. in 1591. declaring that Hereſie being an Offence purely Eccleſiaſtical, the Secular power ought not to intermeddle therein. And although ſome Popes did try to derogate from that agreement, as Pope *Leo* the Tenth ſaid to that purpoſe, Notwithſtanding any Cuſtoms confirmed by the Apoſtolick See, Such derogation cannot comprehend our caſe; for to confirm is one thing, and to covenant and agree is another. And if it ſhould ſay, Notwithſtanding the agreements made with the Apoſtolick See, it were a Nullity; for it is a contradiction that a thing ſhould be agreed upon between two, and that it ſhould be ſubject to the ſentence of one alone. It is certainly to be believed, that the Court will ſtill try by all means to exclude the Secular, and draw wholly under it ſelf the Offices concerning Hereſie, which are in this State. But no Act of any other can bring it in queſtion, or cauſe any prejudice: ſo that the prejudices do not come from this ſide through negligence in the Execution. Wherein we may take example from *Spain*; where the form of the Inquiſition being ſubject to the King, eſtabliſhed by an Agreement made in the year 1484: the *Spaniards* have refuſed to have it altered by any Bull or Order made at *Rome*. It was not an act of great honeſty when they printed the *Directory* at *Rome*, in the year 1584. to add unto it the aforeſaid brief of Pope *Leo* the Tenth, directed to all Biſhops and Inquiſitors within this Dominion: wherein (upon ſome notable caſes which happened in *Valcamonica*) that Pope writ, that the Secular Magiſtrate ſhall have nothing to do with the Office of the Inquiſition, and ſhall be only tyed to execute the ſentence, without any other buſineſs; which Brief they ought not by any means have printed. Firſt, becauſe they had it not out of an authentical place. Secondly, becauſe at that time it was not put in execution, nor peradventure ſeen, whereof a manifeſt token is, that the ſaid Brief being dated the fifteenth of *February*, 1521. after the *Roman* manner, ſome thirty days after, *vid.* the twentieth and four and twentieth of *March*, the moſt excellent Council of Ten (to reſiſt the innumerable Extortions done by the Clergy) ordered, That notwithſtanding the Sentences pronounced by the Inquiſition Office, the Biſhop of *Limine*, with two Doctors deputed by the Governours, the Proceſſes ſhould be new made, and carried to *Breſcia*, and there judged in the preſence of the Governours: Whereunto the Nuncio alſo conſented, and ſo it was accompliſhed; which ſheweth us plainly that the ſaid Brief of *Leo* the Tenth, either is not true, or is not to

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be ſeen, or did not take place, and therefore ought not to be printed, eſpecially ſeeing that the agreement made with *Julius* was ſince that time. But as the Court of *Rome* will never deſiſt from nouriſhing her pretence, ſo it ſhall be fitting to watch for to reſiſt, that negligence may not prejudice the buſineſs, never putting to a Treaty a thing already ſo firmly eſtabliſhed: becauſe the very putting of it to a Treaty in the year 1551. if the ſucceſs had not been good as it was, would have been a great prejudice to the agreement made in 1289. But that beſides the lawfulneſs and righteouſneſs of this ſentence, it is alſo neceſſary with skill to preſerve it; both private and publick reſpects do manifeſtly ſhew: For the power which God giveth the Prince, is not a gift given for his uſe alone, which he may let fall to decay without ſin, but though it cometh immediatly from God, yet is it given for the peoples benefit, ſo that if it be diminiſhed, it remains not ſo ſufficient for the good and entire Government, and the ſubject receiveth wrong, and the Divine Majeſty is offended.

Although the Prince is not bound to his Subject to govern him, yet to God he is, and the protection which he hath of him, though towards the Subject it be a favour, yet towards God it is a duty, which cannot be performed, without preſerving whole, and not ſuffering to be abated the Publick authority. The Office of the Inquiſition as it is more holy and needful than others; ſo (if it be not well handled but abuſed) it is more burthenous and hurtful: Where it is in the hands of juſt and prudent Church-men, they ſhould be encouraged to continue ſo, by looking to them and obſerving of them, for the opportunity of having power to work after ones own fancy may cauſe a Saint to overrun his Courſe: But where the Adminiſtrer hath all his requiſite qualities, it is neceſſary to withſtand his exceſſes. In times paſt it hath been ſeen that Subjects have been burthened with exceſſive rigours, by thoſe who under a ſhew of zeal, have ſought to make way for their ambition, or to get unto themſelves that which belonged to others. Therefore it is needful to mark, that avarice or ambition ſhould hurt no particular, but a good Father, and of a good conſcience ſhould ſeek a remedy for it: the indiſcreet zeal which ſhe cauſeth to be in perſons that are not converſant in worldy affairs, hath need of ſuch a Bridle. In Publick Affairs alſo, the effects of Ambition, avarice or indeſcretion are no leſs dangerous, for when a Potentate hath not the favour of him that commands in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, Religion is made a pretext to oppreſs him. In the year 1322. Pope *John* the 22. publiſhed a ſevere monitory againſt *Matthew*, Viſcount, Lord of *Milan*, condemning him of Hereſie, and under this pretence commanding the moſt famous Common-wealth, that it ſhould hold no Commerce with him, nor with his Subjects, although he had no other cauſe againſt the Viſcount, but that he took part with *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, Emperour, the Popes Enemy: And the ſame year, the moſt Reverend *Guido*, *Rangoni* Biſhop of *Ferrara*, and Fryar *Buono* Inquiſitor, did admoniſh the moſt renowned Common-wealth, that there ſhould be no Commerce held with *Rinaldo* and *Obizo de Eſte*, or their Adherents and Subjects, becauſe they had condemned them for Hereticks: neither was there any other cauſe but that they had recovered *Ferrara*, which was poſſeſſed by the Popes. In the year 1355. *Malateſta*, and *Galeorto Malteſti*, holding the City of *Rimini*, Pope *Innocent* the ſixth, commanded *Venice*, that no Commerce ſhould be held with them, or with their Adherents becauſe he ſuſpected them to be Hereticks. The ſame Pope the ſame year, uſed the ſame

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manner with the moſt famous Common-wealth, againſt *Franciſco Ordelaſo*, by reaſon of the Dominion of *Forli*, and *Gulielmo Manfredi*, becauſe of *Faenza*, cauſed alſo the Crociata to be preached againſt them. Yet all theſe great ſtirs and condemnations of Hereſie vaniſhed into ſmoak, ſo ſoon as the accuſed were contented to acknowledge thoſe Lands held in diſputation from the Pope; A clear and undoubted document to ſhew us, that the imputation of Hereſie was but only to oppreſs them, and perforce bring them to yeild to the fore-deſigned humane changes.

But to come to modern things, In the diſcords which *Paul* the Fourth had with King *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, which were of temporal buſineſſes: That Pope as well in Conſiſtory, as treating with Ambaſſadors of Princes, always was wont to ſay, and reply, that the King, and the Emperour his Father were Hereticks. It was alſo ſeen in theſe late occaſions, that thoſe Books which were writ in favour of the moſt renowned Common-wealths cauſe, were forbidden by the *Romiſh* Inquiſition, and others of the Eccleſiaſtical-State, under the colour of Hereſie, although the things treated of were meerly temporal, and approoved by all Chriſtian Kingdoms: And Cardinal *Bellarmine* having ſome years ſince ſet forth a Book, wherein he ſubjects Princes to the Pope in Temporal Affairs; he dares therein handle as Hereticks, all thoſe who ſay that the Prince in temporal Cauſes, hath no other Superior but God only; although that four of the five parts of Catholicks do believe it: Which things cauſe us to believe, that ſince ſome mens malice doth make uſe of this Office for humane ends, which are not very honeſt; it is needful to look how it is uſed, and not ſuffer them to take ſuch footing, whereby they may abuſe it: Becauſe then upon occaſion, when one would take order therein, it is found to be too late.

In *Milan* where the Inquiſition hath great authority there happened about 1580. a dangerous caſe. Cardinal *Boromeo* (who afterwards was a Saint) viſiting of ſome places of the Dioceſs of *Milan*, and Subject to the *Swiſſers*, went ordering many things, which bred ſome ſuſpicions in thoſe States; wherefore they ſent an Ambaſſador, to *Milan*, to require the Governour to cauſe the Cardinal to come back from thoſe places, leſt ſome alteration ſhould happen. The Ambaſſador went to *Milan* and alighted at a Merchant's houſe, that he might the more commodiouſly go and do his Ambaſſage. The Inquiſitor heard of it, and immediately went with his Officers and carried him bound to priſon to his Convent. The Merchant reported what had happened to the Governour, who preſently cauſed the Ambaſſador to be ſet at liberty, honoured him, and heard him. The *Swiſſers* who had no ſooner notice of impriſonment than of his delivery, ſaid openly, that if the News of his impriſonment had come alone without that of his deliverance, they would have impriſoned the Cardinal, to whom the Governour ſent word of what was done: The Cardinal yielding to neceſſity went away, and the new inventions were revoked.

Theſe dangers ſhew that not only malice may cauſe inconveniences, but impudency alſo, and undiſcreet zeal: Therefore it behoveth to watch carefully, that the power of meeting at all actions of that Office be not diminiſhed, which God by his providence hath hitherto preſerved, and by which means all publick dangers and oppreſſions of the Subjects may be withſtood.

It being then plainly ſhewn that the Office of the Inquiſition is not ancient in Holy Church, and that within this Dominion it was inſtitu-

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ted in the ſame form as it is now uſed by the Common-wealth it ſelf, as an Office properly belonging to it; and eſtabliſhed by Agreement with the Apoſtolick See: and the reaſons being unfolded which did move to this deliberation, and the neceſſity which bindeth to keep inviolated the Form always eſtabliſhed: With theſe conſiderations the grounds of the firſt Chapter are ſufficiently unfolded and proved.

The ſecond and third Chapters need not be any better declared or proved.

The Expoſition of the fourth Chapter.

THE fourth Chapter, wherein is ſet down the charge of the Aſſiſtance, which ought to be in four caſes, requireth ſome Conſiderations.

The firſt caſe, to execute the juſt determination of the Judges, cannot be called in queſtion. The ſecond and Third which are to hinder their reſolution of uſurping Temporal Authority, either with a headſtrong, or a manifeſt and unjuſt oppreſſion, and in doubtful caſes to make them ſurceaſe and adviſe, are no leſs needful than the firſt: And for proof thereof, we need not alledge any other Text, than that of the Popes of *Rome* themſelves. *Clement* the Fifth in his General Council of *Vienna* (and it is regiſtred in the body of the Canon-Law *De Hæreticis, Cap.* 1.) having heard complaints of many Inquiſitors, becauſe they extended the office of their power beyond their aſſigned bounds, which proved to the wrong of the faithful (whereby it was needful for the glory of God, and right carriage of the buſineſs, to make divers Proviſos) gave divers rules to withſtand the diſorders which were brought in. *Clement* the Sixth alſo, gave a Commiſſion to *Bernard* Cardinal of S. *Marco*, his Legate in the Churches Territories, to inquire of the Exceſſes of the Inquiſitors, and to do Juſtice to them who ſhould complain of them: Which teacheth us plainly, that in all times there are faults committed, which have need of remedy, unleſs they be at firſt withſtood.

But grant that no Inquiſitor ſhould exceed the bounds of his power, yet that is not ſo well ordered, but that it is needful to guide it with a great deal of wiſdom. To make this appear it ſhall ſuffice to underſtand what was Printed, in the directory in *Rome*, in the year 1584, which is orderly tranſlated out of the Latine. If the Inquiſitors would uſe all the Command they have within their power, they might eaſily raiſe Seditions every where: And theſe words are written purpoſely to admoniſh Inquiſitors; that although a thing ſhall ſeem juſt unto them, yet when it is dangerous they ought to take advice from *Rome*. But here we muſt not conclude ſo, becauſe *Rome* being far, and buſied in her own Affairs, cannot well judge of others dangers. But theſe Confeſſions of the Court of *Rome*, ſhew it to be neceſſary for all that will keep their Dominions in peace, and protect their Subjects, to have a diligent regard, and cunningly moderate that Power, which in it ſelf is confeſſed to be exorbitant, and many times chanceth to be exceeded and abuſed.

In the year 1518. there were a great number of Enchanters diſcovered in *Valçamonica*, and by the little care of the Governours of

of *Breſcia*, the judging of them was left to the cenſure of Church men. Thence grew ſuch exorbitant extortions, and complaints of the oppreſſed, that the moſt excellent Council of Ten was forced to diſanul all that which they had done, and ſend for all the Biſhops, Vicars, and Inquiſitors to *Venice*, and cauſe all thoſe buſineſſes to be reviewed by the other Judges, with the Aſſiſtance of the Governours: yet for all that was that people hardly pacified from moving of Sedition.

The extream Seditions raiſed in *Rome* after the death of *Paul* IV. are not yet out of memory, wherein the Priſons of the Inquiſition were by the People broken, and the building with all the Writings burned. And likewiſe the danger the City of *Mantua* was in, the year 1568. which thing it is impoſſible to hinder, if the Magiſtrate, whoſe charge it is to look to the repoſe of the City, do not ſtop exceſſive and headlong determinations. And if upon any doubtful, or dangerous buſineſs he cauſeth a ſtay, it cannot be thought a prejudice to the Eccleſiaſtical, ſince by ſurceaſing they may the better deliberate, and that hindreth not the buſineſs from being atchieved with greater maturity. Whereas if a dangerous caſe ſhould be ſuffered to run on, and the event ſhould prove evil, either it could not be remedied, or not wholly. The Prince advertiſed thereof, may either by his own authority, or by ſending to the Pope, paſs over ſome things with quietneſs, which without his knowledge would have but a bad iſſue.

That fourth part of the Chapter, *vid.* that the Rectors and Aſſiſtants ſhall with dexterity egge on the Inquiſitors to execute their Office, if they were negligent therein, is moſt proper to the Secular Magiſtrate. Firſt, by S. *Auguſtines* reaſon who ſaith that it belongeth to their Office to puniſh offences which are immediately againſt the Divine Majeſty, as Blaſphemies, Hereſies, and Perjuries, more than thoſe who offend men. And beſides that, becauſe Hereſie doth not only offend God, but bring notable diſturbances to the publick peace, the care of which reſting upon the Magiſtrate, who is chief in the City, he cannot let it run in danger of being infected, but he muſt fail in his duty. The Inquiſitors ought to look to keep the people clean from Hereſies, for Gods ſervice only. The Magiſtrate both for Gods ſervice, and for the good of the Publick Government; and therefore as one, on whom the care moſt lyeth, he alſo ought moſt to watch, and to incite others: Neither can any one oppoſe this, by ſaying, that Secular men, though they be Magiſtrates, yea, and Princes alſo, are the Children, and Eccleſiaſtical perſons are the Fathers, and that it is not fitting that the Child ſhould preſume to controul and admoniſh the Father, for the equivocation and cavil is manifeſtly ſeen in it. In a City there is a Son, who is a chief Magiſtrate, he in houſhold and domeſtick buſineſſes ſhall be ſubject to his Father, but in publick and Civil buſineſſes he ſhall be ſuperiour. Eccleſiaſtical Perſons are Fathers in Chriſt, ſo that a Magiſtrate ought to be ſubject unto them in houſhold things, which belong to the Houſe of God, and from them to recieve the doctrine of Chriſt, and the Divine Sacraments, which are houſhold things, in which the Son is Subject to the Spiritual Father. But in publick buſineſſes, as puniſhing of offences, and peaceable civil living, Spiritual Fathers are ſubject to the Son who hath the charge of it, as he is a Publick Magiſtrate. And if an Eccleſiaſtical man hath any power or juriſdiction to puniſh any offence, he hath it from none but the Prince, to whom only God hath given it.

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I have ſaid before, that in a Judgment there are three parts, the Cogniſance of the Reaſon, *vid.* which doings are Heretical, and this is purely Eccleſiaſtical; the Cogniſance of the Fact, *vid.* what perſons are guilty, and the ſentence: theſe two laſt are Temporal, and in former times under the *Roman* Empire, exerciſed by the Secular Power, and now loſt. There are alſo left to Eccleſiaſtical Perſons by the grant of Princes, the moſt renowned Common-wealth, which did exerciſe that power from the year 1249. until 1289. that year granted it to the Inquiſition Office, managed by Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, but with ſecular aſſiſtance: If Eccleſiaſtical Perſons ſhould fail in their duties, the power would return to him who gave it, without depriving himſelf of it. Wherefore it is no wonder if the Secular Perſon ought to be an Overſeer of him that exerciſeth a charge which he hath given him, in admoniſhing and egging him on as far as it ſhall be decent for them both.

The Expoſition of the fifth Chapter.

THe fifth Chapter, that the Governours and Aſſiſtants ſhall not ſwear faithfulneſs, nor ſecreſie to the Inquiſitor, is highly to be conſidered of, ſince that by ſuch an Oath they ſhould ceaſe from being Repreſentants of the Prince his perſon, and become the Inquiſitors Miniſters.

It is clear, that whoſoever ſwears faithfulneſs, or ſecreſie, eſpecially without exception, is bound to perform it to him that he hath ſworn it, not regarding any other mans intereſts; ſo that the Repreſentant could not oppoſe himſelf againſt any act of the Inquiſition, although it were contrary to the Princes reſpects, nor give him notice of things happening in that Office, without breaking his Oath. But the Publick Repreſentant, even when things are treated of that do belong to the Inquiſition Office, muſt not aim at any reſpects or commands, but only the Princes: wherefore he cannot ſwear faithfulneſs or ſecreſie to others.

Where the Inquiſitions Tribunal is meerly Eccleſiaſtical, Secular men do come in as Counſellors, or ſometimes Fiſcals, or Notaries, or other Officers, which do ſwear to the Inquiſitor. But that is becauſe thoſe Secular men which are ſo preſent, are dependants, and ſubject to the Eccleſiaſtical. Now in this State the Tribunal is mixt, not for Secular Counſellors, or other Officers, but only for the Repreſentants publick Aſſiſters, who depend not from the Eccleſiaſtical, but are ſuperintendents in the Princes ſtead.

The Eccleſiaſticals for theſe many hundred years, have no other aim, but to uſurp the Temporal Juriſdiction, and have purchaſed a great deal of it with great diſturbance of ſundry Governments, and at this preſent they aim at it more than ever, and in particular, for the Inquiſition in this State and Common-wealth, they do bend themſelves with all their cunning to draw it to be wholly Eccleſiaſtical, which they would at laſt bring to paſs, if they could bring in this Oath, making thereby the Repreſentant their Officer. And this being once brought to paſs, the ſcruples of the one, and the ſmall underſtanding of the other, the Offices which would be done by means of the Confeſſors, would work ſo, that *Romes* and the Inquiſitions ends, would be preferred to the Publick ends, or at leaſt would raiſe ſuch powerful doubts in the mind, that they would never let any thing be well done: which voideth alſo an Anſwer that ſeems might be given, *vid.*

That the Oath might be received, reſerving to the Prince his ends. Anſwer, which taketh not away the dangers: For the aforeſaid things would ſo trouble the minds of men, that they would never give way to the ſound underſtanding of it. But to colour their attempt, the Inquiſitors ſay two things: One, that *Frederick* the ſecond, commanded all Conſuls and Governours of Cities to ſwear. The other that the King of *Spain* ſwears. But *Frederick* did not command that they ſhould ſwear to the Inquiſitors, for (as we have ſhewed before) the Office of the Inquiſition was not then begun, but that they ſhould ſwear in publick to him, to be careful in rooting out of Hereſies, which had taken root. The Conſuls and Governours did not then go into the Office of the Inquiſition, with Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, but they alone with the Imperial Authority did condemn Hereticks, and ſwore to the Emperour to do it faithfully: and beſides, this form laſted but a little while, and *John Andrew*, a famous Canoniſt, who flouriſhed in the year 1300. witneſſeth, that in his time that Oath was already grown out of Cuſtom. *Philip* the ſecond King of *Spain*, brought in the Cuſtom of taking a publick Oath, (not to the Inquiſitors but to God) that he would never ſuffer Hereticks to live at freedom within his Dominions, which is no Oath of faithfulneſs and ſecreſie to the Office (which depends on the King, and is commanded by him) but a promiſe to God, and a taking away all hope from the Subjects of obtaining from him any liberty of Conſcience. In the ſame manner the ancient Dukes of the *Venetian* Common-wealth at their promotion, did ſwear to puniſh Hereticks; but it was not an Oath to the Inquiſitor, but to God and the Common-wealth. The equivocation conſiſts in this, that it is one thing to ſwear abſolutely, and another to ſwear to ſuch a one; and this is that which ſignifieth ſubjection to him that giveth the Oath. The publick Repreſentant cannot ſwear to any but to the Prince, as he cannot be ſubject to any one elſe. For which Reaſons it ſhall always be neceſſary, to have a regard to this fifth Chapter, not as a ſummary point, but a point of great importance.

The Expoſition of the ſixth Chapter.

TO give the Prince notice of what happeneth daily in matters of Hereſie, as it is contained in the ſixth Chapter; is a thing of Divine Service, and neceſſary to a good Government, where the Inquiſition is in the hands of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons only, they do not ſuffer the Prince to know any thing that is done in that Office. In this State where the Judgment is mixed, as their aim is that the Aſſiſtant (ſince they cannot exclude him) ſhould become their Officer, ſo they uſe their beſt endeavours to make him keep ſecret what is treated of, making it a charge of Conſcience if any thing be revealed without the Inquiſitors leave: With this Maxim, that Cauſes touching Faith, muſt remain with the Judges of the Faith.

Amongſt other perverſe Opinions which this our unhappy Age is full of, this is alſo preached, that the care of Religion doth not belong to the Prince, which Opinion is coloured with two pretences; the one that ſince it is a Spiritual and Divine thing, it belongeth not to Temporal Authority: the other becauſe the Prince occupied in

greater

greater buſineſſes, cannot attend theſe Affairs. And certainly it is a thing to be admired, how the World is changed: In other times holy Biſhops did not preach, nor recommend any thing more to Princes, than the care of Religion; they warned them of nothing, nor modeſtly rebuked them for any thing, more than for the careleſneſs in it; and now nothing is more preached or perſwaded to the Prince, than that to him belongeth not the charge of Divine things, though contrariwiſe the Holy Scripture be full of places where Religion is recommended to the protection of Princes, by the Divine Majeſty; which alſo promiſeth peace and proſperity to thoſe States where Piety is favoured, and deſolation and deſtruction threatned to thoſe States, where Divine things are held as alien. Examples thereof do abound, but becauſe this Treatiſe will not ſuffer a rehearſal of them, I will only ſay, that *David* being entred into a Kingdom out of order both internally and externally, and being very buſie both in Wars and in framing a Politick Government; nevertheleſs did ſet his chief care in matters of Religion. *Solomon* entring into a quiet and exceeding well ordered Kingdom, regarded alſo Religion, more than any other part of Government: The Princes moſt applauded in former Ages, as *Conſtantine*, *Theodoſius*, *Charlemain*, S. *Lewis*, *&c.* the chiefeſt praiſe they had was, to have made it their chief travel to protect and rule the Affairs of the Church. It is a great deceit to ſet forth this part as a thing of leſs moment, and to be left out for to look to other things: Since the neglect of this to provoke the Divine Wrath, daily experience in theſe days ſheweth us, that a State cannot ſtand untroubled, where change of Religion cometh: And theſe which counſel Princes not to meddle with Church buſineſſes, ſay nevertheleſs, upon other occaſions, that true Religion is the foundation of States. It were a great abſurdity holding this to be true, as it is moſt true, to leave the total care of it to others; under pretence that they are Spiritual, where Temporal Authority will not reach; or that a Prince hath any greater employment than this. It is manifeſt, that as the Prince is not a Prætor, nor a Prefect, nor a Proveditor; ſo likewiſe he is no Prieſt, nor no Inquiſitor: But it is alſo certain, that he is to overſee with keeping in awe, and cauſing to do their duties both the one and the other. And here lieth the deceit, that the particular care of Religion, is proper to the Officers of the Church, as the Government of Temporal things is proper to the Magiſtrate, and the Prince himſelf ought to do neither the one nor the other; but is to direct all, and to take heed that none do fail in his Office, and to amend the defects of Officers: this being the Prince his charge as well in matters of Religion, as in any other part of the Government. And as in other matters for to manage well that part which is proper unto him, he is to be informed of all occurrences: ſo ought he particularly to be advertiſed of all that happeneth in matter of Religion. The Inquiſitors of *Italy* do particularly ſend word to *Rome* by every Poſt, what is done within their Office; much more ought an account be given to the Prince, whom it more concerns to know it. It were very expedient, that all things which are treated of within the State, ſhould remain therein; as it is obſerved in *Spain*, which gave account to the King only; and ſend advice no where elſe. But becauſe that were a hard thing to obtain, let it for this time ſuffice, that it be known to the Prince, when it is known to others, who are not ſo much intereſted therein.

The Inquiſition of the ſeventh Chapter.

THE ſeventh Chapter was ordered by the moſt excellent Senate, becauſe that the Ambaſſador of *Rome* might do that good Office, as that the charge of Inquiſitors might be given to the Natives of this Dominion, becauſe they are beſt inſtructed in the occurrences of the Cuſtoms, and conditions of the Country; and bear a greater affection to it; whence it is preſumed, that with greater Judgment and love, they will employ themſelves in that Office, which above all others requireth Charity and diſcretion. One cannot without wonder conſider, how that all the Inquiſitors within this Dominion at this preſent are ſtrangers, and the Natives are not employed neither in this State, nor in other States: yet is not this Country ſo barren but that it brings forth men of underſtanding, as well as any other part of *Italy*: What ſhould be the reaſon then, that theſe ſhould be reputed all unable both for this Dominion, and for all others? If one will ſeek for Examples beyond the Hills; there is no Inquiſition there, but only in *Spain*, where they are all *Spaniards*. In the State of *Milan* the Natives are not excluded, and others, to whom the Office in given, are not leſs depending from that Prince than the *Milanenſes* themſelves.

In *Tuſcan*, *Pius* the Fourth attempted to give the Office of the Inquiſition to the Fryars of S. *Dominick*, and *Coſmo* the great Duke would not conſent, becauſe thoſe of that Order took part with the Enemies of the Houſe of *Medices*, when they were driven out of *Florence*, in the year 1494. which Reaſons and examples ſhew, that there ought accompt to be made in *Rome*, of thoſe recommendations which ſhall be made of the Fathers, that are Subjects to this State; and that their Piety towards their Prince and Religion, the Chriſtian life of the People, and the devotion of the Fathers themſelves towards their Natural Prince and Country, may not be prejudicial to them.

The Expoſition of the eighth Chapter.

THE eighth Chapter, that none ſhall be admitted to execute the charge of Inquiſitor, but with the Prince his Letters, is very convenient. The ſame Directory commands, that firſt of all the Inquiſitor ſhould preſent himſelf before him, and ſhould receive Letters directed to the Publick Repreſentants in that place where he is ordered to execute that charge; and reaſon alloweth that no manner of juriſdiction be exerciſed without publick knowledge; yea, at other times Popes did ſend Inquiſitors with Apoſtolick Letters directed to the Prince, wherein they intreated him to favour and protect them, and now they do the like at the Inſtitution of every new Biſhop. Now the Congregation of *Rome* deputes Inquiſitors with Patents and Inſtructions, as if they were ſent into ſome of their own Juriſdictions, and this cannot be helped, but it is neceſſary to keep a foot the preſenting of the Patents, it being a due acknowledgment of the Prince his Superiority, and becauſe it will alſo ſerve for two things. The firſt that one may mark whether the Patents be made in the wonted form, or if there be any new Clauſe added to it, becauſe that in caſe there were any pre-

judicial

dicial Novelty, it might be withſtood with fitting means: The other is, that if there were any requeſt made, that there ſhould be an Inquiſitor who were a Native, and truſty, and that juſt requeſt ſhould not be granted, they might then by delaying the Patent, reply, and triplicate the ſame requeſt with greater inſtance. And although ſome accident might happen, through which the Publick Wiſdom ſhould finally judge it fitting to aſſent unto the will of *Rome*, and receive the ſtranger; it might work at leaſt ſo much as that the Court of *Rome*, for the time to come, would proceed with greater reſpect, and the ſame foreign Fathers would refuſe to accept the charge, ſeeing the difficulties which had happened to the others.

The Expoſition of the ninth Chapter.

THE ninth Chapter that the Aſſiſtants ſhould aſſiſt to the Judgment, although the guilty were Eccleſiaſtical, is a legal Poſition and neceſſary to be obſerved. It is not credible that the Secular aſſiſtance in that Office was brought in, in regard of the Perſons of the queſtioned: this in times paſt hath deceived many who were perſwaded the Perſon of the queſtioned appointeth the place of Judgment, miſunderſtanding that Maxim, *Actor ſequitur forum rei*, which is meant of private intereſt, where tryal is to be between two parties, when their Perſons be not both ſubject to one Judge, the judgment place ſhall be before him to whom the Defendant is ſubject: But where there is no private intereſt but a publick reſpect, the Perſon is not looked after, but the Cauſe: and though the Perſon be Secular, yet if the Cauſe be Eccleſiaſtical, the Eccleſiaſtical Judge ſhall judge it: So in theſe days Matrimonial Cauſes are eſteemed to be Eccleſiaſtical, and therefore though the Perſon be Secular, yet are the Cauſes judged by the Biſhops. So Cauſes that are purely Secular, as the adminiſtration of Publick Offices, Cauſes of plenty, of health; offences which trouble the Publick Reſt, do belong unto the Secular Power, although the Perſons be Eccleſiaſtical. If the offence be mixt, there is a mixt Magiſtrate inſtituted, to whom without attending the quality of the Perſon, belongeth to judge all matters of that kind. And becauſe that Hereſie doth corrupt true Chriſtian Doctrine, it is an Eccleſiaſtical offence: and becauſe it diſturbeth the Publick Reſt, it is Secular: therefore there is a mixt Judgment Seat appointed, with an Eccleſiaſtical Judge, and a Secular Aſſiſtant: And in the practice of it, there is no reſpect had of the queſtioned Perſon, for then the Eccleſiaſtical ſhould judge the Prieſts and the Fryars, and the Magiſtrates ſhould judge Secular men: But the Hereſie of the Secular man is as much againſt the Catholick Doctrine, as that of a Clark; and a Heretick Prieſt or Fryar troubleth the Publick Government as much, or peradventure more than a Secular one. And as the Secular Office appointed concerning Corporal health; if it find an Eccleſiaſtical Perſon bringing in of infected Goods, he doth not put over the Judgment to the Eccleſiaſtical Judge, but burneth the Goods, and packeth away the ſuſpected perſon, becauſe the publick temporal good is in queſtion: ſo the mixt Office of the Inquiſition doth not put over an Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, but judgeth it, becauſe that the Publick Good, both Spiritual and Temporal is treated of. And this is further confirmed, becauſe, that though offences

offences committed by Regular Fryars are puniſhed by their own Superiours, yet they cannot intermeddle in caſes of Hereſie, but go to the Inquiſition without regarding that the perſon is a Regular. It is yet made more manifeſt in that, Caſes of Hereſie, being more againſt Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, than ſecular ones, in the Agreements made with the Apoſtolical See, eſpecially in the year 1551. they of *Rome* would have made that exception, which being not made, ſhews that they have not held the general Rule, *vid.* that the Secular ſhould meet in all caſes. This ninth Chapter, beſides that the juſtice of it requires the keeping of it, ought alſo for divers other reſpects with all diligence be put in execution. Firſt, becauſe we have ſhewed above, how neceſſary it is to a good Government, to have the Prince know of all occurrences that happen in ſuch matters, for the great importance of maintaining Religion. But if the Aſſiſtant ſhould not meet at Judgments againſt Eccleſiaſtical Perſons (and theſe are the moſt important, moſt dangerous, and moſt frequent) then the ſtate of Religion within his Dominion ſhould not be known, which would be moſt abſurd. Secondly, ſeldom happeneth a Caſe of Hereſie in an Eccleſiaſtical Perſon, but a Secular is a confederate in it, in which Caſe one would not know what to do; for to divide the Contents of the Cauſe it is impoſſible, to leave a Secular Perſon to a Judgment meerly Eccleſiaſtical is more unfitting. There remains nothing then but to have it judged before the ordinary mixed Tribunal: and queſtionleſs if this way were once given, under divers colours of annexed, connexed, dependent, and emergent, the Secular would be altogether excluded. Therefore according to Reaſon, the moſt wiſe determination of the Senate named in this Chapter, ought to be obſerved.

For proof of the ſecond part, *vid.* that the Aſſiſtants ſhall be preſent at the framing of Proceſſes, though the Denunciations be given in other places, we muſt ſuppoſe the ſtile of that Office to be approved by continual Cuſtom, and alſo by reaſon. For if a Perſon be denounced at the Tribunal of the Inquiſition, who hath his dwelling in another place, and that he be not perſonally under that juriſdiction, the Inquiſitor receives the Denunciation, examines the Witneſſes, and frames the Proceſs, as far as may be done in that place, and ſo framed, he ſendeth it to the Inquiſitor of the place, where the Delinquent liveth, that the Cauſe may be proſecuted, and he diſpatched.

It happened in the Year 1610. that Father *Avaroldo*, a *Capuchine*, was denounced at *Rome* for a certain opinion concerning Antichriſt, and from that Inquiſition was the Proceſs ſent to *Breſcia*, where the Father was. The Inquiſition of *Breſcia* proceeded in the Cauſe without the Aſſiſtance, and anſwered the Governours (who hearing the event did find themſelves aggrieved with it) that the Governours ought not to aſſiſt, but only in Cauſes which were begun at the proper Tribunal, but not when the Denunciation was given at *Rome*. If this were admitted, it would not only be againſt Reaſon, and the lawful Cuſtom, but it would alſo be a ſecret to take away quite, and with eaſe the Aſſiſtance. The Inquiſitors to take away that bond of having Aſſiſtants, to increaſe their own Authority, and to do the better ſervice to the Court of *Rome*, would work with the Denouncers, under fair and appearing colours, that the Denunciation ſhould not be given into that Office, but at *Rome*, which would be eaſie, being content to do it either by Letter, or Petition; and in this manner in all cauſes the Secular ſhould be excluded. But the legal definition is, that as every

Office

Office or Inquiſition receives Denunciations againſt the abſent, according to their own Rites, Forms, and Cuſtoms, ſo the proper Office frames the Proceſs, and gives ſentence according to his. It was needful to take notice of this particular, for fear leſt any deceived with ſhews, ſhould be carried away to a publick prejudice, it being to be held for an infallible Rule, that the publick Repreſentant muſt aſſiſt to every act done in that Office without any exception.

The Expoſition of the tenth Chapter.

THE tenth Chapter, that the Repreſentants ſhall aſſiſt at all the Acts of the Proceſs, is neceſſary for the taking away of divers abuſes which are brought in, for in ſome places all the informative Proceſs was made without any aſſiſtance; in others the whole defenſive; and in others, after the Denunciation received, by the Inquiſitor alone, and the Governours were called to the examination of Witneſſes: All which ways were prejudicial, ſince things once done are alledged by Example, and ſo they go on from the firſt to the ſecond, and in proceſs of time a cuſtom is eſtabliſhed, which afterwards hath the force of Law: But that which is of no leſs moment is, that it being the Aſſiſtants charge to give the Prince notice of all occurrences, and to protect the Subject, if he were oppreſſed by the Eccleſiaſtical, he can do neither the one nor the other, without he know the whole Proceſs. The leaſt particular altereth the whole cauſe, neither can a buſineſs be explained or underſtood, unleſs all the circumſtances be known.

The Expoſition of the eleventh Chapter.

IN the eleventh Chapter is ſaid, that for the aforeſaid Reaſons, they ought not to leave out any act, under pretence of ſlightneſs, for there is nothing, be it never ſo ſmall, that may not be the cauſe either of abſolving or condemning. And it is added, that they muſt not be content, although the Inquiſitor ask him leave, becauſe that though the principal, who ought to be preſent at an act, may give way that it may be made without his preſence: Yet he that is to be preſent in another mans ſtead cannot do ſo. It cannot be denied but that it would be a great deal more eaſe for Rulers (eſpecially being occupied in many buſineſſes which the Government of a City brings with it) to be preſent at the Inquiſition, or abſent when they would: but no juriſdiction is maintained without labour. The Court of *Rome* in theſe Affairs, becauſe the Inquiſition buſineſs ſhould not be careleſly handled by reaſon of extraordinary Employments, hath given it to perſons that have nothing elſe to do, and for their lowneſs hold it as a great honour to exerciſe the place. The Prince whom it moſt concerns to have matters of Religion well governed, thought it more decent to employ eminent Perſons therein, and ſuch as he may truſt, and therefore he expecteth care out of the faithfulneſs of his Repreſentants, though they be employed in other Affairs.

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The Expoſition of the twelfth Chapter.

THE twelfth Chapter unfolds the manner and remedy that be uſed, in caſe an act were made againſt the due form, and that is by ſetting buſineſſes again into their firſt eſtate, with ſuch pleaſing remedies as ſhall be requiſite.

The Expoſition of the thirteenth Chapter.

THE thirteenth Chapter, which treats of Informative Proceſſes, which are to be ſent into other places, is no leſs to be conſidered of, and requires an exquiſite diligence: for Inquiſitors, ſometimes at the requeſt, and for the intereſt of their Superiors, make ſome ſecret Proceſſes againſt the reputation of good men, examining ſuch as they are confident of, who for the moſt part are evil perſons, giving them out for ſincere ones, and men without exception, and upon thoſe Proceſſes are likewiſe in other places ſecret ſentences framed, to take away the reputation of them that are queſtioned, and ſometimes to do them further wrong. In the year 1590. by reaſon that ſome ſubjects of S. *Mark* went into *France* to the War againſt the League, Fryar *Albert da Lugo*, Inquiſitor of *Verona*, framed ſuch a Proceſs againſt the moſt renowned Common-wealth it ſelf, as if it favoured Hereticks, examining perſons of very ill quality, and known to him to be ſuch, yet in the end of the Proceſs he much commended them, to make their credits good. The good Father could not ſend it whither he intended, but was diſcovered, and puniſhed as the qualities of the times would ſuffer, though not ſo much as he deſerved. In theſe laſt troubles, in the year 1606. there were many framed againſt Senators, and publick Repreſentants, and other perſons, which truly is a great abuſe in that Office, which ſhould never ſwerve from ſincerity. And the greater the abuſe is, the more ought the Repreſentants to be wary and not ſuffer any Proceſs to be made, neither at the requeſt nor command of any in their abſence: and when they diſcover any attempt, to ſhew themſelves touched by it in ſuch ſort, as it may be a bar to any ſuch actions, and alſo give good heed to all the Inquiſitors proceedings, to diſcover and hinder them.

The Expoſition of the fourteenth Chapter.

THE fourteenth Chapter, to labour that in every Proceſs ſhould be noted the Aſſiſtance, hath no difficulty in it, as it is ſaid before, the Biſhop of *Ravello* the Apoſtolical Nuncio, in the year 1551. did write it to all the Offices of Inquiſition in the State.

The Expoſition of the fifteenth Chapter.

THE fifteenth Chapter, that in the Proceſs there ſhall be no Decrees inſerted by any foreign authority, ought to be exquiſitely obſerved: For moſt part of the Inquiſitions out of this State are reduced to ſuch a form of proceeding, that the Inquiſitors do every foot write to *Rome*, and from thence receive orders what they ſhall do, ſo that at laſt it is as good as if the Proceſs were framed at *Rome*; and ſo they free themſelves of the bond impoſed upon them by the Canon Law to conſult of their affairs. In this State they have not yet attempted this frequent and ſubtle abuſe, but only in ſome particular caſe, to favour, or disfavour ſome one. It may be thought they write to *Rome* for Juſtice, or for ſome good intent, whence they receive orders of what they will have done: and the Inquiſitors to curry favour with a ready obedience, put it to execution: and they themſelves will ſometimes, to avoid ſome contradictions of the Biſhops Vicar, or ſome Counſellors, procure Letters from *Rome*, and by that means overcome the oppoſitions. This produceth two evil effects, the one that it taketh away the authority of that Tribunal, making it ſubject to him to whom by reaſon it ought not to be. The other, that he who is queſtioned is at more trouble, and more coſt in defending himſelf. The moſt excellent Senate hath always endeavoured that the authority of their Inquiſition Office ſhould not be diminiſhed, being as requiſite for a good government as any other publick ordinance. In *Rome* the Inquiſition was not above that of other places, but applied it ſelf only to that City, as others did in their Cities. The Pope indeed was ſuperintendent and overſeer of them all, maintaining nevertheleſs the agreements, immunities, and lawful Cuſtoms of every one, and ſo it continued until *Paul* the third, who did inſtitute a Congregation of Cardinals in *Rome*, giving them the Title of Inquiſitors General, who nevertheleſs do not command the Inquiſition of *Spain*, which by agreement was firſt inſtituted: So likewiſe they ought not to take away the authority of this States Inquiſition, alſo inſtituted by agreement ſome hundred years ſince. Which thing I have conſidered for to conclude, that it is not reaſonable that Inquiſition ſhould take that which belongeth unto this. And in effect if the *Romiſh* Inquiſition ſhould meddle with thoſe Cauſes which are handled within this State, as it doth in other places, it would be as much as to reduce them all to *Rome*. And to ſpeak in plain and reſtrained terms, as by Law every act which the Inquiſitors make, without the Aſſiſtance, are void, ſo thoſe Acts cannot be of force which are made out of the State, being made without the preſence of the Aſſiſtants.

And if thoſe Cardinals, ſhould be ſent by the Pope as Inquiſitors into this State, they would not be ſuffered to do any thing without the Magiſtrates preſence, and that which were ſo done, would be void, much leſs ſhould they have leave to do it at *Rome*. That hindereth not, but if that Congregation, as conſiſting of principal Cardinals, ſhould write any thing but that thoſe Letters ſhould be received by the Inquiſitors with all due reverence, executing alſo that which they deſire, ſo there were not ſome powerful reaſon to the contrary, but always it ſhould be done obſerving the Stile of the Office, that is, framing the Decree in the name of the proper Judges with the Aſſiſtance, not mentioning in the Proceſs that it was done by order from elſewhere. And if that particular Writing from *Rome* were not agreeable to the Cuſtoms of the Country, and the

particular circumſtances which ought to be looked upon, and ſhou ſeem ſo to the Judges, and other Conſultors, it will not be incongr ous to reply to *Rome*. The Aſſiſtants notwithſtanding ought not t meddle with this, neither are they to know whether any Order co or no from *Rome*, whether that which is required from *Rome*, be p or not put in execution, but only to aſſiſt to what the Inquiſitors not uſing any other name but that of their own Office.

The Expoſition of the ſixteenth Chapter.

THIS ſixteenth Chapter, in that part which toucheth the not ſending Priſoners out of the State, is clearer than the light; ſince Priſoners are tranſmitted out of one place into another, either for Execution, when both places are within one Prince his Dominions, or from Prince to Prince by agreement between them, or for gratification; and in all theſe caſes the Tranſmiſſion is made only, becauſe offenders ſhould be puniſhed in the place where the offence is commited. But in caſe of Hereſie, the Doctors ſay that the puniſhment cannot with reaſon be required in any particular place, as well becauſe the Heretick ſinneth againſt God who is every where, and alſo becauſe that whereſoever he goeth holding his perverſneſs, in all thoſe places he ſinneth; wherefore in what place ſoever he is puniſhed, he ſhall be ſaid to be puniſhed in the place where he offended. On this reaſon is grounded the common opinion, that thoſe who are guilty of Hereſie, are not to be tranſmitted: and indeed, the cuſtom is every where to puniſh Hereticks where they are reſtrained, and not to ſend them from one Inquiſitor to another. Only the Court of *Rome*, for her own intereſts, eaſily, and often doth call unto it ſelf the Cauſes, and cauſeth the Priſoner to come to *Rome*, though the offence have not been committed in that City.

The moſt renowned Common-wealth, as it hath not conſented to the drawing away of Cauſes, ſo hath it not granted the tranſmitting of Priſoners; but hath determined that they ſhould be judged where they are impriſoned: it being certain that in doing otherwiſe, they ſhould utterly take away all the Authority of the Inquiſition Office in their Dominion, within which there being Biſhops, who in goodneſs and worth are inferiour to no other, and Inquiſitors deputed by the Court of *Rome* it ſelf, and the Cities abounding with learned men, who may be received for Conſultors, there is no reaſon but that any caſe may be as well examined and decided there, as in any other City whatſoever. If it were to do God greater ſervice, that Priſoners ſhould be ſent to *Rome*, it were fit that, throwing all other reſpects to the ground, this only ſhould be aimed at: but to ſhew that it is not ſo, I will only bring one exemple which happened heretofore, in the year 1596. at the inſtance of the Inquiſitor of *Rome*.

There was impriſoned in *Padua* one *Ludovico Petrucci*, a Seneſe, and the Inquiſitor of *Rome*, being according to the Cuſtom of the Inquiſition, to ſend thoſe Evidences which he had againſt him to *Padua*, he required the contrary, *vid.* that the Priſoner ſhould be ſent thither, and to that effect uſed many perſwaſions to the Ambaſſador which was in *Rome*, and cauſed many to be uſed by the *Nuncio* in *Venice*. The moſt excellent Senate anſwered divers times to this effect, that it was not convenient to alter the excellent Inſtitution of this Dominion, which

which was to diſpatch queſtioned Priſoners, where they were reſtrained: that on the other ſide, for the Inquiſitor, to ſend to *Padua*, what was found againſt the Priſoner, that ſo he might receive due puniſhment, was a thing juſt, uſual, and without any oppoſition. Many were the replies, and the anſwers always to one effect, and theſe dealings laſted five whole years, *Petruccio* remaining ſtill in Priſon. At laſt, when they perceived at *Rome* that they could not obtain him, in the year 1601. they writ to *Padua*, that the ſaid *Petruccio* ſhould without any more ado be ſet at liberty, which was accordingly, leaving a great doubt in mens minds what offence that might be, which was rather to be left unpuniſhed, than made known to the Inquiſition of *Padua*.

To this Accident which happened, I will add what the Directory of the Inquiſitors ſpeaks of the Cauſes of the Inquiſition, which are handled in that Court: of which ſpeaking, after it had related divers inconveniences, it concludes: In this Court Cauſes are handled with much tediouſneſs, many miſeries, labours, and expences, inſomuch that thoſe which are queſtioned, care not for coming to the Court, to treat of their Cauſes, if they do not truſt to a full purſe, or to great favours. Theſe are the words of the Directory. It is credible that Juſtice is adminiſtred with greater ſincerity now than it was in thoſe days: but therewithal it is to be held for a certain, that there is no leſs goodneſs and ſufficiency within this State, and that Cauſes may as juſtly and as rightly be handled here, as in any other place, ſo that it is not needful to let them be judged elſewhere, who are impriſoned within this Dominion.

The other part, not to ſend Proceſſes elſewhere, is grounded upon that which is ſaid before in this Chapter, and in the precedent; for if the priſoners ought to be judged within the State, and the judgment ought to be made by the ſame Tribunal, and not received from any other place, there remains no cauſe wherefore Proceſſes ſhould be ſent forth. True it is that one ought to diſtinguiſh between Proceſſes framed againſt thoſe that are reſtrained here, or againſt thoſe that are cited, and thoſe that are contumacious, for theſe are they which are not to be revealed elſewhere: but examinations or other acts made at the requeſt of another Inquiſition againſt any one that is reſtrained there, or hath committed any contempt againſt it, as acts not belonging to this Dominion, ought to be ſent to whoſoever requires them: But yet the Aſſiſtants ought not by any means to ſuffer any ſuch acts to be made without their preſence, as it hath been ſaid in the thirteenth Chapter; and becauſe that the Inquiſition ſhould do all as it doth, as a mixt Office, and not as meerly Eccleſiaſtical.

The Expoſition of the ſeventeenth Chapter.

THE ſeventeenth Chapter, that the Pretorical Deputy, nor any other Perſon aſſiſting in the Governors place ſhall not be a Conſultor, ariſeth from what is ſaid before, becauſe it may often chance, that the Governors buſied may ſend ſome other of the Court, who if he ſhould do the Office of a Counſellor, ſhould in the Proceſs be ſet down for ſuch a one, and by conſequent as a Miniſter of the Office, a thing which doth not befit an Aſſiſtant, and would bring in a Cuſtom. through which Aſſiſtance which is a Superiour thing, would be turned into Counſel which is an inferiour thing.

The Expoſition of the eighteenth Chapter.

THE eighteenth Chapter, that reſtraint ſhall not be granted but only in caſes meerly concerning the Inquiſition Office, and in a Proceſs framed with Aſſiſtance, and that in a doubtful caſe account be given to the Prince, wanteth no proof; ſince that the ſame Canon Law hath ordained, that the Inquiſition ſhould not aſſume any caſes but of manifeſt Hereſie: yea the Law being, that any Judge may have power to declare, whether a doubtful caſe do belong or not belong to his juriſdiction, the Doctors ſay that the Inquiſition cannot do it, but only aſſume thoſe which are clear, and to leave the doubtful ones for the ordinary Judge, to determine whether they belong to them or no. But as this Chapter hath no need of proof or declaration, ſo hath it need of careful obſervance. It is a thing frequent, yea and ordinary, that a Judge whoſe juriſdiction is limited, ſeeketh as much as he can to enlarge it, diſabling the general juriſdiction, as well Civil as Eccleſiaſtical. And this cometh as well through the Natural inclination which all men have as near as they can for to command, as alſo for the profit which the Office receiveth: Wherefore if the Inquiſitors do extend themſelves beyond their natural duty, they are moſt to blame that do ſuffer it, though ſometimes with a good intent, yet never with wiſdom. Some believe that the more they ſuffer that juriſdiction to enlarge it ſelf, the greater Service they do to God, and believe it is a favouring of Religion: Others with a good zeal have ſuffered the Inquiſition to aſſume unto it ſelf, Blaſphemies and Inchantments, and ſome others Uſury alſo, hoping that through the credit and ſeverity of that Office, they would be the eaſier rooted out. But the event hath ſhewn, and will ever ſhew the contrary; yea the Service of God is diminiſhed, offences take deeper root; and the Office loſeth its reputation. And if at any time the leaving to the Inquiſition a cauſe which did not belong unto it hath proved well for the preſent, it hath afterwards cauſed ſo many and ſo grievous evils, that the Secular Magiſtrate hath been forced through mere neceſſity, to re-aſſume the Cogniſance of thoſe offences, which with ſmall diſcretion he had left to the Inquiſition, not without many controverſies, and contentions of juriſdictions between that Office and the proper ordinary, accompanied with many confuſions. We muſt not think that the reſtraining of the Inquiſition-Office within the due bounds, the not ſuffering of it to aſſume any Caſes, but thoſe which manifeſtly belong unto it, and to proceed with the preſence of them who ought to be there, and other like modifications, to be a diminiſhing, or an abuſing of it: but contrariwiſe this is a way to extol it, to make it the more to be reſpected, and to preſerve it perpetually. In thoſe Countries where heretofore it was, and now at this preſent it is driven out: it hath been for no other cauſe, but only becauſe they have aſſumed ſo much to themſelves, that it was intolerable to the people. Every one doth willingly endure a reaſonable bond, but from an exceſſive one, every one will ſeek by all means though indirect, to free themſelves. The ancient Hiſtory of the *Gordian* knot, which, becauſe it could not be untied, was cut to pieces, is to be applyed to all humane ties and bonds, which if they be of ſuch a ſort, that thoſe which are unjuſtly bound, may free themſelves by ordinary way of Juſtice, then they are ſuffered, but if there

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be no ordinary means, then they run to extraordinary ones, as Seditions, and other plagues: Wherefore it is verily to be believed that it is doing of God good ſervice, for to reſtrain that Office within the due bounds, which is ſo neceſſary for the preſerving of Religion, and that to grant it exorbitant Authority, thinking it to be a favouring of Religion, is an undiſcreet zeal, prone to end in the diſhonour of God; damage of Religion, and publick confuſion. And in this moſt happy eſtate, with much ſervice to God, it hath been preſerved through the orders which the renowned Common-wealth hath made from time to time, to withſtand the abuſes which were creeping in, by enlarging the Authority more than it ought to be. And as long as the ſame orders ſhall be kept, and remedies found for other abuſes which ſhould daily grow, it will ever be preſerved with the ſame fruits.

The Expoſition of the nineteenth Chapter.

THE nineteenth Chapter, that Inchanters, and Sooth-ſayers do not belong to the Inquiſition, is without any difficulty, for the ſame Canon Laws do forbid the Inquiſitors to meddle with them, unleſs they do contain manifeſt Hereſie. And it is the more needful to perform this, becauſe that thoſe who are accuſed for ſuch offences are Women, or other weak-brained Perſons, who had more need to be taught or inſtructed by the Confeſſor, than to be puniſhed by a Judge, and eſpecially if they be perſons of quality, whom it is not fitting to carry before Tribunals; with ſcandal and diſturbance of the family. The ſame care is to be had, that they meddle not with Witch-crafts, as is ſaid in the twentieth Chapter, which Chapter needeth no Expoſition.

The Expoſition of the one and twentieth Chapter.

THE Inquiſition ought not to judge of ordinary Blaſphemies, ſince both the Canon and Civil Laws, and the Cuſtom of all the world have decided that they do not belong to the Inquiſition; neither doth any one doubt of it, ſeeing the plainneſs of the Laws. As for the hurtful Witches. the moſt excellent greater Council ordered that they ſhould be puniſhed by the Magiſtrate; for Eccleſiaſtical puniſhments are not ſufficient chaſtiſements for ſo great a wickedneſs. The ſame reaſon did move the moſt excellent Senate to determine the ſame in caſes of heretical Blaſphemy in the year 1595. which deliberation was very mature, and after advice taken of the Conſulters of that Age: which two determinations do not take away nor hinder the Cogniſance of the Inquiſition, for the quality of Suſpicion of Hereſie; but leaving that circumſtance to the judgement of that Tribunal, they only puniſh that offence which would otherwiſe remain unpuniſhed; the Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction having no puniſhment anſwerable to it. Which thing is no lett to the Office of Hereſie, but a chaſtiſement for the injury done to God, and the damage done to the neighbour. Some Inquiſitors would have not only the puniſhing of Hereſie, but alſo the miſdeed, and the Blaſphemy to be left unto their judging, and they give two reaſons for it: The one is, that when in the offence there is the principal and

and the acceſſory, the principal drawe th the other unto it: but in heretical Blaſphemies, ſuſpicion of Hereſie being the principal, and belonging to the Inquiſition, the Blaſphemy alſo ought to belong unto it which is but the acceſſory. The other is, becauſe it ſeemeth too cruel to them, to have one offence puniſhed with two ſentences; and do alledge the common ſaying, that there are not two Judgments allowed againſt the ſame fault; but theſe oppoſitions are eaſily anſwered. The firſt, becauſe that ſuppoſe the ſuſpicion of Hereſie were the principal (which thing St. *Thomas* doth not allow) yet nevertheleſs it is not neceſſary, that it ſhould draw the Blaſphemy along with it, ſince they are not ſo connexed together that they may not be ſevered, and that one may not have judicial knowledge of the one, without knowledge of the other, but the Secular may very well admit the Perſons, and examine him that is accuſed concerning the injurious words uttered againſt the Divine Majeſty, without going any further to examine what is his belief, and what he beareth in his mind. Therefore there is no ſuch connexion between the Blaſphemy and the inquiring of the Hereſie, but that they may be ſeparated, and each judged in the right and competent Court. The like is to be ſaid when holy and Divine words are had in deriſion, as in transformed Pſalms, in which the Secular takes notice only of the injury done to God, leaving it to the Inquiſition to ſeek whether it may thereby be ſuppoſed that the offender hath a perverſe belief. And in the offences done againſt holy Images with wounds and other ſtrokes, it is a great deal plainer, ſeeing that the Magiſtrate puniſheth nothing but that external act, whereby Chriſt hath been injured in his Image, leaving it to the Inquiſition to ſearch, whether the offender hath ſinned becauſe he believeth ſome falſe Doctrine, or only through wilful malice. And to this purpoſe it is good to conſider, that Heretical Blaſphemy is not the ſame as a ſincere or cruel Blaſphemy. Moſt cruel is that which is moſt grievous and moſt abuſive; moſt Heretical that whence groweth the greateſt Suſpicion of Hereſie, though in himſelf not ſo great. The Inquiſition regardeth the greateſt ſuſpicion, which carrieth with it the greateſt ſignification of there being an errour in the mind, though in it ſelf it were not ſo abuſive, and for this cauſe ſometimes will make more matter of words ſpoken againſt Saints, than againſt the Divine Majeſty. The greateſt puniſhment the Inquiſition inflicts upon a Blaſphemer, is Abjuration, which puniſhment, if it be on a perſon of low degree, may be ſaid to be no puniſhment at all. And therefore becauſe offences of ſuch importance ſhould not paſs unpuniſhed with ſcandal and evil example, the publick determination that the Magiſtrate ſhould puniſh the Blaſphemy, and leave to the Inquiſition the matters of Hereſie, is both juſt and neceſſary. But that which ſeemeth abſurd to ſome, *vid.* that two Judgments ſhould be made in one Cauſe is not inconvenient, when the puniſhments which are inflicted are not of the ſame kind, and the end of the wrongs is different; the ſame Cauſe may be judged as civil, and afterwards as criminal. The end of a civil Judgment, is to give every one his own: the end of the criminal, is to puniſh the Uſurper. So in caſes of Blaſphemy, the end of the Inquiſition is, if the Blaſphemer have a falſe belief to teach him the true, and abſolve him from the cenſures he hath incurred by holding of the falſe. The end of the Magiſtrate is no other but to puniſh the injury done to the Divine Majeſty. The puniſhments which the Inquiſition impoſeth, are ſpiritual, as Abjurations, Abſolutions, or Adviſements: The puniſhment

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which the Magiſtrate inflicts are corporal, yea, it may be ſaid moreover that they do not make two Judgments in one Cauſe, but in two ſeveral Cauſes, the Magiſtrate judging the offence of Blaſphemy, and puniſhing it with corporal puniſhment, whereas the Inquiſition foregoing the offence, judgeth of the quality of the ſuſpicion, and puniſheth it with ſpiritual puniſhment.

The Expoſition of the two and twentieth Chapter.

THE two and twentieth Chapter mentioneth, that ſome Inquiſitors to extend their juriſdiction, pretended that the offence of having two Wives did belong to their Office, who do alledge for reaſon, that it is an abuſe of Matrimony, which is a Sacrament; and that in *Spain* the caſe is reſerved to the Office of the Inquiſition. Contrary is the common Opinion of Civilians, who ſeeing the Laws have impoſed no puniſhment on this offence, and the Canon Laws do not ſpeak of it, they conclude by neceſſary conſequence, that it belongeth to the Secular juriſdiction: and this is obſerved in all Tribunals, alſo in the State of *Milan*, where the Inquiſition hath more extended her Authority, than in any other place of *Italy*; the reaſon brought to the contrary, that it is an abuſe of the Sacrament of Matrimony, concluded nothing: for the firſt Wife taken in true Matrimony hath the Sacrament annexed to it, and in this there happeneth no abuſe at all. Then in taking of the ſecond, there is no Sacrament, nor Matrimony, nor any maner of ſpiritual Contract, but a meer nullity done *de facto, non de jure*; ſo that there cannot be ſaid to be any abuſe of the Sacrament neither in the firſt, nor in the ſecond Act. Well may it be ſaid, that by the ſecond wicked act of taking another Wife, there is an injury done to the firſt, which was a Sacrament, and this is moſt true, but the injury done to the Sacrament of Matrimony doth not belong to the Inquiſition: for adultery is an injury done to the Sacrament, and yet it doth not belong to the Inquiſition to judge of it. And if any one would make having of two Wives, a token of Hereſie, inferring that he that doth it believes it to be lawful; with this reaſon he might draw all caſes to the Inquiſition, for it may as well be ſaid that the adulterer, or the thief do commit thoſe wickedneſſes, believing that they are lawful things; and amongſt the reſt we ſhould put into the Inquiſition, all *Gipſies*, who get their living by ſtealing, and much more your high-way robbers. But contrariwiſe we muſt always ſuppoſe, that every ſinner hath a true belief, and Catholick Doctrine, but doth ſin either through frailty, or through malice, or through humane Compaſſion, and ſo ought to be puniſhed by his ordinary Judge: which ought alſo to be obſerved in him that hath two Wives, if there appear no other token of a perverſe belief. And it is not true that in *Spain* the caſe is abſolutely reſerved to the Inquiſition, yea it is ordinarily puniſhed by the Secular, by branding in the forehead with a hot Iron. but becauſe the *Jews* and *Moors* hold plurality of Wives to be lawful, thoſe who are of *Jewiſh* or *Mooriſh* race are examined at the Inquiſition, for the ſuſpicion of Hereſie, and puniſhed with branding for the offence. If a *Turk*, or *Jew* become a Chriſtian, be found to have two Wives, he may be tried in the Inquiſition for his ſuſpected belief; and for the offence in the ordinary Court of Juſtice. But when either for carnality, or to ſteal the portion,

portion, or for any ſuch ends any one hath taken a ſecond Wife, they ought without any circumſtance to proceed, doing juſtice in the ordinary Secular Court, puniſhing the offence as the quality of the particular circumſtances ſhall require, preferring the common opinion of Lawyers, and the Univerſal Cuſtom of Courts to cavils only invented to confound juriſdictions.

The Expoſition of the three and twentieth Chapter.

IN caſes of uſury as it is ſaid in this Chapter, it is queſtionleſs that the Inquiſition ought not to meddle in them: So have many Popes of *Rome* anſwered Inquiſitors, who have purpoſed to draw caſes, and queſtions of Uſury unto their Office, and the Decree is alſo Regiſtred in the Canon Law, where to exclude abſolutely all caſes of Uſury out of the Inquiſition, and to provide that by no indirect way, nor under any good colour it might be attempted to judg of any, the Pope ſaith: That though the Inquiſition had enjoyned ſome converted Heretick ſuch penance, as if he had been an Uſurer he ſhould make reſtitution; yet for all that, not ſo much as againſt him can they meddle in ſuch caſes. It is behoveful both for Gods Sevice, and the reputation of the Inquiſition Office, with all diligence to keep many cauſes from them: So this Chapter being clear we need not ſay any more of it.

The Expoſition of the four and twentieth Chapter.

IN this Chapter is ſet down, that *Jews* nor other Infidels ſhall for no cauſe be ſubject to the Inquiſition Office, but only to the Secular Court. It was ſaid by the Apoſtle St. *Paul* plainly, that the Eccleſiaſtical Power doth not extend to judge thoſe that are not of the Church. And ſo much hath been held and obſerved alſo in theſe latter times. Pope *Innocent* the third, declared that they were not ſubject to the Pope, neither to the Law, nor yet to be judged; ſince that by vertue of the Law, the Judge doth excerciſe his Office. Beſides, the Infidels of what kind ſoever they be, are not capable of Spiritual puniſhments, and therefore are not ſubject to the Church which puniſheth with ſuch. In the Body of the Civil Law there be prohibitions, and puniſhments againſt *Jews* which blaſpheme, or injure Religion, or draw Chriſtians to Judaiſm; or to offend *Jews* which are become Chriſtians: And the Popes of *Rome* themſelves have not uſed any other remedy againſt *Jews* and other *Infidels*, who have offended in wronging or ſlandering Religion, but only to excite Princes and Secular Magiſtrates to do their duty in puniſhing them: To this purpoſe there be many Decrees in the Canon Law: Some Princes to diſcharge themſelves of the trouble of judging ſuch Cauſes, have delegated them to the Biſhops, which hath not pleaſed the Popes very well.

The King of *Sicily*, having delegated power to ſome Biſhops of his Kingdom to puniſh the *Sarazens* of his Kingdom, in certain caſes where they offend Religion; Pope *Alexander* the third did write to them that they ſhould only puniſh ſuch offences, for which was ſufficient a pecuniary Mulct, or whipping, without blood-ſhed: But if the offence did deſerve any greater puniſhment, they ſhould not meddle with it, but

ſhould

ſhould leave the judging of it to the Temporal Power. This Authority eſtabliſhed by the ſaying of Saint *Paul*, confirmed by the Canon and Civil Laws, and by Cuſtoms, none ſhould attempt to contrary it. But the deſire of enlarging Authority doth ſo blind ſome men, that without regarding ſo much plainneſs, they turn themſelves to Cavils of no moment, ſaying, That if God doth puniſh, and hath puniſhed Infidels, the Pope, and the Inquiſitors his Delegates, may and ought alſo to puniſh them. A Reaſon which would prove that they might puniſh both Chriſtians and Infidels, and all manner of Offenders, for all manner of Offences, though never ſo concealed, and alſo ſins only conceived in the mind: for God doth puniſh all theſe. The truth is, that Chriſt hath not given his Vicars any power but only over his Church, and in Spiritual things, and therefore they can judge none but Chriſtians;* nor puniſh them but only with Spiritual puniſhments. The Temporal Puniſhments God hath committed to the Secular Power, for puniſhing all manner of Offences, and againſt all Offenders be they of what Religion they will: And certainly to make an Argument from the Divine Omnipotency to Humane Authority, it agreeth not with the Reverence due to the Divine Majeſty: But another thing muſt be conſidered, for they ſay, That although Infidels be not ſubject to Eccleſiaſtical Power; yet when they do offend the Church, Reaſon wills that ſhe may defend her ſelf by puniſhing them, it being a Term of Law, That he who is not ſubject to a Territory, by reaſon of an Offence committed in it, becomes ſubject to it; which things well underſtood are all moſt true, yet do they not conclude in this purpoſe: For the Church muſt not be denyed the defence of her ſelf, if ſhe be offended, but ſhe ought to do it with all Offenders by means of the Magiſtrate. The Infidel who violates holy things, and offends Religion, muſt not remain unpuniſhed, and the Church may defend it ſelf, but not with its own Forces, but with the Authority of the Magiſtrate: to inflict puniſhment doth not belong to him that is offended, but always to the Judge; and when by an Offence the Delinquent ſhould have his Court of Judgment allotted him, he becometh not ſubject to him that is offended; otherwiſe every private man might chaſtiſe him that doth offend him, but he becometh ſubject to the Judge of the place where the Offence is committed. Wherefore theſe Reaſons prove nothing but that the Offence done by the Infidels to the Church, ought to be puniſhed by the ordinary Secular Court of Judgment: and ſo much the rather ought to be obſerved, becauſe both divine and Humane Laws do order it ſo; when ſuch ſorts of Offences deſerve greater puniſhments as indeed ſuch Offences for the moſt part are ſo grievous, that they will deſerve greater puniſhment than the Inquiſition would inflict upon them.

In the year 1581. Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth, framed a Bull againſt Jews, in which he did ſubject both them and all other Infidels to the Inquiſition in ten Caſes ſo fully ſet down, that if it ſhould be obſerved, no Infidel might inhabit nor trade within Chriſtian Dominion. This Bull although it were imprinted, yet was it publiſhed or received but in very few places, and it were impoſſible to obſerve it. Yea, Pope *Sixto* the Fifth, and *Clement* the Eighth not regarding it, did give Infidels ſafe conducts to come to the City of *Ancona*. And that which is moſt important is, that in the Commiſſion granted by the Cardinals to the Inquiſitors, wherein is expreſſed how far their Authority extendeth; there is not the leaſt mention made of Jews or other Infidels; a manifeſt proof that they can pretend no power

over them. But of that Bull of *Gregory* the thirteenth, and other, it will be a more fitting place to speak at large in the 28. Chapter: To conclude therefore, the Inquisition Office is ordained against Heresie: wherefore it is not fitting it should be enlarged to other Offences. Infidelity is no Heresie, and the Offences which Infidels commit to the wrong and dishonour of Religion, have no need of Ecclesiastical Cognisance, but may very well be taken notice of, and punished by the Secular Power, and it ought to be observed, it being commanded by the Divine, Canon, and Civil Law.

The Exposition of the twenty fifth Chapter.

THE Office of the Inquisition out of this State pretends, that it may judge your Eastern Christians upon any Articles, even in those wherein the Nation wholly dissents from the Court of *Rome*. In this most renowned Dominion, regarding the Protection which the Prince hath of the Greek Nation, the Inquisitors do not extend their pretences so far, but say: That the *Grecians* may be suffered in those three Opinions, wherein they dissent from the Eastern: but if any of them do hold any sinister Opinion, in any of those heads wherein their Nation agreeth with ours, that they ought to be subject to the Inquisition. Which distinction is superfluous and not less opposite to the Princes protection, than if they were judged in the three different cases, also it is superfluous, because there being no Heresies at all at this present amongst the *Greeks*, concerning any of the Common Articles, this case cannot happen against the protection, because that they are bound by their Customs to acknowledge no Superior in any thing, but only their own Priests: which thing whether it may justly be maintained, or no, may very well be decided by the Customs which have ever been observed.

The Eastern and Western Churches continued both in communion and Christian Charity, for the space of nine hundred years or more, in which times the Pope of *Rome* was reverenced, and esteemed no less by the *Greeks* than by the *Latines*. He was acknowledged for *S. Peter's* Successor, and chief of all the Eastern Catholick Bishops. In the persecutions of Hereticks they implored his aid, and of other Bishops of *Italy*, and this peace was easily kept, because the supreme Power was in the Canons, to which both parties acknowledged themselves subject. Ecclesiastical Discipline was severely maintained in each Country by the Prelates of it, not arbitrarily, but absolutely, according to Order, and Canonical rigour, none putting his hand into another Mans Government, but advised one another by the observance of the Canons. In those days never any Pope of *Rome* did pretend to confer any Benefices in other Bishops Dioceses; neither was the Custom yet brought in of getting Money out of others by way of Dispensations or Bulls. But as soon as the Court of *Rome* began to pretend that it was not subject to Canons, but it was according to her own discretion, she might alter any ancient Order of the Fathers, Councils, yea, and of the Apostles themselves, and that it attempted, instead of the ancient Primary of the Apostolical See, to bring in an absolute Dominion, not ruled by any Law or Canon, then the Division grew.

And

And though within theſe ſeven hundred years a peace and re-union hath been often attempted, yet could it never be brought to paſs, becauſe they have always hearkened to debates and diſputes, and not to the taking away of that abuſe which was the real cauſe of bringing in the Diviſion, and hath been the true cauſe as yet of maintaining it. Whilſt the Churches were united, S. *Paul*'s Doctrine was alſo jointly held and obſerved, that in caſes of Publick Government, every one ſhould be ſubject to the Prince, becauſe God commands it ſo, who is diſobeyed by him who doth not obey Secular Power, by him appointed for the governing of mankind. Never did any pretend that he might not be puniſhed for his Offences, holding it for certain, that to have an exempted power to do evil, is a thing condemned by God and Men: Saint *Paul* his words were in every ones mouth, *vid. Wilt thou be exempt from fear of Temporal Puniſhments? do well, and thou ſhalt not only not be puniſhed, but ſhalt alſo be applauded by it. But if thou doſt evil, thou oughteſt to fear it, becauſe the Sword of Juſtice for the Divine Service to puniſh evil deeds hath not been given to it in vain.* After the Diviſion of the Churches, in the Eaſtern Church the ſame opinion remained, and ſtill remaineth, *vid.* that every Chriſtian for Spiritual buſineſſes is only ſubject to Eccleſiaſtical Power, but in Temporal to the Prince. And nothing is more Temporal than offence, becauſe nothing is more contrary to the Spirit.

There continueth alſo among the *Greeks* that Doctrine, that Biſhops ought to judge which Opinion is Catholical, and which Heretical; but to puniſh thoſe who hold hurtful Opinions, belongeth to the Secular. Now, the truth being thus in the things aforeſaid, which are manifeſt and clear; the Inquiſition ought not to meddle with the *Greeks* for four Reaſons: Firſt, becauſe that whilſt a Cauſe remains undecided, it is not reaſonable that the one Party ſhould be judged by the other in their own Controverſie: But this is the Controverſie between the *Greeks* and the Court of *Rome*, that they require the obſervation of the Canons, which ſubject each Nation to their proper Prelates; and the Court of *Rome* pretends to be above the Canons: Therefore the *Greeks* ought not to be judged by the *Romiſh* Officers in this Controverſie. The ſecond is, becauſe that it is certain that before the diviſion, the *Grecians* were in Temporal Judgments ſubject to the Secular Magiſtrate, and in Spiritual to their Superiors; Therefore it is juſt to have their Right and Cuſtom maintained to them. The third is, becauſe if the Prince ſhould grant the Inquiſition power to judge the *Greeks*, he ſhould deprive himſelf of his proper Authority, which he may with quietneſs exerciſe, and not without trouble give way to have it exerciſed by others. The power of puniſhing Offences in the *Greekiſh* Church, hath always been in the Prince; and the *Greeks* in theſe days do confeſs it, and deſire it may ſo continue: So that with quietneſs juſtice may be adminiſtred by the Magiſtrate, whereas the leaving of it to the Inquiſition, with contradiction of the whole Nation, might bring in a thouſand inconveniences. The fourth, becauſe the moſt renowned Common-wealth gives the *Greeks* leave, to live according to their Cuſtoms; but their Cuſtom is, that in Secular things, and in the puniſhing of any manner of offence they ſhall be ſubject to the Prince, and in Spiritual things they ſhall obey their Prieſts: therefore maintaining the Protection which is promiſed them, they cannot be ſubject to others. Therefore it is not to be ſuffered, that the

Inquiſition ſhould ſearch out what the *Greeks* do, or believe in ſecr t And if they chance to hear that any lives or ſpeaks ſcandalouſly of *Latines*, then have they a ready and eaſie way to help it, by giv. the Magiſtrate notice of it, by whom Juſtice ſhall be adminiſtred, eſpecially in a matter of ſuch importance, as to provide againſt ſcan and tumults.

The Expoſition of the ſix and twentieth Chapter.

THe ſix and twentieth Chapter, that no man be publickly cited who is gone beyond the Mountains, upon the imputation of any offence committed in thoſe Countries, ſeemeth at firſt ſight to be a thing which cannot happen, and happening to be of very ſmall moment: yet if that way were once given, it would be very frequent and of great importance. Pope *Clement* the Eighth, in the year 1595. made a Bull concerning *Italians* only, commanding that none, no not for matters of Merchandiſe ſhould go into a place where there were not a Pariſh Prieſt, and a publick Church which exerciſed the *Romiſh* Rites, unleſs he had leave from the Inquiſitors; adding, that thoſe who had leave, ſhould be bound to ſend every year a Certificate over, that they were confeſſed and had communicated. To bring in the obſervance of this Bull, as ſoon as any *Italian* comes beyond the Mountains, preſently the Jeſuites come upon him for coming over without Licence; and if he doth not yeild unto them, and promiſe rhem obedience, they preſently examine ſome adherent of his againſt him, and frame a ſecret Proceſs againſt him, which they ſend to *Rome*, upon which there is a proceſs writ from *Rome*, to the Inquiſitor of the place where he was bred up, to call him by publick Citation. This Citation in former times was wont to be made from the Inquiſition of *Rome*, but now they are aware of doing ſo, becauſe the Cities beyond the Hills do revenge themſelves, by proceeding againſt ſome adherents of the Court of *Rome*; and to avoid this danger, they cite no more to *Rome*, but have him cited to the place of his bringing up. This invention though it be coloured with Religion, aimeth at the making of the Court of *Rome* Miſtris in *Italy*, of Merchandiſes which come from beyond the Mountains; as three hundred years ago it brought under it, with a leſs pretence, the Merchandiſes of the *Eaſt*. It will not be from the purpoſe to relate here what was then done, and what was the event of it; eſpecially within this City, that we may the better ſink into that which is now done. It was ordered and commanded by the Governours, that *Infidels* ſhould be forbidden to carry Arms, or any other Inſtrument wherewith they might make War with Chriſtians; the Decree as honeſt was received by all men: This ready obedience of the World, gave Pope *Clement* the Fifth, hope of ſtepping yet one ſtep further: Wherefore in the year of our Lord 1307. he publiſhed a Bull, and commanded that none might carry any Merchandiſe of any kind into the Eaſtern Countries, nor that there ſhould any be ſuffered to go out of the Harbours for ſuch a Voyage, upon pain of Excommunication, and other grievous penalties, as well Spiritual as Temporal: and amongſt other that none that hath carried, or ſuffered any to be carried, of what kind ſoever, might be abſolved, unleſs he firſt preciſely paid ſo much as the principal which was tranſported amounted unto. The difficulty, if not impoſſibility of obſerving

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ſo ſtrict an Order, was a cauſe that there were many offenders in *Venice*, who during their life did little think of it: but at the point of death to receive their abſolution, they left (according to the Popes command) order to have the offence ſatisfied: Neither wanted there Confeſſors to urge it inſtantly, denying alſo abſolution to ſuch as did not pay, or give order to be paid, ſo much as the principal of that which he had carried into the *Eaſt* came unto. Many who have been that voyage ſeveral times, found themſelves to owe more than they were worth at their hour of death: Wherefore for the diſcharge of their Conſciences, they would by Will leave all they had to the Popes diſpoſing. The Heirs, and the Commiſſaries did defer the executing of the Wills, ſeeing they tended to the deſtruction of Families, and of the Commonwealth, eſpecially there being ſome who held ſuch Wills to be void and extinguiſhed. By this means in fifteen years the money due to the Pope, came to a ſum ſufficient to have emptied the City of Money: to which Pope *John* the two and twentieth, who was his Succeſſor, applying his mind, and gathering the money on all ſides, in the year 1322. ſent *Ardenato Largo*, and *Falcone Caſtario Nuncios* to *Venice*, to receive that which by Will was left to the Popes diſpoſal, conſtraining Notaries and others to produce the Wills, excommunicating them which did not deliver them. Beſides he gave theſe *Nuncios* Commiſſion alſo to ſee to, and to excommunicate all thoſe which were alive, that had ſailed thither, and to abſolve them, paying the principal of the Merchandiſe which was carried thither. Theſe *Nuncios* being come to *Venice*, and having erected a Judgment Seat, committed divers diſorders, amongſt the which one was, that they excommunicated Saint *Mark* his Proctors, and above two hundred other Perſons, Men and Women for the aforeſaid cauſe. Thoſe who were then Conſultors of the Common-wealth, amongſt which was one *Andrea*, Biſhop of *Chiozza*, did adviſe that theſe *Nuncios* actions were not lawful, and reſolved to withſtand them with Appeals, and other Remedies which were put in practice, ſo that theſe *Nuncios* attempts did take no effect. Only as it happeneth in ſuch caſes many inconveniences remained, which continuing with great danger for the ſpace of two years, the Pope was forced to apply a Remedy, which was worſe than the ſore. He made a Bull in the year 1324. confeſſing that his *Nuncios* actions had been diſorderly, ſuſpended the Cenſures by them pronounced, and gave the Archbiſhop of *Ravenna* Commiſſion to execute it; commanding him afterwards, that he ſhould ſet down a convenient time for Men and Women who had been cenſured by the *Nuncios*, to appear for that Cauſe at the Court of *Rome*, which was then at *Avignon*, either in Perſon, or by their Proctors, to treat of their buſineſs, excepting none but only the Duke and the Commonalty. It was a brave increaſe for the Court of *Rome*, to have ſome 200 Perſons or more to come thither at once, for money matters of ſo great weight. But what happened, and whether the Pope were obeyed by few or many, I cannot juſtifie: But it is certain that then there did ariſe an opinion which ſaid, that it was no ſin to carry Merchandiſes to *Infidels*, ſo they were not things for the uſe of War, and therefore that the Pope could not hinder it: which moved him in the year 1326. to make a Bull, declaring them to be Hereticks which ſaid that it was no ſin to carry Merchandiſe to the *Infidels*, although they were not uſeful for War. But then the Controverſies which the Pope had with the Emperour, brake out into an open War, ſo that he being (as *Ludovico Bavaro* writes) all the reſt of his life employed

employed in greater Affairs,' had no time to think on this. Under his Succeſſor there was ſome moderation found, becauſe he ſet his hand, not to the revoking of the Decree as it had been juſt, but to grant Licences; and this renowned Common-wealth asked for them, and obtained them; ſometimes for a year, and ſometimes for a longer time, but prefixed; and ſometimes reſtraining the number of Ships, ſometimes leaving it free: And theſe Licences coſt money, but how much it was not always known. Yet will I ſpeak in this particular, that for one Licence granted by Pope *Innocent* the Sixth, in the year 1361. they agreed to pay nine thouſand Ducats of Gold of the Chamber, alledging that it could not be done for leſs; becauſe that the Apoſtolical Chamber was exhauſted, and in want. This grievance laſted until a little after the year 1400. for then the truth being made manifeſt to the World, that it was free and lawful for the Merchant to do it, the Court withdrew it ſelf from her pretences.

Now to attempt that none ſhall go without a Licence, into any Lands, which do not acknowledge the Pope, hath a more ſeeming colour than at that time; ſaying, that it is done for fear leſt they ſhould be embrewed with ſome falſe Doctrine: as though a written and ſealed Paper could be a preſervative unto them, and as though he might not chance to eſcape untouched which went without a Licence, and that it were impoſſible for him that had it to be infected: Whence it is evidently ſeen, that forbidding them to go into thoſe Countries without leave, is not zeal to Religion, but a deſire of commanding, and to bring the Secular Power under, and to reap ſome good benefit. If the juſt liberty of Merchandiſing ought not to bear this burthen, it neither ought to be ſuffered, that one who hath here lived as a good Catholick, and is gone beyond the Mountains, becauſe he hath not asked the Inquiſitor leave, ſhould be moleſted and hindred in his buſineſſes, for any imputation laid upon him from *Rome*, to the diſgrace of his Friends, who are blemiſhed thereby: eſpecially ſince they refuſe to have this Citation made at *Rome*, fearing the Revenge of thoſe Cities beyond the Mountains, which ſhall hold themſelves offended thereby: it is not reaſonable that they ſhould thus conceal themſelves, and lay on other mens backs, that which is done for their own proper ends; and ſo by theſe indirect ways, make themſelves Maſters of the Merchandiſe which cometh from beyond the Hills. And therefore, if any Native of this Dominion, have lived as a good Catholick in this Country, and for his own occaſions have paſſed the Mountains, it were unjuſt to trouble him any way before his return, upon any relation that ſhall be made of him.

The Expoſition of the ſeven and twentieth Chapter.

CONcerning the 27. Chapter, that confiſcation of Goods ſhall not be admitted in this matter of Hereſie, it being already brought in, and the Cuſtom eſtabliſhed without any contradiction, there needeth nothing but only to continue the obſerving of it; ſince it is much for God, and Religious ſervice; whereof when one treateth, it is always hurtful to intermix any money matter with it; becauſe that thereby the World is ſcandalized, and ſeeing money happens into the buſineſs, it cannot be perſwaded (though it were plain and true) that the

the Service of God holdeth the firſt place therein. the Court of *Rome* will never ceaſe upon all occaſions to blame this Order, believing that this moderation eſtabliſhed by the moſt renowned Commonwealth, doth upbraid the *Roman* Ordinance with too much ſeverity. That which it will publickly alledge is, that Hereſie is an Offence of Treaſon againſt the Divine Majeſty, which ought more to be puniſhed than that againſt Man; wherefore it is a perverting of Order, when greater puniſhment is inflicted on him who offendeth Man, than on him who offendeth God: and therefore if they confiſcate goods for Humane Treaſon, much more ought they to confiſcate them for Divine Treaſon, which Offence they run into by Hereſie. But this appearance is but a Shadow without a Body, for it would condemn their own Conſtitutions, which do pardon the Delict of Hereſie for the firſt time, but the Delict of Humane Majeſty offended, is not pardoned for the firſt time: ſo that it would ſeem that leſs account were made of offending God than Men. Wherefore the truth is, that in impoſing of puniſhments, reſpect is not had only to the grievouſneſs of the Offence, but alſo to the circumſtances of the damage which it bringeth to others; or to the diſhoneſty adjoyned to it, or to the more perverſe will of the Offender. Humane Majeſty is not offended, but with a certain malice, and deſire of him that offendeth, and Hereſie very often is through ignorance; whence this for the moſt part deſerves compaſſion, but that never. The confiſcation of Goods terrifieth others, who at leaſt abſtain for love of their Children, preferring their good before the paſſions which move them againſt their Prince. But in caſe of Hereſie every one ſeemeth to be moved by a ſpiritual reſpect, which ought not to be leſs eſteemed than the death of Children. The event ſheweth that this moſt happy ſtate, with more general ſatisfaction, reſts as free from Heretical diſſention, without taking away of Goods, as others where with ſeverity they are taken away. Therefore not regarding other Mens Orders or Examples, or what others ſay, we ought to follow thoſe Orders which Experience teacheth us to be good.

The Expoſition of the twenty eighth Chapter.

THE twenty eighth Chapter, that no Bull or Ordinance of *Rome*, neither new nor old, be publiſhed without the Prince his expreſs Licence, is of moſt important and neceſſary conſideration for the preſerving of the Inquiſition; Upon which Chapter I will firſt ſet forth the juridical and true reaſon, why it ought to be ſo obſerved, with the inconvenience which would follow, if it were done otherwiſe.

It is clear, that as every one may, for his own ends, at his own will and pleaſure, change Orders, and govern a juriſdiction which is wholly his own, without acquainting one therewith, or asking any ones conſent; ſo where by contract and agreement between two, there is a Tribunal ſet up, and a form given, one of them cannot upon any reaſon, though never ſo excellent and undoubted, make an alteration without the conſent of the other Contracter: ſuch is the nature of a Contract and Agreement, that as it receiveth its being and exiſtence by the conſent of the Contracters, ſo it cannot receive the leſt alteration without the ſame conſent: So that if any alteration be needful, through change of times, or other circumſtances, it cannot be lawfully made but

but by both parties. It is plain that the Office of the Inquiſition within this Dominion was appointed by Order of the greater Council, and by conſent of the Pope in the year 1289. with Covenants then eſtabliſhed. Wherefore no new thing which hath happened ſince can alter it, i the ſame who agreed in the Inſtitution, do not likewiſe agree in the Alteration: And therefore if the Court of *Rome* decrees any new thing concerning that matter, it cannot extend its force upon that Office, but only with the Prince his conſent. This is the true Reaſon why Bulls and Orders made ſince that time at *Rome* cannot bind. Neither can it be alledged to the contrary that divers Times do require divers Orders, and that Popes for the better Government have made other reaſonable Laws, which ought to be received: for the Anſwer to this is plain, that as in the World nothing can be held unchangeable, and every Cuſtom ought to be accommodated to the times and Perſons, ſo it is to be done by them whom in reaſon it concerns to do it, and by no others. If any one would rule common buſineſs of himſelf, though he did do it with a good intent and happy iſſue, yet did he nevertheleſs tranſgreſs Divine and Humane Laws: the ſame reaſon which cauſed the Inquiſition to be firſt inſtituted by Agreement, doth now alſo ſuffer no new Laws or Orders to be made, but by Agreement. To give force unto a Law it is not ſufficient that it be convenient and reaſonable, but it is alſo eſſential, that it be made by thoſe who have full power: Neither is that ſaid only for the preſervation of Power and Juriſdiction, but alſo for the neceſſity of a good Government. The Inquiſition was not then inſtituted with the ſame Conditions, as in the reſt of *Italy*, becauſe the Conſiderations of this Common-wealth and other States were different. So now likewiſe divers Conſiderations cauſe that which is expedient at *Rome*, ſometimes not to be expedient here: Wherefore it may not be convenient preſently to execute in this State, that which the Pope for his own reſpects hath ordered, but firſt ought to be conſidered whether it agree with the reſpects of this place, which thing none but the Prince can do, as one who alone knoweth what is needful for the Publick Affairs: And therefore although the new or old Bull ſhould ſeem unto the Governour honeſt and profitable, yet ought not he therein to follow his own Judgment, it being proper to the Prince alone to know what is expedient: Neither ought it to ſeem grievous to the Biſhops or Inquiſitors, to have that which is juſt and lawful executed in due manner, judgment, and form. The Inquiſition of *Spain* which is likewiſe ordained by Agreement, proceeds in the ſelf ſame manner. It hath its own Laws and and proper Cuſtoms by which it is governed, neither is it altered, or receiveth new Orders from *Rome*; but if for any publick reſpects the Court believeth, that it were good to bring up ſome new thing in *Spain*, they write to the General Royal Council over the Inquiſition, where it is conſulted of, and according as the reſpects of *Spain* will bear, it is received either in part, or in all, or in part, or in all laid aſide.

But that the obſervation of this Chapter is neceſſary not only for the maintaining of the proper Power, and Juriſdiction, but alſo to withſtand infinite inconveniences, he may find it plainly that ſhall conſider theſe things following.

Firſt ſpeaking of Bulls already made, many are contrary to the Inſtitutions of this moſt renowned Common-wealth; as thoſe that command Hereticks to be burned openly and alive. The confiſcation of Goods, with cenſures to thoſe Princes who do not admit of them. The demoliſhing

demoliſhing of a houſe where a Heretick is found, although it be none of his own : That the Inquiſition may cauſe any that it ſuſpecteth to give it a pecuniary ſecurity to live a good Catholick : That the Inquiſition have an armed Court properly belonging to that Office. All theſe are Pontificial Ordinances, contrary to the Cuſtoms of this State; ſome do give Inquiſitors exceſſive authority, as thoſe which will have them, have power to give leave to wear Arms, and to make *Croceſegnati*, which things could not be put in practice, without great confuſion : ſome are ſo ſevere, that they cannot agree with the government of this State, as that of *Paul* the Fourth, which will not have him pardoned his life, that will come home again, having held any one of thoſe five Articles, which by him are named : and another of *Pio* the fifth, that no ſentence given in the behalf of one that was accuſed and found innocent, ſhould *tranſire in rem Judicatam*, although it were given after the Canonical purgation, but that the Office may always take the ſame cauſe in hand again, upon the ſame proofs; which order if it were in uſe would be a continual torment to thoſe wretches.

And that other of the ſame Pope, that whoſoever ſhould offend, or but only threaten a Notary or other Officer of the Inquiſition, or a Witneſs examined in that Office, beſides the Excommunication, ſhould be guilty of High Treaſon, and ſhould be puniſhed with Capital puniſhment, his goods confiſcated, his children infamous, and uncapable to ſucceed others by will : To which puniſhment ſhould alſo be ſubject whoſoever ſhould not only cauſe one to eſcape out of Priſon, but he alſo that ſhould but attempt it, although the effect did not follow : and alſo whoſoever ſhould favour any ſuch, or mediate for them, with other clauſes of moſt cruel temerity, comprehending alſo titular Perſons and Princes. Yet this is that Bull which was made in the year 1569. but was never received nor publiſhed in this State. The Cardinal *Arrigoni*, eight and forty years after that, *vid.* in the year 1617. commanded the Inquiſition of this City of *Venice*, that it ſhould Print it and publiſh it, and it had been done, if the moſt renowned Reformators of thoſe times, by order of the moſt excellent Council had not hindered it. Any one may conſider how many Proceſſes might be made for every word that ſhould be ſpoken to one of the Notaries, witneſſes, or denouncers, who had thought themſelves wronged, and how many wretches would have been daily vexed. It were long to rehearſe all thoſe things which are contrary to the Cuſtoms of theſe Countries, but the aboveſaid are ſufficient to ſhew that without the diſturbance of the publick authority and peace, they cannot be all generally admitted. But if any be neceſſary or profitable for the puniſhment of Hereticks, it is fitting that it ſhould be received : but to know which is ſuch a one, belongeth properly to the Prince, nor can any one elſe know it. Neither ought any one to be confident that they may be received without confuſion, becauſe they are of force in *Rome*, and yet things there are quietly carried, the State of *Rome* being different from that of other Princes. The *Romans* ſay they are above theſe Ordinances, if they think fit they may obſerve them, if not, they may omit them, or diſpenſe with them, and they do wonderfully ſerve for their ends, as well when they are obſerved, as when they are diſobeyed, becauſe they are not to be ruled by the Laws, but they do rule the Laws. Contrariwiſe in other States when they are once publiſhed or received, they are no more in the Prince his power : They muſt then run to

Rome to ſeem a remedy, when they are heard, and either they do get remedy or not; they regarding not what is behoveful to another State, but to their own. And this is that which the Court of *Rome* would have, and every day attempted, *vid.* to have in their hand, under colour of Religion, the adminiſtration of ſome certain things, without which States cannot be governed, by which means it would become judge of all governments. For this cauſe, the Popes ſay daily when they would cauſe their Decrees to be admitted, that if there be any inconvenience, they ſhould have recourſe to them, and they will help it, but the remedy which cometh not from the ſame Prince, but from them who have their proper intereſts, is worſe than the ſore. God whoſe works are perfect, and who is the Author of all Principalities, gives to every one as much power as is neceſſary to govern well; neither will he have it acknowledged from any other, but from his Divine Majeſty. All that which a Prince acknowledgeth from others, but from God, is ſlavery and ſubjection.

So much is ſaid generally of the conſideration which ought to be had in publiſhing or receiving Pontificial Orders made of old in matters of Hereſie. But much greater care ought to be had concerning thoſe which ſhall be made hereafter. Of them which are made already the number is certain, it is known whether they be received in other places or no, how they are obſerved: what conſtruction they receive, what is their aim, what conſequence of good or evil effects they bring with them: But for the time to come, if the Court might have her liberty, the number would grow to be infinite. When one newly appears, it is not known whether the World will admit of it or no; the aim of him that made it, is not yet diſcovered, experience hath not ſhewn what effects it may bring forth; and therefore all delay and maturity in receiving of it, will bring forth abundance of conveniency with it. It is not ſaid, that new reaſonable orders are not to be accepted, but that they ought not to be received as of duty, or as ſubjects, but by agreement and publick treaty, the inſtitution of that Office requiring it as it is ſaid, and with much conſideration, becauſe of the great dangers that novelties do bring with them. The Court of *Rome* in making new Bulls, taketh no great advice; with eaſe they are made, becauſe with eaſe they are revoked; or derogated from, or diſpenſed with; as it falls to be moſt commodious for their buſineſſes, wherein they regard their own ends: But that which is profitable for one State, is not profitable for another. The ſafety of this Dominion requireth that Religion ſhould be kept inviolate in her parts, withſtanding all charge and novelty whatſoever. The reſpects of *Rome* require, that no change ſhall be made, through which Pontificial power may be diminiſhed, nor the Court loſe any of her profits which ſhe draweth out of other Statutes: But thoſe novelties whereby the profit of the Court may be increaſed, or temporal authority may be diminiſhed, with the exaltation of the Eccleſiaſtical, are not to be abhorred, but procured; and that we ſee daily.

This moſt renowned Common-wealth, as well as other Catholick Kingdoms, finds it ſelf between two contraries. The Proteſtants who have no other aim but to diminiſh Eccleſiaſtical authority; and the Court of *Rome*, which hath no other aim but to increaſe it, and to make the temporal her ſervant: Whence your Catholick States and Kingdoms to preſerve themſelves, do withſtand all novelties on the one and the other ſide, and do keep Religion without any

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change at all, being known by experience, that either of the novelties are pernicious. That reverence which deſervedly is given to Religion, is the cauſe that thoſe abuſes have eaſie admittance which come covered with that ſacred Mantle. For the maintaining of Religion, the Office againſt Hereſie is reſpected, and for this cauſe, when *Rome* will bring in ſome novelty, it willingly makes uſe of that Office, ſuppoſing that the true end will not appear. And that hath been wrought in the ſelf ſame manner in times paſt, but very ſlightly in regard of what was done at this preſent. Nevertheleſs the Senators of thoſe times were always careful. They would have the Office againſt Hereſie to be mixt; they have oppoſed themſelves againſt all novelties; they have not ſuffered Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to do any thing unknown, unſeen or unexamined. By theſe foot-ſteps muſt he walk that will have the Common-wealth preſerved, not ſuffering new Bulls, or Decrees to be accepted within the State, if firſt by mature deliberation it be not made known, that they will bring in no inconveniences. Which deliberation is proper to the Prince, who alone comprehendeth the eſtate of publick things.

The Expoſition of the nine and twentieth Chapter.

THE nine and twentieth Chapter which treateth of publiſhing a prohibition of Books, ſince the agreement of the year 1596, ſtands in force, there can no doubt be made of it. But it will be neceſſary to conſider, that the agreement being made with ſo much conſideration and maturity, as well of the Apoſtolical Sees ſide, as of the moſt renowned Common-wealths ſide; the matter ought to be held of weight. This conference laſted four Months, on the Pontificial ſide there was the Cardinal, the Nuntio, and the Inquiſition; and on the other ſide the chief Senators of the Common-wealth, clear arguments, that the buſineſs on both ſides was held to be of great weight: and nevertheleſs, though it was determined by common conſent, yet did it not take away all hope from the Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, to have it forgotten again aud out of uſe: Wherefore then they treated, that there ſhould be but threeſcore Copies Printed of the agreement, for nothing elſe but becauſe there being an innumerable number of the Copies of the *Indexes*, of the forbidden Books which paſs through all mens hands, every one might ſee thoſe documents, which give the authority over the Books to Eccleſiaſtical Perſons only, but the moderation of the agreement might not be known but by few, and ſo finally it might be loſt. And treading theſe ſteps in *Rome*, there is not a year but there comes forth a Catalogue of new Prohibition, under the name of the Maſter of the ſacred Palace, with clauſes that it ſhall take place in all Cities, Towns, and places of every Kingdom, Nation, or People; and that it ſhall bind all men, although there be no publication who ſhall come any way to have notice of the Edict. This *Index* is ſent to the Inquiſitors, that by means of the Confeſſors they may get them to work the beſt effect they can: and by this means the agreement is deluded, and groweth out of uſe. And that which is worſe, when an *Index* is Printed within this City, they do endeavour to have thoſe new prohibitions inſerted in them: which they alſo attempted to do this year. And if diligent care be not alwaies had, as it is at this preſent, they will one

day ſet up a Court of Juſtice, and open a way to the deſtruction of the agreement. Their intents to make themſelves abſolute Maſters of Books, and the reſpects wherefore the Secular power hath need to watch, to the end that they may not obtain it, though they do not appear at firſt ſight, yet with an eaſie conſideration they are made manifeſt. The matter of Books ſeems to be a thing of ſmall moment, becauſe it treats of words, but through theſe words come opinions into the World, which cauſe partialities, ſeditions, and finally Wars. They are words, it is true, but ſuch as in conſequence draw after them Hoſts of armed men. In this matter the *Romans* cannot hide two high pretences which they have.

The firſt, that ſo they may prohibit Books, not only for cauſe of Religion, but alſo for any other cauſe.

The ſecond, that the Prince ſhall not have power within his own ſtate to forbid any Books; for any cauſe whatſoever: and if that any be by them approved, the Prince cannot hinder, although he judge it to be dangerous, but that within his Dominions it may be had, Printed and publickly ſold. And theſe two pretences taking once effect, they ſhould do the Temporal power wrong in three notable particulars.

The firſt, in prohibiting or exempting Books which are good and profitable for the maintenance of a good government.

The ſecond, in prohibiting of Books, which do not belong to them to prohibit.

The third, in hindring the Secular Power from removing what it ſhall find hurtful to a good government.

Of which three prejudices we ought to treat particularly, for to conſider of the remedies. About the firſt, concerning the prohibition of Books, which at *Rome* are not liked of, though they be good and godly, becauſe they maintain Temporal Power. It is a clear thing, that a Prince, eſpecially one that ruleth with the Arts of Peace, uſeth this as a chief inſtrument to cauſe the People to believe this to be a firm truth, *vid.* that the Prince is ordained by God, and ruleth with Divine authority, and the Subject conſequently in Conſcience is bound to obey him, and not doing it, offendeth God: that the duty of undergoing publick burthens, either perſonal in bearing Office, or real in Tributes, Cuſtoms, or ſuch like, doth tie the Conſcience, and bindeth under the pain of ſinning to reſtitution, him that refuſeth to bear them, or doth defraud them. Becauſe that the Prince, by the Divine Law, is above any perſon that is within his Dominion, and may lay a burthen on any mans Eſtate, when publick neceſſity, according to his judgment, ſhall require it. Every one of himſelf, without any great diſcourſe may judg how eaſily a State may be governed, where the aforeſaid Maxims, as they are moſt true, ſhall be ſo believed to be, and the diſorders which moſt neceſſarily happen where contrary opinions are held. Of theſe truths written by the Prophets, taught by Chriſt, and preached by the Apoſtles, ancient Fathers, Books are alſo full, and good Divines do hold them, as they are neceſſary to be believed. But as there were always in Gods Church, thoſe who made uſe of Religion, for worldly ends, ſo the number of them is now full. Theſe, under a ſpiritual pretence, but with an ambitious end and deſire of worldly wealth, would free themſelves from the obedience due unto the Prince, and take away the love and reverence due by the people, to draw it to themſelves. To bring theſe things to paſs, they have newly invented a Doctrine, which talks of nothing but of Eccleſiaſtical greatneſs, liberty,

liberty, immunity, and of her juriſdiction. This Doctrine was unheard of, until about the year of 1300. neither is there any Book found concerning it before that time: then did they begin to write of it ſcatteringly in ſome Books: but there were not above two Books which treated of nothing elſe but this, until the year 1400. and three until the year 1500. After this time the number increaſed a little; but it was tolerable. After the year 1560. this Doctrine began to increaſe in ſuch manner, that they gave over writing, as they did before, of the Myſteries of the moſt Holy Trinity, of the Creation of the World, of the incarnation of Chriſt, and other Myſteries of the Belief, and there is nothing Printed in *Italy*, but Books in Diminution of Secular Authority, and exaltation of the Eccleſiaſtical, and ſuch Books are not Printed by ſmall numbers, but by thouſands: Thoſe people which have any learning can read nothing elſe; the Confeſſors likewiſe know none other Doctrine, nor to be approved of need they any other Learning. Whence comes in a perverſe opinion univerſally, that Princes and Magiſtrates are humane inventions, yea, and Tyrannical, that they ought only by compulſion to be obeyed, that the diſobeying of Laws, and defrauding the publick revenues doth not bind one unto ſin, but only to puniſhment; and he that doth not pay, if he can but fly from it, remains not guilty before the Divine Majeſty; and contrarywiſe, that every beck of Eccleſiaſtical perſons, without any other thought, ought to be taken for a Divine Precept, and binds the Conſcience. And this Doctrine perchance is the cauſe of all inconveniences which are felt in this Age. There want not in *Italy* pious and learned perſons which hold the truth, but they are not ſuffered to Write, nor to Print: Something comes written from another place, but preſently it is prohibited: And little thought is taken of Heretical Books, eſpecially thoſe that treat of the Articles of Faith; but if any one comes that defends the Prince his Temporal Authority, and ſaith that Eccleſiaſtical perſons are alſo ſubject to publick functions, and puniſhable if they violate the publick tranquillity, theſe are condemned Books, and perſecuted more than others. They have gelded the Books of ancient Authors by new Printing of them, and taken out all which might ſerve for Temporal authority.

In the year 1607. they Printed in *Rome* with publick authority, a Book intituled *Index Expurgatorius*, where they did note the places which in divers Authors ought to be cancelled, in which Book every one may with eyes behold what things are taken away or changed in many good Authors, which did defend the Authority given by God to the Prince. So that at this preſent in reading of a Book, a man can no more find what the Authors meaning was, but only what is the Court of *Rome's*, who hath altered every thing. And that above all things would be thought incredible, if it were not ſeen in Print.

Pope *Clement* the eighth, in the year 1595. in the *Index* publiſhed a rule, that all Catholick Writers Books, written after the year 1515. might be corrected and amended, not only by taking away what is not conformable to the Doctrine of *Rome*, but alſo with adding to it. This Precept hath been put in practice and executed continually theſe ſeventy years, though it hath been done publickly but ſome few years ſince. So that if in Authors we find no good Doctrine favouring Temporal authority, we know who hath taken it away. If we find any that favoureth the Eccleſiaſtical, we know who hath put it in: and finally, we may be aſſured to have no Book true. Wherefore ſince the only

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aim is to extinguiſh or corrupt thoſe Books by which only well minded men might receive neceſſary inſtruction: The Secular Magiſtrate ought alſo to be circumſpect, and not ſuffer himſelf under feigned pretexts to be deprived of more than heretofore he hath been: and when new mention is made of prohibiting any Book which treateth not of Articles of Belief, to inform himſelf well of the Doctrine which it contains, and of the ends for which the Court of *Rome* would forbid it, before he gives his conſent: And if any good and famous Authors Book ſhould be new Printed, to ſee that the good Maxims be not taken out, or new ones inſerted, contrary to the Authors intention. Yea, publick ſervice, juſtice, and honeſty, would require that good Maxims ſhould be Printed again: and that thoſe Books which have been corrected by taking away or altering things favouring Temporal Authority given by God, ſhould again be reſtored according to the firſt and uncorrupted Copies, according to the Authors meaning. And becauſe by new prohibitions ſent out underhand, the force of the agreement may not be deluded or diminiſhed, when the *Index* of the year 1595. is Printed, the agreement alſo ſhould be Printed at the end of it. Taking notice that the prohibiting of Books, is not only neceſſary to prevent the extinguiſhing of good Doctrine in *Italy*, which beginneth now to be done, but alſo becauſe that under the pretence of good, the Inquiſition may not uſurp that authority which doth not belong to it; forbidding of Books, which though they be evil, yet have nothing to do with Religion, which is the ſecond prejudice.

The Eccleſiaſticals have declared unto us that they prohibit Books for eleven cauſes, of which there be five that do in no wiſe belong unto them.

The firſt of them is, when the Book containeth any thing againſt his neighbours reputation, eſpecially Eccleſiaſtical Perſons or Princes.

The ſecond, if it contains any thing againſt Eccleſiaſtical liberty, immunity, and juriſdiction.

The third, if with politick propoſitions of ancient Princes, or Hiſtorians, they favour tyranny.

The fourth, if the Book contains conceits or quipps againſt any ones reputation.

The fifth, if they contain laſciviouſneſſes, and other things againſt honeſty.

There is no queſtion, but thoſe Books wherein ſuch abſurdneſſes are found ought to be condemned: but every one may not do it. It were breeding a confuſion in the World, if every one who knoweth an order to be good, might Decree it: That belongeth to publick authority, which only can make a Law upon that which belongeth to her Government. He that is zealous and ſeeth the evil which is in a Book, let him procure the ſuppreſſing of it, and he will do well, by his authority that may lawfully do it.

The diligence in ſeeking out and diſcovering of an evil is commendable, but to go about to remedy it, when it doth not belong unto him is uſurpation and ambition. If by a Book the neighbours reputation be touched, though he be an Eccleſiaſtical man; it belongeth not to the Inquiſition to right it. That Office is againſt Hereſie, and is not to protect any mans reputation. The Secular power is protector of mens honours, and he is to defend it, and to puniſh any one that doth wrong it with deeds, words, or writings. Let the Inquiſition be careful, that

that by Books there is no Doctrine ſown againſt the Faith; and God hath provided a Magiſtrate to give a remedy, if by deeds, words, or Books, any mans reputation is wronged. If Eccleſiaſtical Perſons do ſee any injury done to themſelves or to others, it is juſt that they may crave the Magiſtrates help, and expect amends through him. If any thing be written againſt Eccleſiaſtical liberty and immunity, becauſe it is enjoyed by priviledge from the Princes; it belongeth to the Prince to maintain it to them, as far as the publick Service will permit: it were not good that every priviledged Perſon might out of his own power defend his priviledges. Would God there were Books which might deſerve prohibition for being againſt Eccleſiaſtical liberty, rather than Books that do deſerve it for extending it ſo far as it doth confound all government: It uſurpeth and taketh away that which belongeth to the Secular, and ſhameth Chriſts Miniſtry, which is for Celeſtial things, and not to become maſters of Terreſtrial, committed by God unto others. It is not a leſſer but a greater evil to extend Eccleſiaſtical liberty ſo far, as it may become irregular, than to reſtrain it more than it ought to be. What is the cauſe that no Book is cenſured, becauſe it vaunts it too much, and taketh away the temporal? The beſt way to maintain it is not to prohibit thoſe Books which keep it within the bounds, but rather thoſe which do make it hideous for the abſurdneſs of it: wherefore it ought not to be denied, but if any one ſhould write in this behalf contrary to truth, the Magiſtrate ought to proceed againſt the author and the Book, and obſerve the decency and Authority due to the Eccleſiaſtical order; but it is not juſt that they ſhould right themſelves. If politick things be written, according to the Maxims of Princes, and Ancient Hiſtoriographers, according to all mens opinions it belongeth not to the Eccleſiaſtical to judge of them: if they be tyrannical, that belongeth only to Princes, to whom is proper the Government of States. Private men do not underſtand it, and much leſs the Miniſters of Chriſt, to whom is ſeverely forbidden to entermeddle in it; and if any one will go further, he muſt not think to remedy it with his own authority, but to ſignifie it to him, to whom it belongs to help it. As it is alſo moſt plain, that thoſe who deſire to have an unbounded liberty, do give the name of Tyranny to the lawful power given by God, and to that Doctrine which oppoſeth it ſelf to their attempts: ſo that under pretence of Religion they will become arbitrators of all Governments. The ſame is to be ſaid of Books containing conceits, or biting quipps, which directly, or indirectly do offend in any one, and if they do teach ill manners, lacivioufneſs, ſurfeits, which offend the publick dignity; none of theſe exceſſes is Hereſie, that they ſhould belong to the Inquiſition. The Inquiſitor is made a Judge of the belief, and not a cenſurer of manners. By St. *Pauls* Doctrine publick quiet, and honour are given into the cuſtody of Secular power, the Inquiſition ought not to put her ſickle into another mans harveſt. This concluſion needs no ſubtilneſs to make it be underſtood, of it ſelf it is plain and eaſie. To the ſame man belongeth to judge, and puniſh deeds, words, and writings of the ſame matter. None can make queſtion but that the offending of ones reputation, favouring of Tyranny, and diſhonefty, either with deeds, or with words, are offences ſubject to the Secular Judgment: Therefore they which are committed in writing alſo, ſhall belong to the ſame. By what reaſon can he pretend to cenſure the Books for any of the aforeſaid cauſes, who confeſſeth of himſelf to have no power to cenſure the words, and the deeds?

Since

Since that by the Princes Miniſters, ſuch a diſorder is put in prac. *vid.* that under pretence of favouring honeſty, and Juſtice, and pre ving a good name, temporal authority comes to be uſurped: perad ture becauſe it is a very new thing, that the Eccleſiaſtical power ſho prohibit Books for any other cauſe beſides that of Religion, ſince no Pope ever attempted it before the year 1550. therefore as a freſh th it hath not yet been well examined; or becauſe that ſome who give attendance upon publick affairs, think it not ill to diſcharge themſelves of this burthen of looking over Books, and leave it to them as deſire it. But as every Government requires watchfulneſs and carefulneſs, and he that diſcharges himſelf of theſe, deſpoileth himſelf alſo of his authority, and doth not perceive it till it be loſt, and cannot be recovered again; ſo the moſt renowned Common-wealth, which hath ordered that her Officers ſhould over-ſee every Book which is Printed, to prevent any inconvenient Doctrine from coming to light, hath known very well that this care belongeth to the Prince, and thence is neceſſarily inferred that his Deputies ought alſo to ſee whether that there be any inconveniences in Books already Printed, which may hinder the reprinting of them. To the ſame Perſon belongeth the preventing of evil, to whom the reforming of an evil already ſprung belongeth. If the Prince may Lawfully by the authority he hath from God, forbid the Printing of a Book becauſe it contains Blaſphemy againſt the God-head, favoureth Tyranny, offends publick honeſty, teacheth evil manners, or takes away another mans authority and reputation: He may alſo Lawfully and by the ſame authority prohibit them that are already Printed, and do contain the like inconveniences.

The *Index* of the Books made in the year 1595. is already received with publick authority by agreement; therefore the Books contained in it, are to be prohibited without exception. But if hereafter it be propounded by Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to have Books prohibited for any of the aforeſaid reaſons, it muſt not be granted that they ſhould do it, but notice may be taken, and the Book prohibited by Temporal authority only, leaving it to the Eccleſiaſtical power only when the Book is prohibited for cauſe of Religion. There remains the third prejudice which is new, but of greater annoyance than the other two: becauſe that to be deprived of ones authority, and to loſe good Books, are indeed very great evils, but tolerable in reſpect of this, to be conſtrained to endure within their own Dominions, a Book known to be hurtful. The Court of *Rome* though it hath aſſumed to it ſelf to prohibit Books, alſo for cauſes which concerned not Religion, and did not belong to Eccleſiaſtical power, yet before theſe laſt years they have not dared to go ſo far as to ſay, that the Prince may not alſo forbid thoſe Books which he ſeeth to breed ſcandal, evil example, ſedition or other perturbance within his Dominion.

Cardinal *Baronius* would be the firſt that ſhould free this paſs, and ſpeak it boldly, who being conveniently oppoſed by that Prince who was particularly touched, none ever ſince hath dared to this hour to maintain the Cardinal his enterprize. But becauſe hereafter ſome may attempt the like with greater Art, or upon an opportunity, when mens eyes ſhall not be ſo open; the buſineſs being of ſome moment, requireth to have the ſucceſs of that buſineſs briefly ſet down, for a general example and document, adding thereunto the true Doctrine, with her Grounds, anſwering the objected cavillations.

That Cardinal in the beginning of the year 16 5. Printed his

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eleventh *Tome* of the Eccleſiaſtical Annals, wherein he inſerted a very long diſcourſe againſt the Monarchy of *Sicily*. Of which diſcourſe what concerneth the Truth of the relation, is not fitting now to be ſpoken of, but to be left to his proper place: This only belongeth to the preſent purpoſe, that the diſcourſe is full of ſlanders, and eagerneſs againſt many Kings of *Arragon* of famous memory, and eſpecially againſt King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, and the Progenitors on the Fathers ſide of him who now Reigneth. The Book coming to *Naples*, and to *Milan*, was by the Kings Officers there prohibited, that it ſhould not be ſold, nor had there for the reſpects of their Prince, which were too apparent to every vulgar perſon. The Cardinals having notice of it, aſſembled the Colledge of Cardinals in the vacancy of the See of *Clement* the Eighth, and made an invective againſt thoſe Officers, that in prohibiting of that Book, had laid hands on Eccleſiaſtical Authority. And afterwards when *Paul* the Fifth was made Pope, he writ unto the King of *Spain*, a long Letter dated the 13. of *June* in the ſame year, with this concluſion amongſt the reſt. That to the Pope only belongeth the approving of Books of all kinds, much more Eccleſiaſtical ones, complaining greatly, that in contempt of Eccleſiaſtical Authority, the Kings Officers in *Italy* had prohibited his Book. The wiſdom of that King thought it beſt to anſwer with deeds, and let the Prohibition run on, which was publiſhed by his Officers. The Cardinal could not contain himſelf, but that Printing his 12. *Tome* in the year 1607. he muſt inſert to ſmall purpoſe, a diſcourſe of the ſame matter, ſaying formally, that it was an impious and abominable thing, that in theſe our moſt unfortunate days, the Kings Officers ſhould dare to cenſure Books approved by the Pope, not ſuffering them to be ſold by the Bookſellers, but with their Licence, which they would grant but when they pleaſed; yea, and would abſolutely forbid the ſale of them: that they do it becauſe the Books rebuke their unjuſt acts, and that it was to take out of S. *Peter*'s hands, and putting into the Princes, one of the Keys given him by Chriſt, *vid.* that of Knowledge to diſcern good Cuſtoms from bad. The Council of *Spain* proceeded ſtill with their wonted ſtayedneſs and reſolution, and did not move for the third time, but let three years more run on. And in the year 1610. the King made an Edict, whereby he condemned and forbad the Book in ſo grave a manner, that he aptly touched Cardinal *Baronius*, as well as he had touched the Kings his Progenitors. And to give it the more credit and force, he cauſed the Edict to be publiſhed in *Sicily* with a Decree, and ſubſcribed by Cardinal *Doria*; and was ſent in Print all the World over. The Court of *Rome* ſtood amazed, as well for the Edict, as for the execution of it done by the Cardinal, yet in *Spain* they moved not a whit, and the Edict remaineth ſtill in force. Certainly there cannot be imagined an higher enterprize, than to ſend into a Prince his Dominions, a Book in Print againſt his Government, and to pretend it to be Lawful, and that the Book ſhall be there read, kept, and ſold publickly, and that the Prince ſhall have no power to diſcover it and withſtand it; and that under colour of Religion, and the Authority of Chriſt given to S. *Peter*. Which preterce will be taken away if we do but mark the Catholick Doctrine, and the Cuſtom of the Holy Church, whence the truth plainly appears, and Cardinal *Baronius* his Reaſons are plainly confuted. It is a thing well known, that unto S. *Peter* were given the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and that many Holy Fathers and Catholick Writers, mean by the

Keys in the Plural number, the one of Knowledge, and the other of Power; and that the Power ought not to be underſtood Univerſally, but only concerning the Kingdom of Heaven, which is the Spiritual; for the Civil, Royal and Temporal Power is expreſly forbidden him by Chriſt. So the knowledge is not to be underſtood of natural things, nor of corrections, much leſs of Politick, Civil, or Moral things; but as S. *Paul* ſaith plainly, they are made diſpenſers of Chriſts myſteries only: Wherefore if by the Eccleſiaſtical Authority a Book be approved to be good in matters of Faith, it cannot be condemned as bad, by any Secular Power: but if the Book teacheth of other matters, as of Juriſdiction, of Government, of Merchandiſe, although it were applauded by all the Prelates of the World, yet doth not that prejudice Temporal Authority, but that it may be condemned. It is a great wrong to pretend, that becauſe Chriſt hath given S. *Peter* the Cogniſance, and Power of the Kingdom of Heaven, and forbidden him the Earthly; one may againſt his Precept extend Spiritual things to Temporal. S. *Auguſtine* often ſaith, that Grace doth not deſtroy nor take any thing away from Nature, but leaving all her own unto her, doth add unto it Divine perfections. The Temporal Power hath of its own nature power to forbid all things which are repugnant to publick quietneſs, and to honeſty; and amongſt the reſt Writings, and Books which are contrary to it. Chriſt is not come to take away any of this Authority from the Magiſtrates, but to leave it entire; only he adds power to his Miniſters, over things concerning Chriſtian Faith, of which men by nature know nothing, but only by Revelation: Therefore theſe ought not to aſſume unto themſelves the power of approving of Books which belong not to them, or to endeavour to deprive the Magiſtrate, of the Authority which is given them by God, and by Nature.

Cardinal *Baronius* alledgeth the Epiſtles of certain Writers, who have dedicated unto Popes their Books of Hiſtories, or of Law, or concerning Government; and have ſubmitted their Works to the Popes Cenſure: and therefore he concludes, that to him alone belongeth to approve of all ſorts of Books, and that once approved by him, none ought any further to meddle with it. But this is but a vain reaſon, ſince it doth not make any diſtinction between obligatory and binding words, and words of compliment. Who ever dedicateth a Book not only to a Prince, but alſo to a private man, but that he will ſubmit it unto him, and that with ſome Hyperbole of words? If we ſhall upon theſe Rethorical colours ground Articles of Divinity, we will alſo find other Epiſtles, by which we will give the ſame Power to all manner of Perſons: and we ſhall find many Books of Phyſick, and of Grammar Learning, dedicated unto Popes, with ſuch like Phraſes of ſpeaking; and ſhould that infer therefore that the Papacy is an Office concerning Health, or a Grammar School? Reverence and civil ſpeaking is one thing, and that which muſt be holden as an Article of Faith is another: But becauſe that *Baronius* taxeth the Princes Officers with forbidding of Books, becauſe they reprove their unjuſt dealings, it will be good to ſpeak a word concerning that; becauſe it ſhall not ſeem that we will have unjuſt things defended, nor that any ſhould think that it is lawful under colour of reproving of things, to diſturb the publick quietneſs. One may ſpeak two ways of a miſdeed; by way of Theſis, or Poſition, *vid.* in general without touching either Perſon, or place, or time: and to reprove in this manner, hath been always held

held good for the rooting out of vice : It is lawful for any one to write Books in this manner. Another way is by *Hypotheſis*, that is of particular caſe, naming of Perſons and other Circumſtances, and that is not permitted to any but to the lawful Judge. Every one may write againſt Uſury in general, but to touch any particular Inſtrument for Uſury, belongeth to none but to the publick Judge; and the doing otherwiſe, is to put the World in a confuſion, leaving the managing of buſineſſes unto unjuſt perſons. A generality may eaſily be conſidered of, and hath need of nothing but of ſtudy and Authors; but a particularity by reaſon of the infiniteneſſes of circumſtances, requires an exquiſite prudence and experience. It is eaſie to ſay, and to prove in general, that the uſurping the Sovereignty of a State is unjuſt; and Cardinal *Baronius* might have thereupon made a long Parentheſis. But to come to a particular, and ſay that the King of *Spain* uſurps the Sovereignty of *Sicily*, is not a Cauſe belonging to him. And if the Kings Officers in *Naples* and *Milan*, have therefore prohibited his Book, they have not forbidden the reproving of injuſtice, but rather the ſmall wiſdom of him who judgeth the preſent poſſeſſion of *Sicily* to be unjuſt, without having ſo much knowledg as was needful for the doing of it. And if the Pope did approve the Book, intending to do it for the places in his Eccleſiaſtical Dominion and State, it is well : but if he did mean it alſo for other Princes States, ſo that it might not be prohibited by thoſe who held it ſcandalous, that had been an exceſs, and uſurpation of other mens Authority, which ought not to be ſuppoſed of Pope *Clement* the Eighth, who was a wiſe Prince. And becauſe Cardinal *Baronius* adds, that publick Officers cannot prohibit Bookſellers, to ſell Books without their Licence, under pretence of hindring Heretical Books from coming in with falſe Titles, becauſe that ſeeing ſuch a danger, they ought with humbleneſs to ſeek that the Biſhops may do it: this alſo deſerves a little conſideration. And firſt, to take away all ambiguity; neither did any approve of doing any thing under a feigned pretence, that is, to cover evil with the colour of good, this being a pernicious diſſimulation; but to ſet up one good thing behind another, to cauſe it to paſs without naming of it, to make the execution of it eaſie, or for ſome other end, is not to be reproved; and the Holy Scripture doth give infinite Examples of it. If an Edict were made by a Secular Magiſtrate, that no Bookſeller ſhould ſell Books without Licence, becauſe Heretical Books ſhould not come in; having an intent that way, to hinder not only Heretical, but all other kind of evil Books alſo, it were not a thing to be reproved; neither had the Cardinal any reaſon to inveigh againſt ſo juſt a thing. But it is worſe when he ſaith that they muſt have a recourſe to the Biſhop, for that would be a moſt unperfect Government which in it ſelf had not a means to provide for a thing ſo neceſſary, and ſhould ſtay for a remedy from him that ſhould give it according to his proper intereſts, and not according to the publick neceſſity. In matter of Books we ought to diſtinguiſh, that it is one thing to judge whether a Book be Heretical or no, which belongeth to Chriſts Miniſters only, neither hath Secular Power any part therein : And another thing it is when a Book is known by the Church to be Heretical, to forbid it by Law, which is not ſo proper to the Eccleſiaſtical, but that it may very laudably be done by the Secular Power.

In the Primitive Church, Heretical Books were examined, and declared to be ſuch by the Councils, but not prohibited by them but by the

Prince. The firſt Council of *Nice*, condemned the Heretical Doctrine of *Arius*, the Emperour *Conſtantine* did forbid his Books by Imperial Law.

The ſecond Council of *Conſtantinople*, did declare *Eunomius* to be a Heretick. The Emperour *Arcadius* did prohibit the Books of the *Eunomians* by a Law, which is in the *Theodoſian* Code.

The third Council of *Epheſus* declared *Neſtorius* to be an Heretick, and his Books were forbidden by a Law of *Theodoſius*, which is in the body of the Civil Laws.

The fourth Council of *Calcedon* condemned the *Eutychians*, and their Books were forbidden by a Law of the Emperour *Martian* which is in the ſame foreſaid Book. This was the manner of the ancient Church, until the year 800. ſince which time the Popes of *Rome* have declared divers Writers to be Hereticks. And the Princes have let that Declaration paſs without any other Law of theirs: but it is not therefore to be ſaid that they have deprived themſelves of their Authority of forbidding things hurtful to their State. An Heretical Book offends the Church, and diſturbs a peaceable life. The firſt reſpect which is Spiritual belongeth to the Eccleſiaſtical, to diſcern good Books from evil, and to the Secular, as Protector of the Church to help it. But for the ſecond reſpect to withſtand Novelties for the publick repoſe, the Secular ought not to truſt to other mens care, nor have recourſe to any one; but to abound in care, forbidding all what may in any reſpect hurt a good Government.

It ought to be held for an undoubted concluſion, that the Secular Power may forbid within its own Juriſdiction, any Book though approved by any other, and beſides his Power he ought alſo watchfully to conſider, what danger it is if his Subjects do ſwallow any Opinion which is repugnant to good Government. I will alſo put it in remembrance, that as it is a great good to the Common-wealth, to have every Book that is to be Printed, examined with ſuch care, as is accuſtomed in this State, ſo it would not be of leſs good, to have every Book which is Printed abroad, and brought hither, examined before it be ſold. It is a folly to think that the Common-wealth may be damnified by the Printing of an evil Book, and not if it be Printed in another place, and ſo ſcattered abroad. It is true, that ſome things may be ſuffered in one that is already Printed, which would not be ſuffered in one which is not Printed. But things of importance ought equally to be handled, as well in thoſe that are Printed, as in thoſe that are to Print. And as it is ſometimes wiſdom in the prohibiting of a Book which is Printed without the State, to do it with ſilence, only intimating it to the Bookſellers, not to have the buſineſs regarded nor ſpoken of; ſo it ſhould be my reſpectful advice, that ſometimes about Books which are very pernicious, it ſhould be done by Edict and Writing, for that would be a putting in practice, the proper Authority, and not giving way to them who ſay, that prohibiting of Books is a thing properly Eccleſiaſtical, and that would alſo accuſtom the people to it: For if the exerciſing of that Authority be put off till ſome moſt urgent or moſt dangerous caſe ſhould happen, it would run in danger of being thought to be a Novelty, and ſo be diſobeyed.

It is neceſſary before we come out of this matter, to add, that ſome others who have not dared to ſpeak ſo great an abſurdity as *Baronius* did, have ſtumbled on another not much leſſer; granting that the Prince may prohibit Books, as ſeditious, diſhoneſt or infamous: but

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adding thereunto, that this Prohibition ought to be obeyed for fear of Temporal Puniſhment, and not becauſe it tyeth the Conſcience: ſo that he that reads them, or keeps them ſecret is not culpable before God. This is a falſe and perverſe Opinion, and contrary to Chriſtian Doctrine. S. *Paul* with Precepts and plain words ſaith, That every one is bound to obey Temporal Power, not only becauſe of the Puniſhment, but for Conſcience ſake. When one commands any thing, having not Power from God, he that doth not obey him, doth not offend his Divine Majeſty. But diſobeying in that wherein the Authority cometh from God, he himſelf comes to be diſobeyed and offended.

Saint *Paul* who hath been often alledged, but never enough, ſaith, That God hath given the Prince charge of tranquillity, quietneſs, piety, and honeſty: and if for theſe reſpects the Prince prohibits a Book becauſe it is ſeditious, another becauſe it is impious, another becauſe it is diſhoneſt; it cannot be ſaid without contradicting S, *Paul*, That every one is not bound in Conſcience to obey. If it would pleaſe God to open the eyes of many, to bring to paſs that this Doctrine as it is true and Chriſtian, ſo it might be taught; and the contrary as pernicious ſhould be confuted, innumerable inconveniences would ceaſe, which we do now ſee daily: Becauſe if there be ſome in the World who do work for the love of honeſty, the great number of the reſt is divided into two ſorts. The one ſort are they who do well for fear of Spiritual Puniſhments, and the other for fear of Temporal Puniſhments. When Spiritual fear is taken away, their obedience is loſt who think that they ſhall lie concealed, and ſhall through favour and other means, hinder and eſchew the Puniſhment: And thoſe alſo which do make no account of it, which both put together do make a great number. On the other ſide let us behold, how eaſily ſome are brought to obedience, through a ſpiritual fear. Since God then hath given the Prince theſe two means to cauſe him to be obeyed, *vid.* for fear of Temporal Puniſhments, and for Conſcience ſake; for ſo S. *Paul* teacheth: it were a great loſs to forgo the ſecond of theſe means, which is not leaſt neceſſary, with letting the contrary be ſpread abroad, contrary to Catholick Doctrine.

Recapitulating then the heads gathered in this matter of Books, they will be ten. The firſt that thoſe which are contained in the *Index* of the year 1595. what cauſe ſoever they are prohibited for, the Princes conſent having been to it, are always to be held for ſuch. The ſecond, That for the time to come no Prohibition be ſuffered, what Clauſe ſoever there be in it; although it be with Cenſure, if it be not admitted by Publick Authority, as it was agreed. The Third, That if the Eccleſiaſtical ſhall deſire the Publick conſent, for prohibiting of Books which treat of matters of Faith, ſo they contain Hereſies, their Propoſition being verified ſhall be agreed unto. The fourth, That heed ſhall be always taken, that under pretence of Religion, Chriſtian Doctrine be not forbidden, which defends Temporal Authority. The fifth, That it ſhall not be granted to the Inquiſitor to prohibit Books for any other cauſe but only of Hereſie; but if any be had for any other reſpects, it ſhall be prohibited by the Magiſtrate. The ſixth, That Books Printed elſewhere, though approved by any one elſe, by what Authority ſoever; if they be hurtful to the Common-wealth, they ſhall be prohibited by the Secular Magiſtrate, or by a Publick Edict, according to the occaſion. The ſeventh, That in the Printing again of Books heed be taken, that thoſe things be not taken away which favour

Temporal

Temporal Power. The eighth, that if any of thoſe that are gelded, in which the Doctrine maintaining Temporal Power is taken out, be new Printed, they ſhall be Printed again according to the old Copies. The ninth, that if the *Index* of the year 1595. be new Printed, care be taken that no new names be inſerted. The tenth, that together with the ſame *Index*, the agreement be Printed.

There remains another point to be briefly touched in this matter which is not of ſo great importance, and yet ſuch, as of it ſelf merits ſome conſideration. Which is, that the prohibition not being uſed with due moderation, is hurtful to the ſale of Books, and to the Art of Printing; for if a Book be Printed which hath been ſeen by the Inquiſitor and the Biſhop, and by them approved, yet if at *Rome* any thing be found though of ſmall moment, not againſt Religion, for in ſuch a matter nothing can be of ſmall moment, but againſt ſomewhat touching the Court, which the Inquiſitor hath not entred into, who granted the Licence, they prohibit the Book, to his loſs who cauſed the Book to be Printed, and is in no fault having the Inquiſitors approbation: and this diſorder is frequent, and would be more frequent, if they did not fear that upon the Bookſellers complaints Princes would give ear unto it; for every Courtier to get credit ſheweth himſelf careful in marking the prejudices of the Court, and alſo the ſhadows of them, not only in Books Printed out of *Italy*, but in them alſo which are approved by the Inquiſition, and even in them which are Printed in *Rome* it ſelf. It were juſt, that if any thing were found contrary to Religion, in a Book Printed with approbation, the charges ſhould be paid by him that hath approved it, ſince the Bookſeller is not in fault. But if any thing be found which for its own proper reſpects is diſpleaſing to the Court, it ſeemeth not reaſonable that a Prohibition ſhould be granted, which ſeemeth alſo to be ſo reſolved on by the Agreement of the year 1595. when it ſaith, that for the time to come no Books be prohibited by foreign ones, or Printed without Licence, or with falſe Licence, although ſuch words might be cavilled upon, becauſe they have made no exception of Religion: but the Agreement being conſtrued in this ſenſe cannot chuſe but be commended.

The Expoſition of the 30. *and* 31. *Chapters.*

THE thirtieth and one and thirtieth Chapters, which ſpeak of Secular Arts, and of Artificers faults, can never be too exactly obſerved. Every well ordered Common-wealth when ſome cruel kind of offence ariſeth, doth make a Magiſtrate on purpoſe to take notice of that only, that the care of other things may not divert him. For this cauſe, in the Chriſtian Common-wealth, was the Office of the Inquiſition appointed, which ſhould tend only to the rooting out of Hereſie. It is moſt natural for every one who hath the univerſal Juriſdiction to put over many things to him that hath the particular Juriſdiction, or ſuffer him to uſurp it, and it uſeth to be eaſily done, becauſe of the great Power that is given him, and becauſe that he who hath the univerſal Juriſdiction, employed in many buſineſſes, ſometimes doth not give heed, and ſometimes (if he be not a man of good knowledge) thinks that it is a helping of him, ſo that he doth not only not withſtand the inconvenience, but doth favour it. A Cauſe not belonging to him

that

that hath the particular Juriſdiction, being once taken, ſerves for example to take it the ſecond time, and from divers times a Cuſtom is framed, which afterwards ſerves for a Law, and cannot be taken away without many difficulties, and the univerſal Juriſdiction comes to be diminiſhed, and the way is opened to the diſturbing of the Government. By theſe ways and occaſions the Inquiſitors againſt Hereſie have not only ſtirved to draw divers other cauſes to their Office, but alſo to appropriate unto themſelves the Government of the Trade of Books, and to command divers others, alledging therefore two kinds of reaſons: The one is, that they do not command any new thing, and that which without their command ought to be done; for if they do enjoyn the Butcher that he ſhall not ſell Fleſh in Lent, he is bound without that not to ſell it; ſo that the commandment is an admoniſhing them of their duties. So likewiſe they ſay that they do not cauſe ſuch perſons to ſwear any thing, but what they are bound to do. For if they cauſe Bookſellers to ſwear that they will not ſell prohibited Books, they are already tyed to do it; ſo there is nothing done but to add a greater provocation to perform their own duties. But this reaſon is cavillous, it being one thing to warn one of his duty, and another to command it him. The Preacher and the Confeſſor do admoniſh, without uſurping others Authority, becauſe they impoſe no penalty, nor uſe any means to make them obey; this is only a teaching which is not joyned with conſtraining. That commanding which carrieth in conſequence a revenge againſt the diſobeyer, although it be a thing which is due to be done, yet is it an act of ſuperiority and juriſdiction, which not being granted to the Inquiſitors, but only in caſe of Hereſie, they cannot do it, without uſurping the univerſal Juriſdiction. So to conſtrain one to ſwear a thing, although it be to be done, is alſo an act of ſuperiority, though without the Oath it ought for to be done. The other Reaſon which they moſt frequently uſe, is yet more cavillous; They ſay that the judging of Hereſies, bringeth by neceſſary conſequence all things annexed or depending of it, and that they do not pretend to command any, nor cauſe them to ſwear, nor puniſh, but only in things conjoyned with Hereſie: becauſe that Hereſies are taught in Books, it is neceſſary for them to command Bookſellers and others, through the hands of whom Books do paſs, and puniſh them which do againſt it. In all theſe particulars it is moſt plain to perceive what is juſt: without doubt, to whom the judgment of a thing is committed, to him is alſo granted all which is joyned to it, ſo that it cannot be ſevered. Wherefore all which in ſuch manner is joyned with Hereſie, ought to be judged by the Inquiſition, but that which of its own nature is ſeveral, and may ſeverally be judged, although by ſome far fetcht Conſequence it might be joyned; in this manner every offence, yea, and every action might be joyned with Hereſie.

As for the matter of Books, thoſe alone which contain Hereſie, are ſubject to that Office, and thoſe Bookſellers which do keep or ſell any, and theſe ought to be puniſhed by the Inquiſition: it doth not follow therefore that the Inquiſitor may burthen Bookſellers with receiving of viſits, to make Inventories, to receive Licences, to ſell from them; and ſuch orders as they often attempt to make: Likewiſe to eat forbidden food at forbidden times, is an evidence of an evil conceit in matters of Faith, and other circumſtances which are thereunto adjoyned, and the Office proceeds againſt him that is accuſed; but he hath nothing to do with it that ſells the food or dreſſes it, becauſe that it

is

is to be ſuppoſed that theſe do it for their gain. But becauſe the deſire of gain is ſo unruled, that oftentimes exceeding, it doth induce men to commit things againſt honeſty, if any one ſhould fell in ſuch manner as that it ſhould provoke to evil, or ſhould cauſe any other ſcandal, this is not joyned with Hereſie. The Magiſtrate without ſpeaking of Faith, or of Doctrine, may puniſh the fault, and give ſuch order as ſhall be neceſſary for the preſervation of honeſt, and of religious living; and according to the honour of the City: Wherein the Inquiſition may alſo practiſe her good zeal, in ſhewing the Magiſtrate the inconveniences which it ſees, and ſhewing them the remedy, and procuring alſo the puniſhment of Offenders: but by the means of the ordinary Juſtice, to whom alone it belongeth.

The Expoſition of the two and thirtieth Chapter.

AS for the two and thirtieth Chapter, that it ſhall not be permitted to the Inquiſition to make any Monitories againſt a Commonalty, nor againſt the Judge in that which concerns miniſtring of Juſtice: the reaſon is clear, becauſe Hereſie is a Perſonal Offence; all thoſe which are of a Commonalty may be Hereticks and ſuſpected, but the Commonalty never. Wherefore if they treat of offence, they ought not to proceed but againſt the perſons imputed in particular; and if Ordinances, or Orders which have been taken be treated of, the power of the Inquiſition doth not ſtretch it ſelf over them, but only by means of the Prince his Repreſentant, who hath Authority from the Prince to command. Likewiſe the Judge for his private actions or words may be ſuſpected, for Hereſie, but never for that which he doth in miniſtring of Juſtice; it not being poſſible for him in that to fall into Hereſie, whereby his judicial actions ſhould become ſubject to the Inquiſition, but they remain ſubject to his Superior, and finally to the Prince: So that if by any of them the Office of the Inquiſition ſhould be hindred, the Inquiſitor can do no more but by the means of the publick Repreſentant take away the lets: As if the Inquiſitor ſhould call one either as an Offender, or as a witneſs who were by the Judge ſtayed for a Surety, or in any other manner, the Inquiſitor muſt not be ſuffered to make a Monitory to the Judge that he may be releaſed, but that ſhall be the Office of the Superior Magiſtrate; the like is of any other judicial act, *vid.* to cite, to ſuſpend, or revoke, or not give way of proceeding to the Inquiſition.

The Expoſition of the three and thirtieth Chapter.

AS touching the three and thirtieth Chapter, which treateth of the Edict. It was an ancient cuſtom that when the Office of Inquiſition was newly ſetled in ſome place, they publiſhed firſt an Edict called of Grace, inviting within a certain time every Heretick to repentance, promiſing pardon; which time being paſt, they publiſhed another Edict called of Juſtice, where all were warned who had any notice of any Heretick, for to denounce him: This matter in our Age hath been divers ways proceeded in. Some Inquiſitors when they have

have been deputed into places where the Inquiſition is already eſtabliſhed, have made theſe two Edicts at their coming into their Office, but this hath hapned but ſeldom. Others have made the ſecond of Juſtice only: and others have repeated it alſo many times beſides the firſt, and that was done for to add ſome new thing which the accidents might bring along with them. If any Inquiſitor ſhould have a mind to publiſh the Edict of Grace, he need not be forbidden it, for it cannot prejudice temporal Authority nor be burthenſom to the Subject: only one ought to take heed concerning the Edict of Juſtice, for oftentimes they do attempt to inſert therein ſome commands to Bookſellers, Hoſts, or Letters of Chambers; and they cover themſelves with ſaying, that it ſerveth only to adviſe them, which muſt not be permitted them, becauſe to adviſe by Edict, Proclamation, or Affixion, are ſigns of ſuperiority: and it is alſo a legal thing, that he who warneth by Edict, may alſo puniſh the offenders. Wherefore if one will not grant them the puniſhing, they muſt not give them way to warn by Edict. In that particular where it nameth Heretical Blaſphemers, it muſt be all underſtood, as in the one and twentieth Chapter; and in that part which is againſt them who do offend the Miniſters of the Office, the denouncers, or the witneſſes, the adjoyned limitation muſt be well marked, that is for deeds which concern the ſaid Office, becauſe an abuſe ſhould not be brought in, which hath been often attempted by the Inquiſitors, that they might alone do Juſtice againſt their own Officers, and againſt any as have been once examined in that Office, and puniſh all them who do offend them for what cauſe ſoever it be: for this clauſe for deeds which concern that Office, doth remove all difficulties. If any one offend a Miniſter of that Office, he ſhall not be comprehended, but ſhall be Judged in the ordinary Court; and becauſe the caſe was aſſumed from the Inquiſition, it muſt plainly appear, that the offence was done becauſe of the Office: and any one may likewiſe call the ſame Miniſters into the ordinary Court for any other cauſe; and particularly for that cauſe which ſhall be unfolded in the nine and thirtieth Chapter.

The Expoſition of the four and thirtieth Chapter.

IT was wiſely ordered by the moſt excellent Council of Ten, of caſes happening in Caſtles or Villages, that they ſhould be handled in the Cities, as in the 34. Chapter, for doing otherwiſe, the way was made to take away the Aſſiſtance, if the Inquiſitors might have gone, or might have ſent into Villages, or Caſtles to frame Proceſſes, for then they might have framed ſecret ones, and ſo have hit upon all thoſe inconveniences which the Aſſiſtance prevents.

The Expoſition of the five and thirtieth Chapter.

LIkewiſe the five and thirtieth Chapter was needfully ordained, which ſerving only to take away the competency of the Court amongſt the repreſentants, and being for the Inquiſitors good, who may more commodiouſly deal in the place of his Reſidence, there needs no other conſideration.

The Expoſition of the 36. and 37. Chapters.

UPon the ſix and ſeven and thirtieth, there needeth likewiſe no more to be conſidered, ſince they are to give juſt puniſhment to the guilty, which cannot be given by the Office, and it is ſo much the greater favour done to the faith, as the more ſeverely that the ſtubborn are puniſhed.

The Expoſition of the eight and thirtieth Chapter.

THE eight and thirtieth Chapter, which impoſeth puniſhment on them who are cited, or examined in other places for Hereſie, if they retire themſelves into this State, it is not to be ſuppoſed for the offence, becauſe that the examined or cited in other places might be puniſhed with other puniſhments: and therefore in the order it reſerved to the Inquiſition, to give him alſo other puniſhment. The Inquiſitors uſe to advertiſe one another when thoſe that are examined by them, are to go into ſome other place. Wherefore if any that hath been examined or cited elſewhere, ſhould happen into this State, the Inquiſitor of this place would be informed of it, and the Office would Decree that he ſhould be retained, to which the repreſentant ſhould agree; then the Office ought to provide according to the tenour of the 16. Chapter, *vid.* ſending of the Evidences to the Inquiſition of that City where the party is in Priſon, which ſhould proceed and come to the execution of the cauſe, whence would follow that either the accuſed Perſon would be freed, or receive deſerved puniſhment, but which ſoever of the two ſhould happen, the publick will is, that ſuch a one be puniſhed with impriſonment and baniſhment, only for coming hither, knowing himſelf to be examined: and this Ordinance is good to keep it ſtill alive, becauſe it ſheweth the pious Government of this renowned Commonwealth, which will purge their State not only of Hereticks, but alſo of ſuch as are ſuſpected or diſcovered, and will take away the thought and all hope from any ſuſpected Perſon, of expecting any better condition in this State than elſewhere.

The Expoſition of the laſt Chapter.

THE laſt Chapter of Calumniators and falſe witneſſes, is of great conſideration, not ſo much to maintain the proper juriſdiction, nor taking away that which belongs to others, as for the defence, and protection of the Subjects, which being granted by God to the Prince, when he ſuffereth them to be oppreſſed without juſtice, he grievouſly offends the Divine Majeſty. It is an ordinary Cuſtom of the Office of Hereſie to puniſh very ſeldom times calumniators or falſe witneſſes, but excuſe them upon any the leaſt ſeemingneſs that they can ſhew them, moved by a good intention, ſaying that it ought not to be ſuppoſed that in matters of faith a Chriſtian be moved for any bad end, and if that they cannot avoid the puniſhing of ſome, they do it with very ſlight puniſhments, and they are ſpiritual, that ſo either affrighted by the puniſhment

puniſhment of theſe, might not fear to denounce, or to teſtifie. For thence it would follow, that many things would be concealed which are diſcovered, doing great ſervice to the Faith, which ought to be preferred to the puniſhment of them although they deſerved it. Whether this caution be juſt or no, is a matter which muſt now be left out, and only conſider that it is a great lightning and comfort to a wretch, that ſeeth himſelf calumniated, when there remaineth a way to relieve himſelf, with the puniſhment of the calumniators, and falſe witneſſes in other Courts, ſince that in this they do not uſe it. The Inquiſitors would not have the accuſed who have been calumniated, by any means have power to have recourſe to any other Tribunal, and ſo they write in their Books, alledging for reaſon, that the injury is done to that Tribunal, to which that falſary hath not born reſpect; and therefore it ought to be judged by it, and that it cannot be judged but only by a proceſs framed in that Office, which is not juſt that it ſhould be remitted to other Courts: But contrariwiſe, other Doctors do hold that calumny and falſe witneſs being no Hereſie, doth not belong to the Inquiſition, but unto the ordinary ſuperior Court of the calumniator, or of the falſe witneſs, and eſpecially becauſe theſe ought rather to be puniſhed with temporal puniſhments, of cutting off the Tongue or the head, than by the Inquiſition. Other more diſcreet Lawyers approving the reaſons on both ſides, diſtinguiſh, that the calumny or falſity, may either appear out of the Proceſs framed in the Office of the Inquiſition, without any new framing; as when the witneſs (which happeneth often) goeth of himſelf to revoke his ſaying, and to ask pardon; and in other like, which do notoriouſly appear by the only ſight of the Proceſs, and in this caſe the judgment belongs to the Inquiſition, and the Inquiſitors reaſons do prevail. But if out of that Proceſs the calumny cannot appear, and there be need of new inſtance and Proceſs either by complaint, or by Office, the judgment belongs to the ordinary Court: which is effectually proved by the reaſons alledged by the contrary part, becauſe that calumny and falſity are not Hereſie nor Eccleſiaſtical offences, but meerly Secular: neither is there any need of ſeeing the firſt Proceſs, becauſe it is proceeded in with other inſtance, and other Proceſs. This advice as well grounded, and without intereſt, ought to be put in practices.

FINIS.

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Cardinal Sfondrato *negotiates with the Emperour to have him conſent to the Council in* Bolonia, *and offers to aſſiſt him to conquer* England: *The Emperours Anſwer.* 258, 259

The Cardinal of Trent *negotiates with the Pope from the Emperour, to cauſe the Biſhops of* Bolonia *to return to* Trent: *The Popes Anſwer.* 259

The Diſcourſe of Card. Guiſe *in Conſiſtory.* ibid.

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The Spirit that moved the Legates to think as the Pope did, made the Biſhops to believe as the Legates. ibid.

The Pope communicates to the Cardinals in Conſiſtory, and to the Emperours Ambaſſador, the Anſwer ſent from Bolonia, *which moved the Ambaſſador to proteſt againſt thoſe of* Bolonia, *had he not been hindred.* 261

The Pope writ an Anſwer to the Prelates in Germany, *in anſwer of theirs.* ibid.

The Emperour perceived the Pops cunning, and ſent Ambaſſadors to Bolonia, *who were interrupted in their ſpeech, upon which the Emperours Proteſtation is read againſt thoſe at* Bolonia. 262, 263

The Legates anſwered the Proteſtation with great reſolution. 264

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The Pope *wrote to the Fathers in* Trent *by way of Citation,* 267. *Their Anſwer thereunto,* 268. *The reply of the Proctors of the Fathers of* Bolonia *to the* Spaniards *Anſwer.* 269

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The Eccleſiaſtical Electors approve the Popes cenſure of the Interim, *eſpecially concerning reſtitution of goods uſurped by the Proteſtants.* 273

The Emperour made a Prohemie *to the* Interim, *with which the Proteſtants are diſtaſted, though they accepted it for fear, and the Princes and ſome of the Cities privately ſpeak againſt it, though not openly, for fear of the Emperour.* 274

The Emperour publiſhed a Reformation of the Clergy, containing 23 *heads, which was judged in* Rome *more unſupportable than the* Interim, *being made by Secular authority, though it contained* 130 *Precepts, ſo juſt and full of equity, that no Reformation was more exact.* ibid.

The Emperour gave the Pope *an account*

account of his proceedings in the Diet, upon which the Pope *ſent a Nuncio and two Biſhops with ample Faculties by Bull, which is cenſured in* Germany. 275, 276

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The Reaſons which induced the Pope *to haſten the Council.* ibid.

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The Pope *was jealous of the* French, *and that ſomething would be done to reſtrain his Authority.* 433

The Biſhop of Modena *was appointed to peruſe whatſoever was to be delivered in publick.* 438

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The Pope and his Court were much troubled about the Advices ſent them from Trent *concerning Reſidency, &c. and argues and adviſed with his Cardinals about it, and ſent an Anſwer, but was afraid his Court and authority would be aboliſhed.* 469,470

The Pope *made Plots to maintain the greatneſs of the Apoſtolick See, and ſent more Biſhops to* Trent. 471

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The Pope conſulted on the point of Reformation, and threatned that the Council would reform Princes as well as the Pope. ibid.

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The Prelates complained of the Pope *that the Council was not free, and though* 70 *Biſhops agreed in a propoſition, they were hindred, there being in the Council more than* 40 *Stipendaries of the* Pope, *and that Laws were given them what to handle, and limitations and corrections of what was handled.* 475

The Spaniards *required that the point of reſidency might be determined, and the* French *demanded that the points of Doctrine might be deferred until the coming of the Proteſtants, but they ſurceaſed all, knowing the Pope would take occaſion to diſſolve the Council.* 477

The Pope *reſolved the continuation ſhould be declared, but ſoon after altered his mind.* 478

Cardinal Mantua *promiſed that the point of reſidency ſhould be diſcuſſed, with which Cardinal* Simoneta *was much offended.* 479

The Emperours Ambaſſadors propoſed twenty points of reformation. 480

The Pope complained in the Conſiſtory of the Ambaſſadors and of three of the Legates, to the end that he might force them to make their Apology to him, one of the Ambaſſadors ſaying that they would chaſe the Idol out of Rome, *and that the Council was above the Pope.* 482,483

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Cardinal Simoneta *made uſe of 4 Voting Biſhops in Council, and of other the* Popes *Penſionaries.* 492

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The Legates were troubled at the conjunction of the French *with the* Imperialiſts *about the Cup, and labour to defer it.* ibid.

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The Pope *was joyful that* Spain *declined Reſidence.* ibid.

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Cardinal Lorain *made a Congregation of* French, *where Biſhops were determined to be* de jure divino. 590

The French *Ambaſſador* de Ferriers *made a notable ſpeech.* 589

Zanel *a* Spaniſh *Doctor propoſed to the Legates means to put the* Spaniſh *Prelates off their deſign, the which were* 13 *points of Reformation, but they were not liked, becauſe they required others alſo belonging to the Court, which made them deſiſt.* 575

The Legates gave auricular voices, as Lanſack *ſaid.* ibid.

The Emperour deſired that the Doctrine might be deferred, and Reformation only to be handled. ibid.

Some repaired to the Legates, and

and desired that it might not be put into the Canon, That the superiority of Bishops is de jure divino, *which was thought to be the Legates design.* 578

The Legates would not suffer the Institution of Bishops to be discussed. 551

The death of the King of Navar, *made a great change in* Trent. 598

Solemnities were used in Trent *for the victory in* France *against the Hugonots.* 606

The Pope *was troubled that the Emperour would go to* Ispruc *and set forth a Bull of Fees.* 607

Articles of Reformation proposed by the French *troubled the Legates, who sent to the Pope a messenger, and the Emperour's Ministers were troubled that their Articles were not proposed.* 607,608

The French *propositions consisted of twenty four Articles.* 609

The Pope on the Negotiation of Vintimiglia *wrote a Letter to the Legates about the Institution of the Bishops, and her own power to frame a Canon by.* 611

A difference between the Italians *and* French *about the Councils of* Constance, Basil, *and* Florence, *which was celebrated by a few* Italians *and four* Grecians. 614

The Cardinals of Lorain, *and* Trent *were offended with the Legates.* 651

A Council was within the Council, and practices to dissolve it, of which Cardinal Lorain *complained, and of want of liberty in Council, and so did the* French *in* Rome, *to whom the Pope answered peremptorily.* 615, 616

The French *Ambassadors used a free speech, that the Pope was the head, but not above the Church, and that he was to govern and direct, but not to domineer over it, and are seconded by the* Imperialists. 616, 617

No real difference between a Session and a general Congregation. 618

The French *Ambassadors made a long instance to have reformation handled, to which the Legates return an Answer not pleasing.* 619

A dispute about precedency between the French *and* Spanish *Prelates.* ibid.

Articles about Matrimony proposed were eight. ibid.

The French *Kings Letters were presented, and his Ambassadors made a speech which troubled the Papalins.* 622

The relation of Comendone *returned from the Emperour.* 628

The points consulted on in the Emperours Court, and what was done by the Pope and Court thereupon. 628, 629

A writing was published in Rome *against the* French *Petition, which displeased them and the Emperour.* 630

Fryer Adrian *said that the Popes power to dispence was unlimited and absolute,* &c. *which caused the* French *to speak against him with ill satisfaction to the Papalins, and is answered by* John Verdon. 631

Cardinal Lorain *returned from the Emperour, what points he treated with the Emperour, what he related and what he kept secret.* 632, 633

A cause of the Bishop of Segovia *to be proposed in the Rota, was refused, which caused distast among the* Spaniards. 634

The Cardinal of Mantua *died.* 633

Two new Legates were suddenly created contrary to perswasion. 636

The Duke of Guise *was slain, and Cardinal* Lorain *wrote a consolatory Letter to his Mother full of conceipts, which was dispersed.* ibid.

Guise *his death caused a great alteration in the Council.* 637

The Emperours Letter to the Pope displeased him, who yet inclined to leave out the Words, Universalem Ecclesiam, *and wrote to the Emperour.* 637, 638

Cardinal Seripando *received the Eucharist, confessed his faith, began*

began a ſpeech, but died before he finiſhed it. 641, 642

The Ambaſſadors of the Emperour and King of Spain *negotiate to have a thorough reformation*, &c. *The Popes anſwer to it.* 642,643

The Pope gave inſtructions by Letters to his Legates, and private ones to Legate Morone. 643

The Popes Anſwer to don Lewis *his Letter.* ibid.

Cardinal Lorain *reſolved to go to* Venice. 644

Six difficulties troubled the Council. ibid.

Diſcuſſions in Council, ſhould differ from diſputations in Schools. 553

Some Cardinals and Biſhops were cited to Rome *by the Inquiſition upon ſuſpicion of Hereſie.* 648

Cardinal Morone *entred* Trent *pontifically.* ibid.

Count de Luna *entered* Trent, *and an union of Counſels was between them and the* French. 648

The Negotiation of Cardinal Morone *with the Emperour, what? the Legates gave leave to the Prelates, eſpecially thoſe that were for* jure divino, *to depart.* 649

A peace was concluded by the French *King with the Hugonots, with which the Fathers were diſpleaſed.* 650, 654

Soto *a few days before his death wrote a Letter to the Pope to have reſidence and inſtitution of Biſhops to be declared to be* de jure divino, *which cauſed a great ſtir, Copies thereof being diſperſed.* 651

Lorain *obtained a general conſent, and ſent a Gentleman to the Emperour.* 653

The Legate Navagero *entred* Trent. ibid.

The Pope *plotted to gain* Lorain. 654

An endeavour to tranſlate the Council to Conſtance, Worms, Ausburgh, *by* Conde *and others, his ends therein.* 655

Lorain *complained of the proceedings, and that the Council had not liberty, at which the Papalins bluſhed.* 657

Lanſack *ſpake freely to the Legates.* ibid.

Lorain *complained of abuſes, and ſaid that* Rome *was the Fountain whence all abuſes proceeded, and was thought to ſpeak like a* Lutheran, *for which he complained to the Pope.* 658

The cauſes why there could not come any good end of the Council, and when the Cataſtrophe of the Council began. 658, 659

Whether it belonged to the Legates or Council to determine whether Proctors of Biſhops ought to have voices in Council. 661

Count de Luna *was received in Congregation, and made a ſpeech about his precedency of the* French. 661, 662, 680

The French *in* Rome *complain of* Lorain *about precedency to the* Spaniard, *&c.* 664

Lorain *remitted his rigour, and inclined to the Pope and his Court, and why.* 666

Birague *was received in Congregation with the* French *Kings Letters, and made a ſpeech, and is anſwered,* 668. 671. *but the Anſwer by* Lorain's *means was put off.* 669

Tumults in Bavaria *about the Cup, and Prieſts marriage, which was appeaſed by the Duke.* ibid.

Annates *were ſpoken againſt, and ſo were titular Biſhops, but it was anſwered.* 670

The Decrees of the Inſtitution, and Reſidence of Biſhops. 676

Morone *is thought to take too much upon him.* 677

Cardinals to be reformed. 678. 689

The Emperour found that his being near the Council did no good, and wrote to Lorain, *that the impoſſibility of doing good in Council was palpable, and ſo he departed from* Ilpruc, *and dehorted the Council from proceeding againſt the Queen of* England. 679

The

The TABLE.

The French *Proteſt againſt Pope* Pius, *and his actions in Council, and that he was not lawfully choſen.* 682

It was reſolved that the Inſtitution of Biſhops and the Popes authority, ſhould not be ſpoken of; the cauſes why. 684. 687. 689

Articles were to be ſworn unto by all Clergy, Magiſtrates and Officers. 685

The Decree of Reſidence what. 688

The Decree of Faith, of Orders, and Ordinations. 690

The Decree of Reformation of Order what. 691

Theſe Decrees were cenſured. 693, 694

The Spaniſh Prelates complained of Lorain's *breaking promiſe, and that by his means the Decrees paſſed.* 695

The Pope would have the Proteſtants to be obſtinate, and not to be recalled or turned. 696

Indulgences and purgatory were not to be ſpoken of. 697

The were 150 Italians, *and but* 60 *of all other Nations in Council, and the Legates called only* Italians, *&c.* 704, 705

Lorain *excuſed the change of his opinion.* 702

The Pope laboured to finiſh the Council, and to diſſolve it. 709, 716

The Spaniſh *Ambaſſador was diſtaſted with the private Congregations.* 710

The Ambaſſador of the Knights of Malta *was received in Congregation, and his place appointed, it being oppoſed by the Biſhops.* 712

The Cardinal of Lorain *went to* Rome, *and is highly treated there, what he did there, what conference was betwixt him and the Pope, and what advice he gave him concerning the ending of the Council, rather than to ſuſpend it, and ſaid that Religion could not be maintained without joyning with the Apoſtolick See.* 716, 717

Nine French *Biſhops departed from* Trent. 718

De Ferriers *made a Speech and a Proteſt againſt the Council, Copies of it are by him given, the which was anſwered: to which is an Apology.* 723, 724

The abrogation of proponentibus Legatis *is promoted again.* 726

The Pope and his Court were wonderfully troubled with the Proteſtation of de Ferriers; *but* Lorain *excuſed it.* ibid.

A Conference is propoſed by the Queen of France *to be between the Pope and Emperour, and other Kings.* 717

The Pope cited the Queen of Navarre *to ſhew cauſe why ſhe ſhould not be depoſed, &c. and five Biſhops of* France. 727

Cardinal Lorain *returned to* Trent, *to make an Oration in praiſe of the Pope.* 728

The State of the Council was quite altered. 729

The French *Proteſtation was variouſly cenſured.* 736

The Decrees of Reformation of Marriages, and of Eccleſiaſticks, &c. 730.732

The Decrees were variouſly cenſured, as was the French *Proteſtation.* 736

The Pope refuſing to grant the French *King leave to ſell Eccleſiaſtical Revenues, the King without him ſells them at low rates, the Clergy diſſuading the people to buy them.* 739

The French *King juſtified his Ambaſſadors Proteſtation, and defended the Queen againſt the Popes citation, and alſo the Biſhops, and wrote a ſharp Letter to the Pope, telling him he had exceeded his duty.* 739, 740.

Cardinal Lorain *publiſhed that the deſign of finiſhing the Council was concluded on, with the manner how it ſhould be done.* 741, 742

Some would have all Hereticks anathematized, but others not. 742

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A difficulty about ſubjecting the Chapters in Spain *to the Biſhops.* 743

The Popes confirmation of the Decrees was demanded. ibid.

De Ferriers *refuſed to return to* Trent. 744

Laynez *made uſe of the negligence of the Fathers in* Trent. 746

The Count de Luna *complained, that the principal matters were omitted, and the others precipitated.* 747, 748

All laboured to finiſh the Council, the Pope being ſick, fearing that a Pope would be choſen by the Council. 748

A diſpute was whether the Decrees under Paul *and* Julius *ſhould be confirmed.* 749

The Decree of the Reformation of Regulars what. 751, 752

The Decree of the Reformation of Biſhops, &c. 753

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The Decree concerning the Apoſtolick See never mentioned before. ibid.

The Decrees of Indulgences, finiſhing the Council and demanding the Popes Confirmation. 757

The Council ended with a general Indulgence to all that aſſiſted. ibid.

It was an ancient Cuſtom in the Oriental Churches to make Acclamations at the end of the Council, and what it was. And an Acclamation was begun by Lorain, *and what it was.* 757, 758

The number of thoſe that ſubſcribed, and why the Ambaſſadors did not ſubſcribe. 758.

The Popes ſickneſs made a great confuſion in Rome, *fearing that the Council would have choſen a Pope* ibid.

A diſpute was in Rome *about the confirmation of the Decrees, which made the Court ſad, and to deſire ſatisfaction for what places they had bought.* 759

The Pope reſolved to confirm the Decrees and to reſerve the interpretation thereof to himſelf, and to forbid all gloſſes and interpretations thereof by others. 761, 762

The Decrees of the Council have power from the Popes *confirmation which cauſed diſputes.* 762

The Decrees were executed in Spain *by the Kings authority, who was angry at the diſſolution of the Council, and the* Pope *was angry at the King for medling with the Eccleſiaſtical authority.* 762, 763

The Cardinal of Lorain *was taxed in* France *at his return for the Decrees, and the Parliament of* Paris *cenſured the Decrees of the laſt Seſſion.* 763

The cenſure of the Council by the French *Biſhops, and a Proverb was made in* France *concerning the Council.* 766

The cenſure of the Council in Germany *by Papiſts and Proteſtants.* ibid.

The Emperour and Duke of Bavaria *wrote to the* Pope *to have the Cup, and Prieſts marry, but the* Pope *did think fit to adviſe with ſome of ſeveral Nations, but he was diſſwaded.* 767

The Pope created nineteen Cardinals of thoſe who had done good ſervice in Council, but none of thoſe who were for Reſidency or jure divino of Biſhops. 769

They gave too much authority to Eccleſiaſticks and took from Princes. 763

The Legates ſent advice to Rome *to uſe means to ſuſpend the Council and to have majority of Voices.* 577

Peſcara *ſent Letters to the* Spaniſh *Prelates that they ſhould not meddle with the Pope, to which* Granada *anſwered that he was content to die in the truth of the Divine Right of Epiſcopacy, and* Segovia *alſo made a good Answer.* 579

Cardinal [illegible] *made a ſpeech in Congre* [illegible] 588

The [illegible] *opinion concerning the Popes* [illegible] *what when any*

any Popes *Bull is preſented contrary to the Canons received in* France, *it is pronounced abuſive and forbid to be executed.* 598

Cardinal Lorain *upon the death of the King of* Navar *altered his Councils and deſigns as to the Council.* ibid.

The Proteſtants of Germany *required Conditions before they would aſſiſt in Council.* 600

The Biſhop of Veglia *upon his ſuffrage concerning reſidency quitted* Trent *for fear.* 602

The Prelates were terrified with the Popes *authority, and declined Reſidency to be* de jure divino. ibid.

Martin Guzdellum *complained that the Council was not free, and that delayes were uſed to tire the Prelates to force them to conſent to things they did not believe in their Conſcience.* 617, 618

The French *Ambaſſadors required to have Reſidence handled; to which the Legates anſwer, but the Ambaſſadors required a poſitive anſwer and no delay.* 619

Various diſcourſes were about the Cardinal of Lorain's *going to* Iſpruc. 620

A Principal ſecret to preſerve the Popes *authority was, that the Legates ſhould only propoſe in Council.* 623

That the Pope may diſpenſe with the Canons, Apoſtles, and law of God. 628

Cardinal Mantua *wrote freely to the* Pope *and died about ſix dayes after.* 630

Birague *went from* Trent *to the Emperour, what his negotiation was.* 673

The Spaniſh *Ambaſſador made inſtance that the Decree* proponentibus legatis *might be abrogated.* ibid.

Laynez *his ſuffrage was in juſtification of the* Popes *authority and the actions of his Court: which gave great diſtaſt to the* French *who condemned his Doctrine and juſtified a Council to be above the* Pope. 674, 675

How the Spaniſh *Prelates were content to accept of the Decrees.* 689

A Sermon was, whereat the Ambaſſadors were offended for naming ſome Kings before theirs, and ſaying that the Catholick faith was better, but the Proteſtants lives beſt. 689, 690

The French *King wrote to* Trent *ſharply and reſolute concerning the Reformation of Princes.* 715

The Pope *reſolved by all means to be free of the Council.* 716

Thoſe that did procure the Council had no aim but to pull the Popes authority down, but by the Councils acts the contrary appeared; and that he was not to receive Laws, but to give Laws to the Council. 759

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The Proteſtants in France *were content with Proceſſions,* &c. *but ſaid that the ſign of the Croſs was by* Conſtantine *firſt propoſed to be worſhiped.* 448, 449

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The Decrees about Reformation diſpleaſed much. 541

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It is a Maxim, that about Decrees of Reformation a major part of voices was ſufficient, but a Decree of Faith could not be made if a conſiderable part did contradict. 538

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A diſcourſe about them and how they were done. 316

No Eccleſiaſtical perſon could be

puniſhed with death, or &c. before he was degraded, nor a Souldier puniſhed by the temporal Judge before degradation. 317

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At a Diet at Noremberg, Pope Adrian *ſent Letters to the Princes there, his Nuncios Inſtructions were debated and anſwered, and the Princes ſhewed their greivances.* 23 uſq; 29

Pope Clement *diſlikes* Pope Adrians *actions, and reſolved to proceed otherwiſe, and ſent his Legates to the Diet with Inſtructions, and the Diets anſwer to them.* 29

The Legate refuſed to reform the abuſes of the Court of Rome, *but made a Reformation of the* German *Clergy, which was rejected by the Diet.* 31

The Decree of the Diet did not pleaſe the Legate. ibid.

The Legate prevailed with ſome of the Princes to have his Reformation received. 31, 32

The Emperour was diſpleaſed with the Decree of Noremberg, *and why? He commanded the Execution of the Decree of* Worms, *and having taken the King of* France *Priſoner in Battel, was elevated, which made the Princes to combine againſt him, and the Pope to ſuſpect his greatneſs.* 33

At the Diet at Spira *the Princes did not agree, and why? and yet they made a Decree.* 34

At the Diet at Ausburg *the Duke of* Saxony *being a* Lutheran, *carried the Sword before the Emperour, being perſwaded to it, it being a civil Ceremony.* 50

A Sermon was made there, the contents of it. ibid.

The Legate preſented his Letters and made an Oration, which was anſwered by the Archbiſhop of Mentz. 50,51

The Lutherans *preſented a Confeſſion of their Faith, which was called the* Auguſtan, *and ſo did the* Zuinglians. 51

The Legate would not cenſure the Confeſſion, but gave order that a Confutation thereof ſhould be read. 52

The Emperour laboured to perſwade the Lutheran *Princes, but prevailed not, the Princes departed, and the Emperour made a Decree.* 53

A Diet was at Aganoa *about Religion, and from thence to* Worms, *without effect. The* Pope *ſent a Nuncio there, and another under a falſe name.* 87

Ecchius *was in the Diet to ſpeak for the Catholicks, and* Melanchthon *for the Proteſtants, at the Colloquy at* Worms. 88

At a Diet at Ratisbon *Cardinal* Contarini *was ſent from the* Pope *with inſtructions about the* Papacy *and Religion, and to negotiate with the Emperour.* ibid.

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The Archbiſhop of Collen *was cited by the Emperour, to appear at the Diet at* Worms, *which much diſpleaſed the Legates and Prelates at* Trent, *and the* Pope *alſo, who cited him to appear at* Rome, *and it made the Prelates in* Trent *to incite one another to be active, and crave a man of the* Pope *to perorate againſt the accuſed.* 117

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Emperour. German *and* Low Countries.

The Emperour Charles *was diſpleaſed with the Decree of* Noremberg, *and commanded the execution of the Edict of* Worms. *He took the King of* France *Priſoner, which made the Princes to bandy againſt him, and the Pope to ſuſpect his greatneſs.* 33

He promiſed to procure a Council, and commanded the execution of Worms, *but the Cities anſwered, that that Decree could not be executed, and gave reaſons for it.* 34

He wrote two Letters to the Pope, and one to the Cardinals, and perſwaded them to call a Council if the Pope refuſed, and if they would not, that he would take order himſelf; for which Letters he was cenſured in Germany. 38, 39

He made a ſhew of grief for the Popes calamity, he being a Priſoner, and was diſſwaded from cauſing him to be brought into Spain. 42

He reſolved to employ his authority in matter of Religion, and was crowned in Bolonia. 49

His Ambaſſadors laboured to perſwade the Pope to chuſe a place in Germany *for the Council, but could not obtain it.* 57,58

He made a peace of Religion, and Germany *called the* Interim, *and promiſed the calling of a Council within ſix Months, or a Diet in* Germany, *and gave an account thereof to the Catholick Princes.* 59

He was cenſured at Rome *for this liberty, but commended by others.* ibid.

He and the Pope had divers ends in having a Council, and diſſembled one with another. 74

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He exhorted the Proteſtants to accept of a Council at Mantua, *but they anſwered unto it, and refuſed it.* 75

He excepted againſt the Bull for calling a Council in Trent, *and complained of the* French *King.* 95, 96

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He forbad three Spaniards *made Cardinals, to accept the Arms, or uſe the Name or Habit.* ibid.

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He demanded aſſiſtants againſt the Turks *of the* Proteſtants, *who gave a conditional anſwer.* 118

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He had High-Germany *left to his diſcretion, and the* Pope *was jealous of him, and recalled his Forces, whereof the Emperour complained, and the Pope juſtified it.* 208

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He held a Diet in Ausburgh, *where he ſetled a peace of Religion called* Interim, *and made a moſt juſt and equitable Reformation of the Clergy, which diſpleaſed the* Pope *and Court of* Rome. 256 usque 275.

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A Provincial Council was held at Collen, *where Decrees were made, the which the Emperour commanded the* Low-Countries *to obſerve, they being ſubjects to* Collen *as the Metropolitan City.* ibid.

A Provincial Council was held at Ments, *where forty eight Decrees of Faith were made, and fifty ſix of Reformation, and in particular that Images or Saints are not to be worſhiped.* ibid.

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He refuſed to grant a Council, but ſuch as ſhould be ſerviceable to the Court of Rome, *though preſſed thereunto by the Emperour.* 67

He dyed with no ſmall joy of the Court, his qualities, what? ibid.

In the vacancies of Popedoms, Capitulations were always compoſed

ſed, which were ſworn with a mind not to keep them. ibid.

Paulus III. *choſen Pope, his chiefeſt Vertue he made uſe of, was diſſimulation, and he made great ſhew of deſiring a Council.* ibid.

He perſwaded the Cardinals to reform themſelves. 68

He refuſed to grant the nomination of Biſhops and Abbots to any Prince. ibid.

He made ſhew to deſire an union of Princes, and Reformation of the Court, and why he did it, 68. *but at laſt gave it over.* 69

Two of his Nephews by his Baſtards were created Cardinals very young, and ſaid his own years did ſupply theirs. ibid.

He ſent Nuncios to treat with all Princes about the Council, and made an Oration in the Conſiſtory to that purpoſe. ibid.

He gave Inſtructions to his Nuncios to ſound the Princes intentions concerning the place for the Council, to the end that he might work his own ends, by oppoſing one againſt another. ibid.

He created 7 Cardinals, whereof Biſhop Fiſher *of* Rocheſter *was one.* ibid.

He ſent Vergerius *into* Germany, *who laboured to have the Council in* Mantua, *and not in* Germany, *becauſe of the Sectaries, he laboured to perſwade* Luther *with promiſes,* &c. *but he refuſed.* 70

He and the Emperour had divers ends in having a Council, and they diſſembled with each other. 74

He reſolved not to call a Council at Mantua. 78

He committed the care of reforming the Court to 4 Cardinals, but nothing being done, made the Italians *ſuſpect the Popes actions, whereupon Reformation was ſet on foot again, the fountain of the abuſes of the Court, and in particular what they were.* ibid.

He commanded that the Prelates Remonſtrance for Reformation ſhould not be Printed; yet a Copy of it was ſent into Germany *by the Popes conſent, as was thought, that it might appear, that ſome deſign was in* Rome *for Reformation.* 79

He ſent out a Bull for convocation of a Council at Vicenza, *againſt which the King of* England *publiſhed a Manifeſt.* 80

He had a conference with the Kings of France *and* Spain. ibid.

He deferred the Council, and ſent a thundering Bull againſt the King of England, *ſuch as never was before or ſince; the cauſes of the Excommunication, what? Why he would not do it, though ſtirred up by the Emperour and Cardinals.* 81

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He *had a Conference with the Emperour in* Lucca.

He publiſhed a Bull for a Council in Trent, *and ſent Legates to* T

He and the Emperour met at ſetto.

He ſeeked to gain Milan. ibid.
He miſtruſted the Emperour, and turned to the French *King.* ibid.
He was diſpleaſed with the League made with the Emperour and King of England, *and the Emperour juſtified it.* ibid.
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He ſent out a Bull for the Convocation of the Council, and reſolved to begin it with a few of his Courtiers and Italians, *the reaſons why: but diſpleaſed the Emperour, who would be the Author, and the Pope the Adherent, which diſtaſted the Pope.* 104

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He ſpoke of a Lateran *Council, and was angry with the Emperor and* French *King.* ibid.

He propoſed a Reformation of the Clergy, Laity, and eſpecially of Princes. 376

He cauſed the French *King to break his Truce made with the Emperour, and abſolved him from his Oath.* ibid.

He proceeded againſt the Colonneſi, *who retired into the Kingdom of* Naples. 377

He made a ſhew that he would proceed againſt the Emperour and his Son, and provided for War. 377, 378

He impriſoned many Cardinals and Barons upon ſuſpicion, and King Philip *his Ambaſſador.* 378

The Duke of Alva *proteſted of the wrong done to his Maſter by the Pope, and received a proud Anſwer, for which cauſe he made War againſt him.* ibid.

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He proceeds ſeverely againſt his own Family, inſtituted a new Government in Rome, *applyed him wholly to the Inquiſition, and declared all Prelates and Princes, Emperours and Kings fallen into Herſie to be deprived of all Benefices, States, Kingdoms, and Empires.* 3

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He recommended the Inquisition and died, and after his death the people of Rome *were in great Commotions, broke off the head of the* Popes *Statue and dragged it through the Streets, and burned the Inquison house,* &c. 389, 390

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He was troubled with the Synod to be in France, *and other occurrences there, but was comforted that* France *would be at greater loss than he.* 405

He caused an Ambassador to go from Spain, *who combined with the* Guises, *that the Pope should divorce him from his Wife, and he to marry* Mary *Queen of* Scots, *and so have* Scotland *and* England. 410, 411

He appointed Presidents for the Council, and was troubled at the design of Portugal *Divines who would have the Council above the* Pope. 416

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He was much troubled at the Advertisements of the Legates, at Cardinal Lorains, Spaniards, *and Emperours designs.* 561

He was offended with the Congretion of Prelates in France, *and sent Cardinal* Ferrara *as Legate there with four Commissions.* 419

He was discontented with a Letter sent unto him by the Queen Mother, wherein she required several things in the behalf of the Protestants, and that Corpus Christi *day should be taken away.* 421

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T[illegible]

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Government of Maharashtra

on 18 July, 2018